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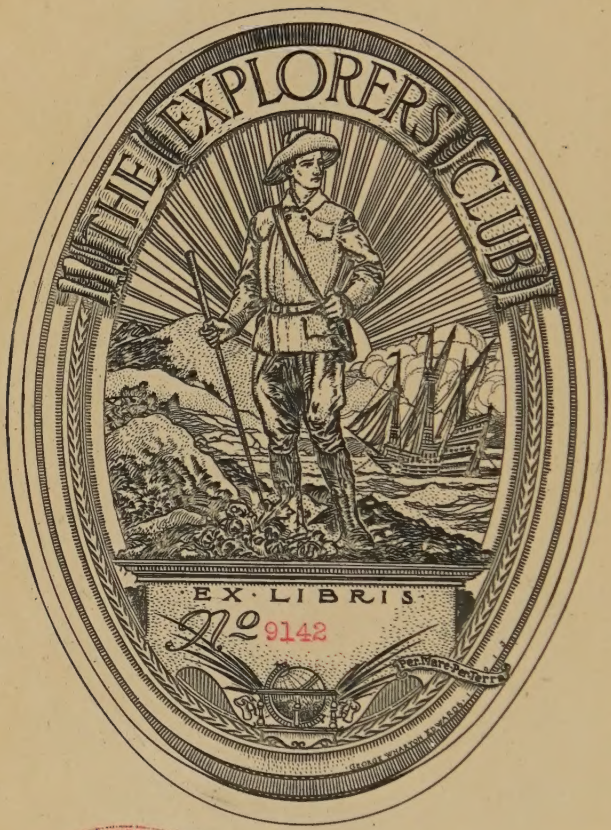

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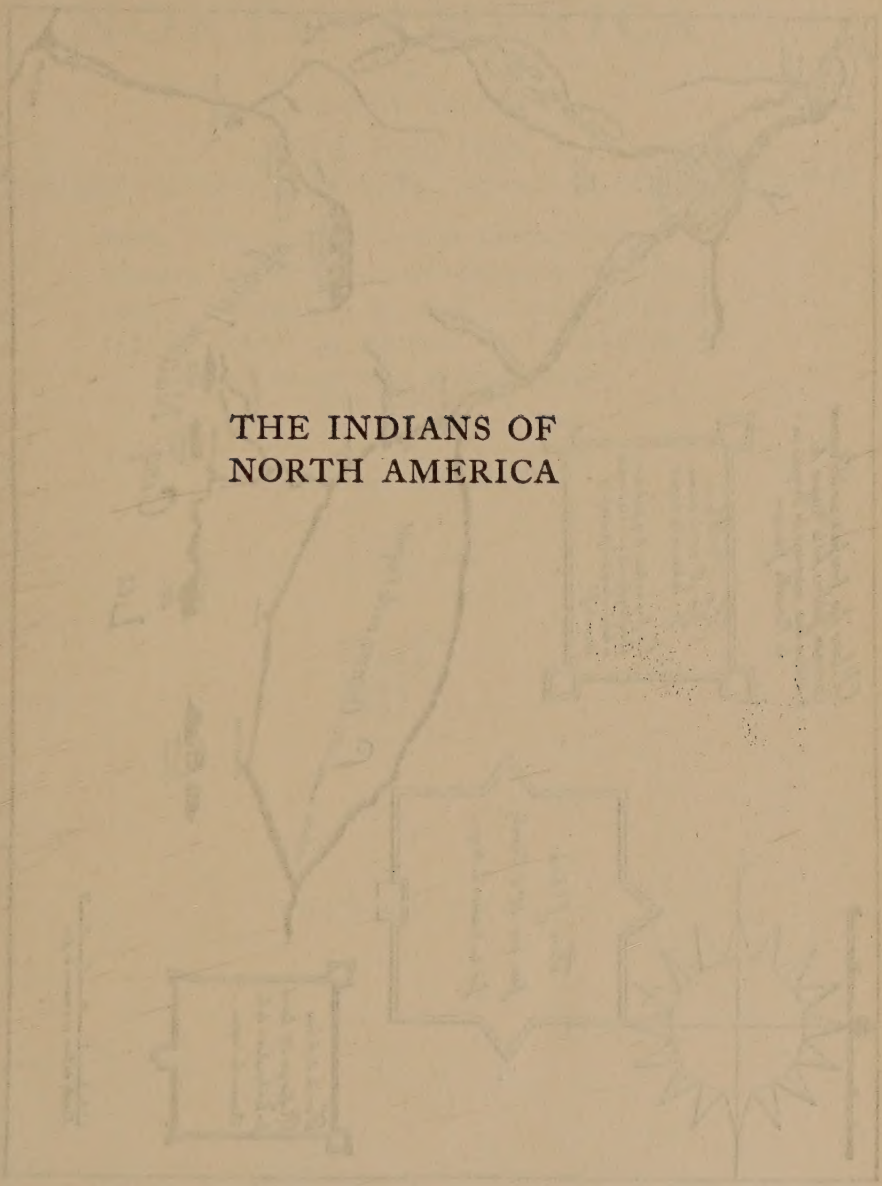
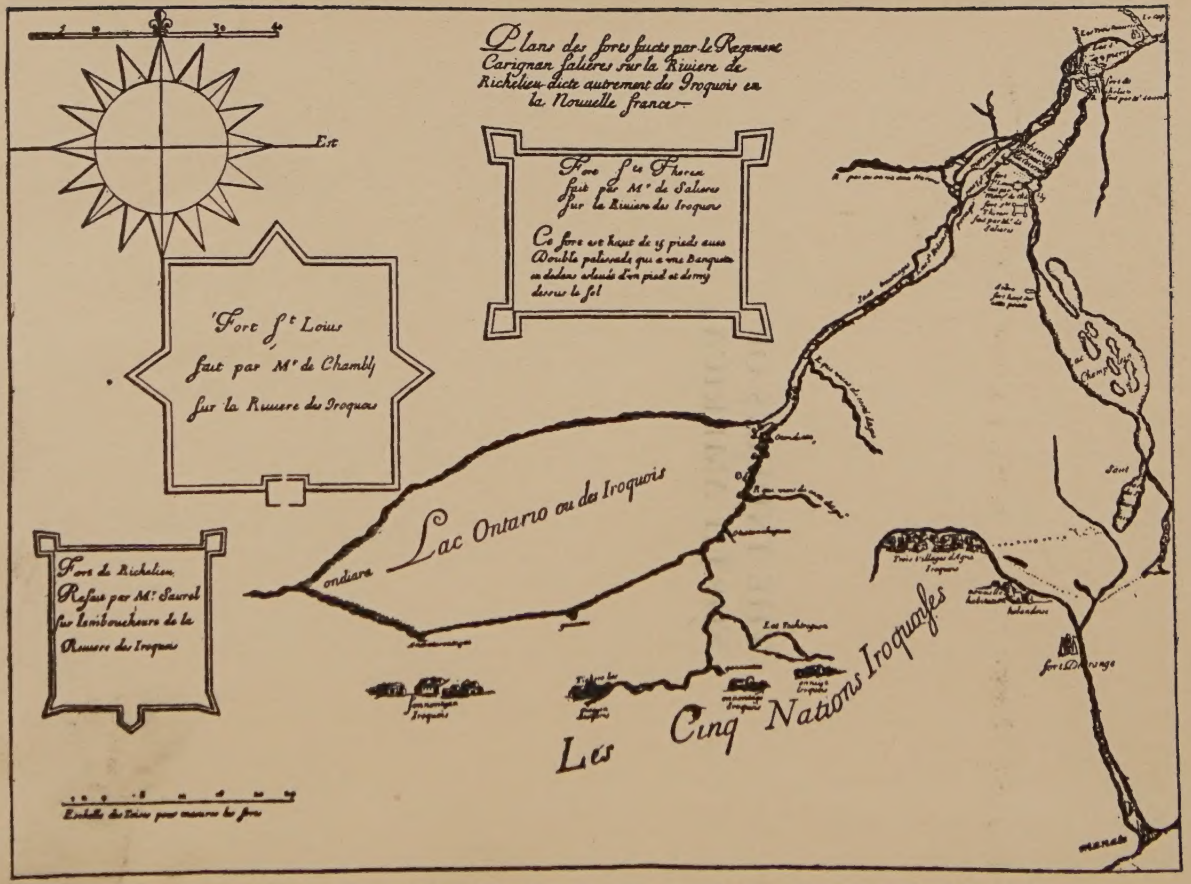


THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA


Plans des forts faicts par le Regement Carignan Saliéres Sur la Riviere de Richelieu dicte autrement des Iroquois en la Nouuelle france
Est
Fort de Sorel
Faict par Mr de Saliere
Sur la Riuiere des Iroquois
Ce fort est haut de 15 pieds auec
Double palissade qui a vne Banquette
en dedans eslevée d'vn pied et demy
dessous le fol
Fort St Louis
faict par Mr de Chambly
Sur la Riuiere des Iroquois
Fort de Richelieu
Refaict par Mr Saurel
Sur l'embouchure de la
Riuiere des Iroquois
Echelle de Toises pour mesurer les forts
Lac Ontario ou des Iroquois
Les Cinq Nations Iroquoises

THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY, AND PLANS OF FORTS ON RIVER RICHELIEU

From the *Relation* of 1664-65

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. XLIX.*]

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

SELECTED AND EDITED BY

EDNA KENTON

Jesuits: Letters from Missions (No. America)

FROM "THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS: TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE, 1610-1791." EDITED BY REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

SECRETARY OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS

VOLUME TWO

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

XXII. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1648 & 1649. *Paul Ragueneau;* Saint Marie among the Hurons, May 1, 1649 3

Of the capture of the villages of the Mission of St. Joseph, in the summer of the year 1648 . 4

Of the capture of the villages of the Mission of St. Ignace, in the month of March of the year 1649 6

Of the blessed deaths of Father Jean de Brébeuf, and Father Gabriel Lallemant 11

Present state of Christianity, and means of helping these peoples 14

XXIII. LETTER TO THE VERY REVEREND FATHER GENERAL, VINCENT CARAFFA. *Paul Ragueneau;* Saint Marie in the Island of Saint Joseph among the Hurons, March 13, 1650 . . . 19

XXIV. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, FROM THE SUMMER OF THE YEAR 1649 TO THE SUMMER OF THE YEAR 1650. *Paul Ragueneau;* Kebec, September 1, 1650 23

Of the devastation of the country of the Hurons, in the spring of the year 1650 24

XXV. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF CERTAIN MISSIONS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN NEW FRANCE. *Francesco Gioseppe Bressani;* Macerata, Italy, July 19, 1653.

Of the soil, food, dress, and character of the Barbarians of New France 29

Government of the Canadian Barbarians . . 37

Religion of the same 40

XXVI. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1653 & 1654. *François le Mercier,* Quebec, September 21, 1654; *Simon le Moine,* July-September, 1654.

CHAPTER PAGE

A fleet of Huron and Algonquin canoes from the Upper Nations, allies of the French, arrive in the month of June at Montreal and at Three Rivers, and bring thither good news . . . 47

The Anniehronnon Iroquois arrive at Quebec in the month of July, and bring back two Frenchmen whom they were holding as hostages . 50

Journey of Father Simon le Moine to the country of the Onnontæhronnon Iroquois, in July, August, and September 52

General Council for peace with the four Iroquois nations; and, afterward, the return of Father Simon le Moine from his journey . . . 54

Of the first Congregation of Our Lady among the Savages 58

XXVII. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1655 & 1656. *Jean de Quens;* Kebec, September 7, 1656.

Journey of Father Simon le Moyne to the Agnieronnon Iroquois 62

Embassy of the Onontaeronnon Iroquois who ask for some Fathers of our Society to convert them to Christianity 63

Journey of Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon to Onontagué, a country of the Upper Iroquois 65

Reply to the Fathers' presents 66

Some remarkable cures. The Father continues his teachings. The Savages obey their dreams . 68

Ceremonies preparatory to war. Some engagements 75

Councils held by these tribes. Meeting with Hurons. Execution of a prisoner. A Savage's vision 77

The arrival of a company of Algonquins called the Outaouak 81

XXVIII. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE IN THE YEARS ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY SIX & ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY SEVEN. *Paul le Jeune,* editor; At the College of Clermont, December 1, 1657.

CHAPTER PAGE

Of the nature and of some peculiarities of the Iroquois country 84

Of the character and customs of the Iroquois . 87

XXIX. JOURNAL DES PP. JÉSUITES. *Jean de Quen, Gabriel Druillettes, Pierre Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, and Simon le Moyne;* Kebec, January-December, 1658 92

XXX. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1657 & 1658. *Anonymous;* [Paris], n.d.

Different routes from Canadas to the North Sea. The names of many recently discovered nations 103

Of the difference between the manners and customs of the French, or the Europeans, and those of the Savages 110

XXXI. LETTERS SENT FROM NEW FRANCE . . . BY REV. FATHER HIER. LALLEMANT SUPERIOR OF THE MISSIONS. *Anonymous;* Kebec, . . . October 16, 1659.

Third Letter: Of the Acadian mission . . . 122

XXXII. JOURNAL DES PP. JÉSUITES. *Jean de Quen,* Quebec, January 1 to September 7, 1659 . . 126

XXXIII. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY NINE & ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY. [*Jerome Lalemant*], n.p., n.d.

Of the condition of the country of the Iroquois, and of their cruelties 134

Of the condition of the Algonquin country, and of some new discoveries 139

XXXIV. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1661 & 1662. *Jerome Lalemant;* Kebec, September 18, 1662.

Divers Iroquois Wars 147

Concerning certain murders committed by the Savages of Gaspé among the Savages known as the Papinachiouetkhi 152

XXXV. THREE LETTERS. *Thierry Beschefer;* Québec, October 1 and 4, 1666, and August 25, 1667 . 156

CHAPTER PAGE

XXXVI. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY SIX & ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY SEVEN. *François le Mercier;* Kebec, November 10, 1667; *Claude Jean Allouez,* n.p., n.d.

Relation of the Mission of Saint Esprit, among the Outaouacs, on Lake Tracy, formerly called Lake Superior.

Journal of Father Claude Allouez's voyage into the Outaouac country 160

Of the false gods and some superstitious customs of the savages of that country 164

Of the Mission to the Outaouacs, Kiskakoumac, and Outaouasinagouc 167

Of the Mission to the Pouteouatamiouec . . 168

Of the Mission to the Ousakiouek and Outagamiouek 170

Of the Mission to the Ilimouek, or Alimouek . 171

Of the Mission to the Nadouesiouek . . . 173

Of the Mission to the Kilistinouc . . . 174

XXXVII. LETTER TO ——. *Jacques Bruyas;* From the Mission of St. François Xavier among the Iroquois, January 21, 1668 177

XXXVIII. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1669 & 1670. PART II. OF THE MISSION OF THE MARTYRS IN THE COUNTRY OF AGNIÉ, OR OF THE LOWER IROQUOIS.

§1. Of the war of the Agniés with the Nation of the Loups. *Jean Pierron;* [Agnié], n.d. . 182

Of the Mission of Saint Joseph at Goiogouen. *Estienne de Carheil;* [Goiogouen], June, 1670 186

Of the Mission of Saint Michel at Tsonnontouen. *Jacques Fremin;* [Tsonnontouen], n.d. 190

PART III. RELATION OF THE MISSIONS TO THE OUTAOUAKS.

Of the Missions of the Upper Algonquins, commonly called the Outaouaks, and, in par-

CHAPTER PAGE

ticular, of the Mission of Sainte Marie du Sault. *Claude Dablon;* [Ste Marie du Sault], n.d. 194

Of the nature and some peculiarities of the Sault, and of the nations which are accustomed to repair thither 195

Of the state of Christianity at the Mission of Sainte Marie du Sault 198

Of the Mission of Saint Esprit at Chagaouamigong Point in Lake Tracy or Superior. Of the peculiarities and rarities that are found in Lake Superior; and, first, of the different fisheries in which it abounds 199

Of the copper mines which are found in Lake Superior 200

Of the peoples connected with the Mission of Saint Esprit, at the point called Chagaouamigong 203

Letter to the Rev. Father Superior of the Missions. *Jacques Marquette;* [Ste. Marie du Sault], n.d. 204

Of the Mission of Saint François Xavier on "the Bay of Stinkards," or rather, "of stinking waters." *Claude Allouez;* [Ste. Marie du Sault, June, 1670] 210

Of the Mission to the Ousaki 212

Of the Mission to the Pouteouatamis . . 213

Of the Mission to the Oumamis and Machkoutench 216

XXXIX. RELATION OF THE MISSIONS TO THE OUTAOUACS DURING THE YEARS 1670 & 1671 [Part III of the *Relation* of 1670-71]. *Claude Dablon* [Quebec, 1671].

Explanation of the idea that should be held regarding all the Missions included under the name Outaouac 220

Of the Mission of Saint Ignace at Missilimakinac 225

Of the Mission of Saint Esprit, at the head of Lake Superior 226

Of the Mission of St. François Xavier and the nations dependent thereon 227

Article I. Journey to the Bay called des Puans and the more important occurrences there . 228

CHAPTER PAGE

Article II. Journey of the same two Fathers to the Fire Nation, and the beauty and curiosities of that country 229

Article III. Events attending the publication of the Faith to the Fire Nation and to one of the Ilinois nations 232

Article IV. Some particulars concerning the Nation of the Ilinois, especially regarding the good disposition and politeness of those peoples 233

Article V. Of the Mission of Saint Marc at the village of the Outagami 237

XL. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1672 & 1673. [Letters from . . . missionaries, edited or synopsized by *Jean de Lamberville*, and subsequently revised by *Claude Dablon*.]

PART III. OF THE MISSION OF THE OUTAOUACS OR ALGONQUINS.

Of the Mission of St. Ignace among the Tionnontaternnons. *Jacques Marquette* . . 238

Of the Mission of St. François Xavier in the great Bay des Puans. *Louis André* and *Claude Allouez* 241

Article 1st. Of the Chouskouabika Mission 241

Article 2nd. Of the Ossouamigounc Mission 245

Article 4th. Of the Mission to the Mascoutench, Ilinois, and other tribes . . . 247

XLI. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE DURING THE YEARS 1673 AND 1674. [Letters from . . . missionaries, edited or synopsized by Claude Dablon.]

PART II. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED IN THE IROQUOIS MISSIONS DURING THE YEARS 1673 AND 1674.

Of the Onneiout Mission. *Pierre Millet* . . 248

1. Of the eclipse of the moon on the 21st of January, 1674 248

2. Of several embassies from the other Iroquois to Onneiout 249

CHAPTER PAGE

XLII. MEMORANDUM FOR A MISSIONARY WHO WILL GO TO THE SEVEN ISLANDS. *Louis Nicolas;* [La Prairie, 1673] 252

XLIII. OF THE FIRST VOYAGE MADE BY FATHER MARQUETTE TOWARD NEW MEXICO, AND HOW THE IDEA THEREOF WAS CONCEIVED. *Jacques Marquette;* [Baye des Puants, 1674] 256

Section 1st. Departure of Father Jacques Marquette for the discovery of the great river called by the Savages Missisipi, which leads to New Mexico 257

Section 2nd. The Father visits, in passing, the tribes of the Folle Avoine. What that Folle Avoine is. He enters the Bay des Puants; some particulars about that Bay. He arrives among the Fire Nation 259

Section 3rd. Description of the village of Maskoutens; what passed there between the Father and the Savages. The French begin to enter a new and unknown country, and arrive at Missisipi 261

Section 4th. Of the great river called Missisipi; its most notable features; of various animals, and especially the Pisikious or wild cattle, their shape and nature; of the first villages of the Ilinois, where the French arrived . . . 264

Section 5th. How the Ilinois received the Father in their village 266

Section 6th. Of the character of the Ilinois; of their habits and customs; and of the esteem that they have for the calumet, or tobacco-pipe, and of the dance they perform in its honor 269

Section 7th. Departure of the Father from the Ilinois; of the painted monsters which he saw upon the great river Missisipi; of the river Pekitanoui. Continuation of the voyage . . 275

Section 8th. Of the new countries discovered by the Father. Various particulars. Meeting with some Savages. First news of the sea and of Europeans. Great danger avoided by means of the calumet 277

CHAPTER PAGE

Section 9th. Reception given to the French in the last village which they saw. The manners and customs of those Savages. Reasons for not going farther 280

Section tenth. Return of the Father and of the French. Baptism of a dying child . . . 282

XLIV. NARRATIVE OF A 3RD VOYAGE MADE TO THE ILINOIS. *Claude Allois;* n.p., [1677 *ca.*] 284

Section 1st. Father Aloues sets out over the ice. A young man is killed by a bear; of the revenge that was taken for this. Various curiosities encountered on the way 284

Section 2nd. Father Alloues arrives at the village of the Ilinois. Description of that village and of the country. The Faith is proclaimed to all the nations 287

XLV. RELATION OF WHAT OCCURRED . . . IN NEW FRANCE, IN THE YEARS 1676 & 1677. *Claude Dablon;* n.p., [1677]. [With extracts from letters by . . . missionaries].

Of the Iroquois Missions in the year 1676 . . 290

Extract from a letter written from Onnontagué in the Iroquois country. *Jean de Lamberville,* January 18, 1676 291

Of the Mission of the Outaouacs in the year 1676. Extract from a letter written from the Bay de Puants. *Louis André,* April 20, 1676 . . 294

Of the Mission of the Good Shepherd at Rivière du loup.

Extract from a letter of *Jean Morain,* June 20, 1677 295

XLVI. LETTERS FROM THE CHURCH OF THE HURONS AT LORETTE, IN NEW FRANCE, TO THE CHAPTER OF CHARTRES. *Nicolas Potier* (in Latin, translated into French by Jean de Lamberville), November 11, 1680; *Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot,* November 11, 1680 . 297

XLVII. REMARKS CONCERNING THE TADOUSSAK MISSION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, SINCE 1671. *François de Crepieul;* Pastagoutchichiou sipiou, April 7, 1686 302

CHAPTER PAGE

XLVIII. LETTER TO SOME MISSIONARIES IN CANADA. *Pierre Millet;* Onnei8t, July 6, 1691 . 310

XLIX. LETTER TO REVEREND FATHER JACQUES BRUYAS, SUPERIOR OF THE MISSION, IN THE FORM OF A JOURNAL OF THE MISSION OF L'IMMACULÉE CONCEPTION DE NOTRE DAME IN THE HURON COUNTRY. *Jacques Gravier;* [Peoria,] February 15, 1694 320

L. LETTER TO A FATHER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS. *Julien Binneteau;* From the Ilinois country, [January,] 1699 325

LI. RELATION OR JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGE IN 1700 FROM THE COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS TO THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPI RIVER. *Jacques Gravier;* Fort Mississipi, February 16, 1701 328

LII. LETTER TO FATHER [JEAN] DE LAMBERVILLE. *Gabriel Marest;* n.p., [*ca.* 1706] . . 352

LIII. LETTER TO FATHER GERMON. *Gabriel Marest;* Cascaskias, November 9, 1712 . . 356

LIV. LETTER TO MONSIEUR HIS BROTHER. *Sébastien Rasles;* Narantsouak, October 12, 1723 . 364

LV. LETTER TO FATHER PATOUILLET. *Paul du Poisson;* [Aux Akensas, 1726] 389

LVI. LETTER TO FATHER * * *. *Paul du Poisson;* aux Akensas, October 3, 1727 393

LVII. RELATION OF THE SAGUENAY, 1720 TO 1730. *Pierre Laure;* Chek8timi, March 13, 1730 . . 406

LVIII. LETTER TO FATHER D'AVAUGOUR, PROCURATOR OF THE MISSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA. *Mathurin le Petit;* New Orleans, July 12, 1730 425

LIX. LETTER TO REVEREND FATHER H. FAYE. *J. Pierre Aulneau;* Quebeck, April 25, 1735 . 451

LX. LETTER TO REVEREND FATHER BONIN. *J. Pierre Aulneau;* Quebeck, April 29, 1735 . 453

LXI. LETTER TO REVEREND FATHER BONIN. *Luc François Nau;* Sault St. Louis, October 2, 1735 457

CHAPTER PAGE

LXII. LETTER TO REVEREND FATHER BONIN. *J. Pierre Aulneau;* Fort St. Charle, among the Kriistinaux, April 30, 1736 462

LXIII. LETTER, IN THE NAME OF THE ABNAKIS OF CANADA, TO THE DEAN OF THE CHAPTER OF CHARTRES. *Joseph Aubery;* St. François, [1749] 466

LXIV. LETTER TO FATHER * * *. *Louis Vivier;* among the Illinois, June 8, 1750 468

LXV. ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE ON THE BEAUTIFUL RIVER MADE IN 1749, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF MONSIEUR DE CELORON. *Pierre Jean de Bonnecamps;* Québec, October 17, 1750 471

LXVI. LETTER TO FATHER * * *, *Louis Vivier;* among the Illinois, November 17, 1750 . . 480

LXVII. LETTER FROM FATHER * * *, MISSIONARY TO THE ABNAKIS. Saint-François, October 21, 1757 484

LXVIII. OF THE HURONS. [*Étienne Girault de Villeneuve;* Quebec, 1762] 488

APPENDIX I. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO *THE JESUIT RELATIONS AND ALLIED DOCUMENTS. Reuben Gold Thwaites;* 1896 . 491

The Indians 495

The Algonkins 496

The Iroquois 496

The Southern Indians 497

The Dakotahs 497

The Missions

The Abenaki Mission 497

The Montagnais Mission 499

The Quebec and Montreal Missions . . . 500

The Huron Mission 502

The Iroquois Mission 505

The Ottawa Mission 508

The Louisiana Mission 510

The *Relations* 511

APPENDIX II. NOTES TO MAP OF IROQUOIS CANTONS IN NEW YORK. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, S.T.D. 517

NOTES 521

ILLUSTRATIONS

		PAGE
I.	Map of the Iroquois country, and forts on the River Richelieu. From the *Relation* of 1664-65 .	*Frontispiece*
II.	Map of New Netherland, etc., in 1630; from De Laet's *Novus Orbis*	48
III.	Boisseau's Map of New France, 1643	104
IV.	Map of New France in 1660, by Franciscus Creuxius, S. J.; from his *Historia Canadensis* (Paris, 1664) .	123
V.	Map of Lake Superior, from the *Relation* of 1670-71 .	223
VI.	Marquette's MS. map, accompanying his Journal, from the original in St. Mary's College archives, Montreal .	264
VII.	Map published by Thevenot, in 1681, purporting to be made by Marquette	273
VIII.	Joliet's MS. map of 1674	282
IX.	Map of Montreal and its environs, in 1722, from La Potherie	351
X.	MS. missionary map of country northwest of Lake St. John, P. Q., made *ca.* 1695	411
XI.	Franquet's plan of Fort du Saut St. Louis . . .	456
XII.	Chauchetière's oil portrait of Catherine Tegakwita . .	458
XIII.	Map of Iroquois Cantons in New York, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; by Rev. William M. Beauchamp	516
XIV.	Sketch Map of Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye; by A. F. Hunter	522

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

91 42

XXII

[79] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons, a country of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649.

To the Reverend Father Hierosme Lalemant, Superior of the Missions of the Society of Jesus *in New France.*

[The *Relation* of 1648-49 contains only Ragueneau's report of the Huron mission for the year ending May 1, 1649. It recounts the destruction of that mission, the martyrdom of three priests, and the dispersion of the Huron converts, in a sanguinary raid made by the Iroquois. . . .

Ragueneau begins by relating the capture, by the Iroquois, of the mission village of St. Joseph (Teanaustayé), on July 4 of the preceding summer (1648). Father Daniel, in charge of that mission, is killed while encouraging his flock to resist the enemy, whose sudden and unexpected attack finds the Christians at their little church, attending the celebration of mass. . . . In the capture of St. Joseph, about 700 Hurons are slain or taken captive; but a much larger number than this escape, and take refuge in other villages,—many at Ste. Marie. The relief, both temporal and spiritual, needed by these desolate fugitives casts a heavy burden upon the mission. . . .

"The blessings of Heaven were flowing down in abundance upon these peoples" when another and more crushing blow was dealt them by their adversaries. On March 16, 1649, a thousand Iroquois, well armed—"mostly with firearms, which they obtain from the Dutch, their allies"—make a sudden attack, at daybreak, on the village of St. Ignace (not more than ten miles southeast of Ste. Marie itself). This place, though well fortified, is taken "almost without a blow," the people being asleep and nearly all of them are slain or captured. Not stopping here, the enemy immediately proceed to the attack of St. Louis, the next village on the road to Ste. Marie. This, although bravely defended by its few warriors, is soon captured and burned; and the enemy cast into the flames all whom they cannot take with them as prisoners—the old, the sick and wounded, and the little children. Here occur two more martyrdoms; Father Jean de Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant are in charge of this mission, and they refuse to desert their flock in order to save their own lives; and, like Daniel, they devote themselves to comforting, encouraging, or baptizing all who need their ministrations. . . .

Ragueneau concludes this *Relation* with a review of "the present state of Christianity, and means of helping these Peoples." The blows dealt by the Iroquois have filled the Huron land with consternation, and its people are dispersing in every direction. . . .—*Id.*, xxxiv, pp. 12, 13, 14, 15.]

[87] OF THE CAPTURE OF THE VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF ST. JOSEPH, IN THE SUMMER OF THE YEAR 1648.*

LAST Summer, in the past year, 1648, the Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, took from them two frontier villages, from which most of the defenders had gone forth,—some for the chase, and others for purposes of war, in which they could meet no success. These two frontier places composed the Mission which we named for St. Joseph; [1] the principal of these villages contained about 400 families, where the faith had long sustained itself with luster, and where the Christians were increasing in number, and still more in holiness, through the indefatigable labors of Father Antoine Daniel, one of the earliest Missionaries in these regions.

Hardly had the Father ended Mass, and the Christians—who, according to their custom, had filled the Church after the rising of the Sun—were still continuing their devotions there, when the cry arose, "To arms! and repel the enemy!"—who, having come unexpectedly, had made his approaches by night. Some hasten to the combat, others to flight; there is naught but alarm and terror everywhere. The Father, among the first to rush where he sees the danger greatest, encourages his people to a brave defense; and—as if he had seen Paradise open for the Christians, and Hell on the point of swallowing up all the Infidels—he speaks to them in a tone so [89] animated with the spirit which was possessing him, that, having made a breach in hearts which till then had been most rebellious, he gave them a Christian heart. The number of these proved to be so great that, unable to cope with it by baptizing them one after the other, he was constrained to dip his handkerchief in the water (which was all that necessity then offered him), in order to shed abroad as quickly as possible this grace on those poor Savages, who cried mercy to him,—using the manner of baptism which is called "by aspersion."

Meanwhile, the enemy continued his attacks more furiously than ever; and, without doubt, it was a great blessing for the salvation of some that, at the moment of their death, Baptism had given them the life of the soul, and put them in possession of an immortal life.

When the Father saw that the Iroquois were becoming masters of the place, he,—instead of taking flight with those who were inviting him to escape in their company,—forgetting himself, remembered some old men and sick people, whom he had long

* Chap i.

ago prepared for Baptism. He goes through the cabins, and proceeds to fill them with his zeal,—the Infidels themselves presenting their children in crowds, in order to make Christians of them.

Meanwhile, the enemy, already victorious, had set everything on fire, and the blood of even the women and children irritated their fury. The Father, wishing to die in his Church, finds it full of Christians, and of Catechumens who ask him for Baptism. It was indeed at that time that their faith animated their prayers, and that their hearts could not belie their tongues. He baptizes some, gives absolution [91] to others, and consoles them all with the sweetest hope of the Saints,—having hardly other words on his lips than these: "My Brothers, today we shall be in Heaven."

The enemy was warned that the Christians had betaken themselves, in very great number, into the Church, and that it was the easiest and the richest prey that he could have hoped for; he hastens thither, with barbarous howls and stunning yells. At the noise of these approaches, "Flee, my Brothers," said the Father to his new Christians, "and bear with you your faith even to the last sigh. As for me" (he added) "I must face death here, as long as I shall see any soul to be gained for Heaven; and, dying here to save you, my life is no longer anything to me; we shall see one another again in Heaven." At the same time, he goes out in the direction whence come the enemy, who stop in astonishment to see one man alone come to meet them, and even recoil backward, as if he bore upon his face the terrible and frightful appearance of a whole company. Finally,—having come to their senses a little, and being astonished at themselves,—they incite one another; they surround him on all sides, and cover him with arrows, until, having inflicted upon him a mortal wound from an arquebus shot,—which pierced him through and through, in the very middle of his breast,—he fell. Pronouncing the name of JESUS, he blessedly yielded up his soul to God,—truly as a good Pastor, who exposes both his soul and his life for the salvation of his flock.

It was then that those Barbarians rushed upon him with as much rage as if he alone had been the object of their hatred. They strip him naked, they exercise [93] upon him a thousand indignities, and there was hardly any one who did not try to assume the glory of having given him the final blow, even on seeing him dead.

The fire meanwhile was consuming the cabins; and when it had spread as far as the Church, the Father was cast into it, at the height of the flames, which soon made of him a whole burnt-offer-

ing. Be this as it may, he could not have been more gloriously consumed than in the fires and lights of a *Chapelle ardente*. . . .

[99] A part of those who had escaped from the capture and burning of that Mission of Saint Joseph came to take refuge near our house of Sainte Marie.[1] The number of those who had there been killed or taken captive was probably about seven hundred souls, mostly women and children; the number of those who escaped was much greater. We tried to assist them out of our poverty,—to clothe the naked, and to feed those poor people, who were dying of hunger; to mourn with the afflicted, and to console them with the hope of Paradise. If only God receive his glory from our losses they will always be a source of gladness to us; and that is enough for us, whatever it may cost us, provided that we see the number of the Elect increase for eternity, since it is for Heaven that we labor, and not for the earth.

[123] OF THE CAPTURE OF THE VILLAGES OF THE MISSION OF ST. IGNACE, IN THE MONTH OF MARCH OF THE YEAR 1649.*

THE progress of the Faith kept increasing from day to day, and the blessings of heaven were flowing down in abundance upon these peoples, when God chose to derive from them his glory in ways which are adorable, and which belong to the jurisdiction of his divine providence,—although they have been very severe for us, and were not in our expectations.

The 16th day of March, in the present year, 1649, marked the beginning of our misfortunes,—if, however, that be a misfortune which no doubt has been the salvation of many of God's elect.

The Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, to the number of about a thousand men, well furnished with weapons,—and mostly with firearms, which they obtained from the Dutch, their allies,—arrived by night at the frontier of this country, without our having had any knowledge of their approach; although they had started from their country in the Autumn, hunting in the forests throughout the Winter, and had made over the snow nearly two hundred leagues of a very difficult road, in order to come and surprise us. They reconnoitered by night the condition of the first place upon which they had designs,—which was surrounded with a stockade of pine-trees, [125] from fifteen to sixteen feet in height, and with a deep ditch, wherewith nature had strongly fortified this place

* Chap. iii.

on three sides,—there remaining only a little space which was weaker than the others.

It was at that point that the enemy made a breach at daybreak, but so secretly and promptly that he was master of the place before people had put themselves on the defensive,—all being then in a deep sleep, and not having leisure to reconnoiter their situation. Thus this village was taken, almost without striking a blow, there having been only ten Iroquois killed. Part of the Hurons—men, women, and children—were massacred then and there; the others were made captives, and reserved for cruelties more terrible than death.

Three men alone escaped, almost naked, across the snows; they bore the alarm and terror to another and neighboring village, about a league distant. This first village was the one which we called Saint Ignace, which had been abandoned by most of its people at the beginning of the Winter,—the most apprehensive and most clear-sighted having withdrawn from it, foreboding the danger; thus the loss of it was not so considerable; and amounted only to about four hundred souls.

The enemy does not stop there; he follows up his victory, and before Sunrise he appears in arms to attack the village of Saint Louys,* which was fortified with a fairly good stockade. Most of the women, and the children, had just gone from it, upon hearing the news which had arrived concerning the approach of the Iroquois. The people of most courage, about eighty persons, being resolved to defend themselves well, repulse with courage the [127] first and the second assault; having killed among the enemy some thirty of their most venturesome men, besides many wounded. But, finally, number has the advantage,—the Iroquois having undermined with blows of their hatchets the palisade of stakes, and having made a passage for themselves through considerable breaches.

Toward nine o'clock in the morning, we perceived from our house at Sainte Marie the fire which was consuming the cabins of that village, where the enemy, having entered victoriously, had reduced everything to desolation,—casting into the midst of the flames, the old men, the sick, the children who had not been able to escape, and all those who, being too severely wounded, could

* "This house of sainte Marie bears not only the character of a Residence, but also of a Mission, as having four villages depending on the care and the attention of those who make their abode in it. These four villages are sainte Anne, St. Louys[1], St. Denys, and St. Jean; the number of souls may reach fourteen hundred." Lalemant's Huron *Relation*, 1640:—*Id.*, xix, *doc.* xli, p. 167.

not have followed them into captivity. At the sight of those flames, and by the color of the smoke which issued from them, we understood sufficiently what was happening,—this village of Saint Louys not being farther distant from us than one league. Two Christians, who escaped from the fire, arrived almost at the same time, and gave us assurance of it.

In this village of St. Louys were at that time two of our Fathers, —Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lallemant, who had charge of five closely neighboring villages; these formed but one of the eleven Missions of which we have spoken above; * we named it the Mission of St. Ignace.[1]

Some Christians had begged the Fathers to preserve their lives for the glory of God,—which would have been as easy for them as for the more than 500 persons who went away at the first alarm, and had abundant leisure to reach a place of security; but their zeal could not permit them, and the salvation [129] of their flock was dearer to them than love for their own lives. They employed all the moments of that time, as the most precious which they had ever had in the world; and, during the heat of the combat, their hearts were only fire for the salvation of souls. . . .

[131] All this band of Christians fell, mostly alive, into the hands of the enemy; and with them, our two Fathers, the Pastors of that Church. They were not killed on the spot; God was reserving them for much nobler crowns, of which we will speak hereafter.

The Iroquois having dealt their blow, and wholly reduced to fire the village of Saint Louys, retraced their steps into that of Saint Ignace, where they had left a good garrison, that it might be for them a sure retreat in case of misfortune, and that the victuals which they had found there might serve them as refreshments and provisions for their return.

On the evening of the same day, they sent scouts to reconnoiter the condition of our house at Sainte Marie; their report having been made in the Council of war, the decision was adopted to come and attack us the next morning,—promising themselves a victory which would be more glorious to them than all the successes of their arms in the past. We were in a good state of defense, and saw not one of our Frenchmen who was not resolved to sell his life very dear, and to die in a cause which—being for the interests of the Faith, and the maintenance of Christianity

* "Of these eleven Missions, eight have been for the people of the Huron tongue, and the three others for the Missions of the Algonquin language."—Ragueneau's Huron *Relation*, 1648-49:—*Id.*, xxxiv, *doc.* lxxxi, p. 101.

in these countries—was more the cause of God than ours; moreover, our greatest confidence was in him.

Meanwhile, a part of the Hurons, who are called Atinniaoenten (that is to say, the nation of those who wear a Bear on their coat of arms), having armed in haste, were at hand the next morning, the seventeenth of March, about three hundred warriors,—who, while awaiting a more powerful help, [133] secreted themselves in the ways of approach, intending to surprise some portion of the enemy.

About two hundred Iroquois having detached themselves from their main body, in order to get the start and proceed to the attack of our house, encountered some advance guards of that Huron troop. The latter straightway took flight after some skirmishing, and were eagerly pursued until within sight of our fort,—many having been killed while they were in disorder in the midst of the snows.* But the more courageous of the Hurons, having stood firm against those who joined combat with them, had some advantage on their side, and constrained the Iroquois to take refuge within the palisades of the village of Saint Louys,—which had not been burned, but only the cabins. These Iroquois were forced into that palisade, and about thirty of them were taken captives.

The main body of the enemy, having heard of the defeat of their men, came to attack our people in the very midst of their victory. Our men were the choicest Christians of the village of la Conception, and some others of the village of la Magdelaine. Their courage was not depressed, although they were only about one hundred and fifty. They proceed to prayers, and sustain the assault of a place which, having been so recently captured and recaptured, was no longer adequate for defense. The shock was furious on both sides,—our people having made many sallies, notwithstanding their small number, and having often constrained the enemy to give way. But,—the combat having continued quite far into the night,—as not more than a score of Christians, mostly wounded, were left, the victory remained wholly in the hands of the Infidels. It had, however, [135] cost them very dear, as their Chief had been seriously wounded, and they had lost nearly a hundred men on the spot, of their best and most courageous.

All night our French were in arms, waiting to see at our gates

* "This Nation is very timid,—they take no precautions against surprise, they are not careful to prepare arms or to inclose their villages with palisades; their usual recourse, especially when the enemy is powerful, is flight."—Brébeuf's Huron *Relation*, 1636:—*Id.*, x, *doc.* xxvi, p. 95.

this victorious enemy. We redoubled our devotions, in which were our strongest hopes, since our help could only come from Heaven. Seeing ourselves on the eve of the feast of the glorious Saint Joseph, the Patron of this country, we felt ourselves constrained to have recourse to a Protector so powerful. We made a vow to say, every month, each a Mass in his honor, during the space of a whole year, for those who should be Priests. And all, as many as there were people here, joined to this, by vow, sundry Penances, to the end of preparing us more holily for the accomplishment of the will of God concerning us, whether for life or for death; for we all regarded ourselves as so many victims consecrated to Our Lord, who must await from his hand the hour when they should be sacrificed for his glory, without undertaking to delay or to wish to hasten the moments thereof.

The whole day passed in a profound silence on both sides,—the country being in terror and in the expectation of some new misfortune.

On the nineteenth, the day of the great Saint Joseph, a sudden panic fell upon the hostile camp,—some withdrawing in disorder, and others thinking only of flight. Their Captains were constrained to yield to the terror which had seized them; they precipitated their retreat, driving forth in haste a part of their captives, who were burdened above their strength, like packhorses, with the spoils which the victorious were carrying off,—their captors [137] reserving for some other occasion the matter of their death.

As for the other captives who were left to them, destined to die on the spot, they attached them to stakes fastened in the earth, which they had arranged in various cabins. To these, on leaving the village, they set fire on all sides,—taking pleasure, at their departure, in feasting upon the frightful cries which these poor victims uttered in the midst of those flames, where children were broiling beside their mothers; where a husband saw his wife roasting near him; where cruelty itself would have had compassion at a spectacle which had nothing human about it, except the innocence of those who were in torture, most of whom were Christians.

An old woman, escaped from the midst of that fire, bore the news of it to the village of Saint Michel, where there were about seven hundred men in arms, who charged upon the enemy; but, not having been able to overtake him after two days' march, partly the want of provisions, partly the dread of combatting without advantage an enemy encouraged by his victories, and one

who had mostly firearms, of which our Hurons have very few,—all these things obliged them to retrace their steps, without having done aught. They found upon the roads, from time to time, various captives, who—not having strength enough to follow the conqueror, who was precipitating his retreat—had had their heads split by a blow of the hatchet; others remained, half-burned, at a post.

[139] OF THE BLESSED DEATHS OF FATHER JEAN DE BREBEUF, AND FATHER GABRIEL LALLEMANT.*

As early as the next morning, when we had assurance of the departure of the enemy,—having had, before that, certain news, through some escaped captives, of the deaths of Father Jean de Brebeuf and of Father Gabriel Lallemant,[1]—we sent one of our Fathers and seven other Frenchmen to seek their bodies at the place of their torture. They found there a spectacle of horror,—the remains of cruelty itself; or rather the relics of the love of God, which alone triumphs in the death of Martyrs.

I would gladly call them, if I were allowed, by that glorious name, not only because voluntarily, for the love of God and for the salvation of their neighbors, they exposed themselves to death, and to a cruel death, if ever there was one in the world,—for they could easily and without sin have put their lives in safety, if they had not been filled with love for God rather than for themselves. But much rather would I thus call them, because, in addition to the charitable dispositions which they have manifested on their side, hatred for the Faith and contempt for the name of God have been among the most powerful incentives which have influenced the mind of the Barbarians to practice upon them as many cruelties as ever the rage of tyrants obliged the Martyrs to [141] endure, who, at the climax of their tortures, have triumphed over both life and death.

As soon as they were taken captive, they were stripped naked, and some of their nails were torn out; and the welcome which they received upon entering the village of St. Ignace was a hail-storm of blows with sticks upon their shoulders, their loins, their legs, their breasts, their bellies, and their faces,—there being no part of their bodies which did not then endure its torment.

Father Jean de Brebeuf, overwhelmed under the burden of

* Chap. iv.

these blows, did not on that account lose care for his flock; seeing himself surrounded with Christians whom he had instructed, and who were in captivity with him, he said to them: "My children, let us lift our eyes to Heaven at the height of our afflictions; let us remember that God is the witness of our sufferings, and will soon be our exceeding great reward. Let us die in this faith; and let us hope from his goodness the fulfillment of his promises. I have more pity for you than for myself; but sustain with courage the few remaining torments. They will end with our lives; the glory which follows them will never have an end." "Echon," they said to him (this is the name which the Hurons gave the Father), "our spirits will be in Heaven when our bodies shall be suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that he may show us mercy; we will invoke him even until death."

Some Huron infidels—former captives of the Iroquois, naturalized among them, and former enemies of the Faith—were irritated by these words, and because our Fathers in their captivity had not their tongues captive. They cut off the hands of one, and [143] pierce the other with sharp awls and iron points; they apply under their armpits and upon their loins hatchets heated red in the fire, and put a necklace of these about their necks in such a way that all the motions of their bodies gave them a new torture. For, if they attempted to lean forward, the red-hot hatchets which hung behind them burned the shoulders everywhere; and if they thought to avoid that pain, bending back a little, their stomachs and breasts experienced a similar torment; if they stood upright, without leaning to one side or the other, these glowing hatchets, touching them alike on all sides, were a double torture to them. They put about them belts of bark, filled with pitch and resin, to which they set fire, which scorched the whole of their bodies.

At the height of these torments, Father Gabriel Lallemant lifted his eyes to Heaven, clasping his hands from time to time, and uttering sighs to God, whom he invoked to his aid. Father Jean de Brebeuf suffered like a rock, insensible to the fires and the flames, without uttering any cry, and keeping a profound silence, which astonished his executioners themselves; no doubt, his heart was then reposing in his God. Then, returning to himself, he preached to those Infidels, and still more to many good Christian captives, who had compassion on him.

Those butchers, indignant at his zeal, in order to hinder him from further speaking of God, girdled his mouth, cut off his nose, and tore off his lips; but his blood spoke much more loudly than

his lips had done; and, his heart not yet being torn out, his tongue did not fail to render him service until the last sigh, for blessing God for these torments, and [145] for animating the Christians more vigorously than he had ever done.

In derision of holy Baptism,—which these good Fathers had so charitably administered even at the breach, and in the hottest of the fight,—those wretches, enemies of the Faith, bethought themselves to baptize them with boiling water. Their bodies were entirely bathed with it, two or three times, and more, with biting gibes, which accompanied these torments. "We baptize thee," said these wretches, "to the end that thou mayst be blessed in Heaven; for without proper Baptism one cannot be saved." Others added, mocking, "We treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy greatest happiness up in Heaven; thank us for so many good offices,—for, the more thou sufferest, the more thy God will reward thee."

These were Infidel Hurons, former captives of the Iroquois, and, of old, enemies of the Faith,—who, having previously had sufficient instruction for their salvation, impiously abused it,—in reality, for the glory of the Fathers; but it is much to be feared that it was also for their own misfortune.

The more these torments were augmented, the more the Fathers entreated God that their sins should not be the cause of the reprobation of these poor blind ones, whom they pardoned with all their heart. It is surely now that they say in repose, *Transivimus per ignem et aquam: et eduxisti nos in refrigerium.*

When they were fastened to the post where they suffered these torments, and where they were to die, they knelt down, they embraced it with joy, and kissed it piously as the object of their desires and their love, and as a sure and final pledge of their [147] salvation. They were there some time in prayers, and longer than those butchers were willing to permit them. They put out Father Gabriel Lallemant's eyes and applied burning coals in the hollows of the same.

Their tortures were not of the same duration. Father Jean de Brebeuf was at the height of his torments at about three o'clock on the same day of his capture, the 16th day of March, and rendered up his soul about four o'clock in the evening. Father Gabriel Lallemant endured longer, from six o'clock in the evening until about nine o'clock the next morning, the seventeenth of March.

Before their death, both their hearts were torn out, by means of an opening above the breast; and these Barbarians inhumanly

feasted thereon, drinking their blood quite warm, which they drew from its source with sacrilegious hands. While still quite full of life, pieces of flesh were removed from their thighs, from the calves of the legs, and from their arms,—which those executioners placed on the coals to roast, and ate in their sight.

They had slashed their bodies in various parts; and, in order to increase the feeling of pain, they had thrust into these wounds red-hot hatchets.

Father Jean de Brebeuf had had the skin which covered his skull torn away; they had cut off his feet, and torn the flesh from his thighs, even to the bone, and had split, with the blow of a hatchet, one of his jaws in two.

Father Gabriel Lallemant had received a hatchet-blow on the left ear, which they had driven into his brain, which appeared exposed; we saw no part of his body, from the feet even to the head, which had [149] not been broiled, and in which he had not been burned alive,—even the eyes, into which those impious ones had thrust burning coals.

They had broiled their tongues, repeatedly putting into their mouths flaming brands, and burning pieces of bark,—not willing that they should invoke, in dying, him for whom they were suffering, and who could never die in their hearts. I have learned all this from persons worthy of credence, who have seen it, and reported it to me personally, and who were then captives with them,—but who, having been reserved to be put to death at another time, found means to escape.

But let us leave these objects of horror, and these monsters of cruelty; since one day all those parts will be endowed with an immortal glory, the greatness of their torments will be the measure of their happiness, and, from now on, they live in the repose of the Saints, and will dwell in it forever. . . .

[197] PRESENT STATE OF CHRISTIANITY, AND MEANS OF HELPING THESE PEOPLES.*

In consequence of the losses incurred, a part of the country of the Hurons is seen to be in desolation; fifteen villages have been abandoned, the people of each scattering where they could,—in the woods and forests, on the lakes and rivers, and among the Islands most unknown to the enemy. Others have taken refuge

* Chap. vi.

in the neighboring Nations, more capable of sustaining the stress of war. In less than fifteen days, our House of Sainte Marie has seen itself stripped bare on every side, and the only one which remained standing in these places of terror, most exposed to the incursions of the enemy,—those who had left their former dwellings having set fire to these themselves, fearing lest they should serve as retreat and fortresses to the Iroquois.

What increases the public misery is, that famine has been prevalent this year in all these regions, more than it has been seen in fifty years,—most of the people not having wherewith to live, and being constrained either to eat acorns, or else to go and seek in the woods some wild roots. With these they sustain a wretched life,—still too happy not to have fallen into the hands of an enemy a thousand times more cruel than the wild beasts, and than all the famines in the world. Fishing supports some of [199] them. But after all, to whatever place we go, we see there nothing but crosses, present miseries, and fears of a greater evil, —death being, for most, the least of the evils that can befall them. . . .

[203] . . . It is difficult for the faith to remain alive in these countries, unless we have a place which may be, as it were, the center of all our Missions; whence we can send the Preachers of the Gospel into the Nations who are spread abroad in all these regions; and where we can assemble from time to time, in order to confer there on the means which God will supply to us for procuring his glory, and on the light that he shall give us for that purpose. This house of Sainte Marie, where we have been until now, was at the most advantageous location that we could have chosen for this purpose, wherever we might have been. But, affairs being in the condition in which we see them now, it would be but rashness in us to dwell in a forsaken place, whence the Hurons had retired, and where the Algonquins were unable to have further trade; not one would come to see us there, unless the Enemies, who would discharge upon us alone the whole weight of their hostility. Consequently, we are resolved to follow our flock, and to flee with the fleeing, since we do not live here for ourselves, but for the salvation of souls, and for the conversion of these Peoples.

But the Huron villages, which have become scattered, have taken various routes in their flight,—some having fled to the mountains where dwell those whom we call the Tobacco Nation, where three of our Fathers were cultivating, this last winter, three separate Missions; others having taken their stand on an Island

which we name St. Joseph Island,[1] where we began, nearly a year ago, a new Mission; others, finally, having the intention of going into the [205] more distant Islands of our great Lake or fresh-water Sea. We will follow the latter, and we will try to establish our principal dwelling, and the center of our Missions, in an Island which we call Sainte Marie Island, which the Hurons call Ekaentoton.[2] It is this Island of which I spoke in the second Chapter, in which I said that we began last Autumn a new Mission, among the Algonquin peoples which inhabit it, and which is about sixty leagues distant from us.*

This Island, it has seemed to us must be a more suitable abode, for our purpose, because in that place we shall be better able than in any other to occupy ourselves with the conversion of the Hurons and of the Algonquins; for we shall approach the Eskiaeronnon, Aoechisaeronon, and Aoeatsioaenronnon Algonquins and countless other allied peoples, continually proceeding Westward, and removing ourselves from the Iroquois our Enemies. From that same place, we shall be able also to send, by canoe, to the Tobacco Nation and the Peoples of the Neutral Nation, who desire us, some of our Fathers, who will take charge of the Missions in that quarter. Moreover, in that Island of Sainte Marie we shall always be able, more conveniently than in any other place, to maintain and preserve the trade of the Algonquins and Hurons with our French at Three Rivers and at Kebec,—which is necessary for the maintenance of the Faith in all these regions, for the good of the French colonies, and for the support of New France. But we must await that time with patience and courage; for I believe that our Hurons will have difficulty for several years in making this voyage, being beset with famine and obliged to flee the scourge of war. When they shall have had leisure to come to themselves, [207] then they will be able again to find the way to Kebec, not only by the great River of St. Lawrence,—which perhaps will always be too much infested with the Iroquois Enemies,—but by sequestered routes, over which they can make this voyage with more security. . . .

* "We do not yet know the success of a new Mission which we began last Autumn in an Algonquin Nation, about sixty leagues distant from us. One of our Fathers was sent thither to winter with those Peoples, who had been urging us for several years to go and instruct them. . . . These peoples inhabit an Island which has a circumference of about sixty leagues, in our great Lake or fresh-water Sea, as we go toward the West. This Island is named *Ekaentoton*, which has given the name to the peoples who inhabit it; we have named it the Island of Sainte Marie."—Ragueneau's Huron *Relation*, 1648-49:—*Id.*, xxxiv, *doc.* lxxi, p. 103.

[211] It will not be inappropriate to add, in this Chapter, the letter which the Father who had charge of that Mission writes to the Reverend Father Hierôme [213] Lalemant, Superior at Kebec, since it gives us a more ample knowledge of the state of that Mission.

Pax Christi.

My Reverend Father,

After the death of little Jacques Douard, who was assassinated last year,[1] I remember that I offered to God, as a burnt-offering, the dearest thing that I had in this world. I did this, in the thought which came to me that there was nothing, however precious it might be, the annihilation of which we ought not to delight in, provided that some glory accrued from the same to God. Among other things which I was offering to God, as those which I cherished the most in the world, were the Christians of la Conception, of whom I had charge, and then the house of Ste. Marie; the good God has accepted my offering. All my poor Christians of la Conception, except 3 or 4, have been killed or taken captive by the Iroquois; and the house of sainte Marie has been destroyed, although more quietly than I had persuaded myself it would be, long before, in my meditations. But the good Fathers de Brebeuf and Lalemant have offered to God a much more agreeable sacrifice, *non aliena, non sua, sed seipsos immolando.* Precious burnt-offering of those virtuous Fathers! why can I not continue you in my person? This will be when God shall please. We all, as many Fathers as we are here, have never loved our vocation more, than after having seen that it can raise us even to the glory of martyrdom; there is nothing but my imperfections which can make me give up my part. Alas, my Reverend Father, how I need humility and purity of heart, in order to be able to aspire to the honor [215] which the good God has shown your nephew! If Your Reverence asks it for me from the good Jesus, through the merits of his four great servants, Fathers Jogues, Daniel, de Brebeuf, and Lalemant, I hope that you will obtain it for me; and then the good Jesus might indeed give me grace to die for the advancement of his Kingdom. I have been for a month at Ahwendoe, on the Island of St. Joseph, where most of our poor Hurons have taken refuge; it is here that I see a part of the miseries which war and famine have caused to this poor desolate people. Their ordinary food is now nothing but acorns, or a certain bitter root which they name *otsa;* and

yet, fortunate is he who can have any of these. Those who have none, live partly on garlic baked under the ashes, or cooked in water, without other sauce; and partly on smoked fish, wherewith they season the clear water which they drink, as they formerly did their sagamité. There are found still poorer ones than all that,—who have neither corn, nor acorns, nor garlic, nor fish, and are poor sick people who cannot seek their living. Add to this poverty that they must work to clear new forests, make cabins, and erect palisades, in order to secure themselves in the coming year from famine and war; indeed, seeing them, you might conclude that these are poor corpses unearthed. . [219] . . I had the honor to be, for about three weeks, Instructor in the Huron language to your good Nephew,—*incredibile est dictu quantum insudaret linguæ addiscendæ quantúmque proficeret. In præmium istiusmodi solertiæ nonnulli putarunt fuisse illi à Deo concessam tam felicem mortem.* "The pains that he took in learning the Huron language, and the progress that he made in it, are [221] almost incredible; some of our Fathers have thought that God rewarded this great diligence by that blessed death." Adieu, my Reverend Father;

Let not Your Reverence forget, in your
Holy sacrifices and prayers,

Your very humble and very obedient
servant, J. M. CHAUMONOT,
of the Society of JESUS

From the Island of St. Joseph,
this 1st of June, 1649

[*Id., doc.* lxxi, *vol.* xxxiv, pp. 67-235.]

XXIII

[19] Letter of Father Paul Ragueneau to the Very Reverend Father General, Vincent Caraffa.

[1650]

[This is a letter from Ragueneau to the father general, dated in the Huron country, March 13, 1650. In it is depicted in vivid colors the distress and misery into which the Huron nation has been plunged. Since the last *Relation,* two more Jesuits have fallen at their posts,—Charles Garnier and Noël Chabanel. The little Huron church is scattered in every direction, the country being devastated by war, famine, and pestilence. So great is the famine that cannibalism prevails, and corpses are dug from the graves for food. In the midst of their afflictions, the people seek instruction and baptism from the missionaries, as never before. The latter—"as good shepherds, following their flock"—have abandoned their house of Ste. Marie, and established a new residence on St. Joseph (now Christian) Island, that they may minister to the Hurons who have fled hither. Here they make a fresh clearing in the forest, and build homes; and, besides, construct fortifications for defense, should the Iroquois attack them. . . .—*Id.,* xxxv, p. 9.]

OUR VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,
Pax Christi.

Last year, we received no letters from Europe; not even from Quebec did any reply come to those letters which I wrote, fully describing the condition of our affairs. As before the hand of God has continually stricken us. Yet we complain not, nor do we cry: *Miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei;* because we are rather glad, and always rejoice, for these evils by which God permits us to be tried result in blessing to all of us who are here, and to our church; and by them he eventually crowns us, rather than casts us down.

Your Paternity has learned from my last letter of the precious death, or rather martyrdom, of our Fathers,—Father Antoine Daniel, Father Jean de Brebeuf, and Father Gabriel Lallemant,—whom the savage Iroquois cruelly snatched from this growing Church, slaying each of these pastors with his Christian flock, as he watched over his own.

Toward the close of this same past year, 1649, two other Fathers suffered a like death at their posts,—Father Charles Garnier, an apostolic man, who certainly was born for the salvation

of those peoples, and to whose complete holiness nothing was lacking; and his companion, Father Noël Chabanel, who had [21] come to us from the province of Toulouse.[1] One of these was murdered by the hand of an enemy, on the seventh day of December, in the middle of the village, which the victorious Iroquois had raided and laid waste with fire and arms. The other was slain only the next day, a day sacred to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. It is uncertain by whose hand he fell, whether that of an enemy, or, more probably, that of a treacherous apostate,—who may have murdered the Father as he wandered, a fugitive, through the trackless forest, that he might rob the priest, poor as he was, of even his clothes, shoes, and torn hat.

But of these matters I will write more fully at another time. For, in truth, our Hurons are distressed not only by war, but by a deadly famine and a contagious plague; all are miserably perishing together. Everywhere, corpses have been dug out of the graves; and, now carried away by hunger, the people have repeatedly offered, as food, those who were lately the dear pledges of love,—not only brothers to brothers, but even children to their mothers, and the parents to their own children. It is true, this is inhuman; but it is no less unusual among our savages than among the Europeans, who abhor eating flesh of their own kind. Doubtless the teeth of the starving man make no distinction in food, and do not recognize in the dead body him who a little before was called, until he died, father, son, or brother. Nay, more, even the dung of man or beast is not spared. Fortunate are they who can eat the food of swine,—bitter acorns, and husks,—innocent food, and indeed not without relish, to which hunger adds a sauce; to these, the scarcity of [23] this year has given a value far higher than, formerly, was usually placed upon Indian corn.

This calamity of our people was, though destructive to their bodies, salutary to their souls,—for, up to this time, our labors have not yielded greater fruits; never before has faith gone more deeply into hearts, or the name of Christian been more glorious, than in the midst of the disasters to a stricken people. We count more than three thousand savages baptized this last year; so that verily that saying of the Apostle seems to be spoken unto us: *Flagellat Deus omnem filium quem recipit.* At present there remain in this mission thirteen Fathers, four coadjutors, twenty-two donnés, eleven other domestics (to whom alone are paid very modest wages), six soldiers, and four boys,—sixty souls in all; to these, heavenly things have so sweet a savor that they render those of earth insipid. . . .

[25] For the future, the Lord will provide; *sufficit enim diei malitia sua*. Nevertheless, there are two sources of possible destruction to this mission, which we greatly dread,—first, the hostile Iroquois; second, the failure of provisions; and it is not clear how these dangers may be encountered. Our Hurons, last year, were forced not only to leave their homes and their fortified villages, but even to forsake their fields, because they were harassed by warfare, and crushed by unceasing disaster. We, the Shepherds, followed our fleeing flock, and we too have left our dwelling place,—I might call it our delight,—the residence of Sainte Marie, and the fields we had tilled, which promised a rich harvest. Nay, more, we even applied the torch to the work of our own hands, lest the sacred House should furnish shelter to our impious enemy; and thus in a single day, and almost in a moment, we saw consumed our work of nearly ten years, which had given us the hope that we could produce the necessaries of life, and thus maintain ourselves in this country without aid from France. But God has willed otherwise; our home is now laid waste, and our Penates forsaken; we have been compelled to journey elsewhere, and, in the land of our exile, to seek a new place of banishment.

Within sight of the mainland, about twenty miles from that first site of Sainte Marie, is an Island surrounded by a vast lake (which might better be called a sea). There the fugitive Hurons checked their flight,—at least most of them; there also we must abide; there, where lately were the dens of wild [27] beasts, we were obliged to build new homes; there the forest, never touched by the axe since the creation, had to be cleared away; there, finally, not only we, but the savages, had to construct fortifications, a task pertaining to war. This was our occupation, this our unceasing effort,—winter and summer alike,—that we might at last render ourselves safe, in this respect, and quite prepared to receive the common enemy. We surrounded our position, not merely with a wooden palisade, as hitherto had been the custom, but with a closely-built stone wall, as difficult to scale as it is easy of defense,—which defies the enemy's torch, or a battering ram, or any engine of war which the Iroquois can employ.

But a far more laborious task remains, in pulling out trees, and preparing the ground for cultivation, that its yield of grain, roots, and vegetables may be sufficient to prevent famine—for on such food we live here; we have no other beverage than cold water. We have almost no covering save the skins of beasts, which nature furnishes without labor on our part. We saved ten

fowls, a pair of swine, two bulls, and the same number of cows —enough doubtless to preserve their kind. We have one year's supply of Indian corn; the rest has been used for Christian charity. However, the small amount which I have mentioned has been saved, because charity does not act blindly, and ought not to be so lavish, especially in saving bodies, as to leave nothing for our sustenance who must devote ourselves to the cultivation of the faith, and to securing the salvation of souls. But, though everything should fail, never, God helping us, shall courage, hope, and patience fail; for love can do all things, and endure [29] all things. This solemn assertion I can make as regards all the Fathers living here. Their hearts are ready for all things. . . .

Your most Reverend Paternity's
Most humble and obedient son,
PAUL RAGUENEAU.

From the Residence of Sainte Marie,
in the Island of Saint Joseph, among the Hurons
in New France, March 13, 1650.

To our Very Reverend Father in Christ,
Vincent Caraffa,
General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome.

[*Id., doc.* lxxii, vol. xxxv, pp. 18-29.]

XXIV

[75] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS among the Hurons, inhabitants of a country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1649 to the Summer of the year 1650.

To Reverend Father CLAUDE DE LINGENDES, *Provincial of the Society of* JESUS *in the Province of France.*

[The *Relation* of 1649-50 is entirely written by the new superior, Ragueneau, being dated at Quebec, September 1, 1650; it is supplemented by two letters,—one, penned by Jerome Lalemant, apparently soon after his arrival in France, in December following, and addressed to the provincial at Paris; the other by the mother superior of the Hospital nuns, . . . dated at Quebec, September 29.

In the *Relation* proper, a short prefatory note to the provincial announces the removal of the Huron Christians from their ruined country to the more sheltered vicinity of the French settlements. . . .

Ragueneau describes the renewed incursions of the Iroquois in the spring of this year (1650), which complete the ruin of the wretched Hurons. Their country is thoroughly devastated; the scattered bands who still remain are ruthlessly butchered by an enemy "more cruel than cruelty itself"; and despair reigns in the hearts of the few survivors. Many of those who had taken refuge on St. Joseph Island are driven by hunger to the mainland, to search for food, and are destroyed by the Iroquois. The Christian Indians who remain on the island see but one hope for their lives; they entreat the Jesuits to convey them to the French settlements on the St. Lawrence, and there form a Huron colony under French protection. This proposal is accepted, and the remnant of the tribe, some three hundred in number, make their way to Quebec,—always in danger, while on this fifty days' journey, from ferocious Iroquois rangers. Ragueneau graphically portrays the devastation which these enemies have wrought, not only in Huronia, but along Lake Nipissing and the Ottawa River,—reducing a populous region, full of promise, to a wilderness. . . .—*Id.*, XXXV, pp. 12, 15.]

MY REVEREND FATHER,

PAX CHRISTI.

It is no longer from the country of the Hurons that I send to your Reverence the Relation of what has happened therein. The poor infant Church—which was seen, a year ago, bathed in its own blood, trodden down by the cruelty of the Iroquois, the enemies of God's name and of the Faith—has since then undergone yet greater sufferings. The larger number of our good Neophytes, with some of their Pastors, have followed

through fire and flame the steps of their predecessors, and now bear them company in Heaven. A terrible famine, prevalent everywhere, has wrought desolation. We count over three thousand baptized during the past year; but the dead outnumber those who survive the ruin of their native Land. Reduced thus to extremity, we found ourselves at last compelled to relinquish a position that was no longer tenable, that we might, at least, save those who remained. It was on the tenth day of last June that we took our departure from this land of Promise, which was to us a Paradise, and in which death would have been to us a thousand times more [77] *sweet than life will be in any place where we could dwell. But we must follow God, and must love his leadings, however opposed they may seem to our wishes, our holiest hopes, or the tenderest longings of our hearts. In a word, we have come down to Kebec, together with some Christian families of the poor Savages who have followed us in our retreat,—and with whom, if it please Our Lord to bless their purposes and ours, we shall endeavor, under cover of our French fort, to form a Huron Colony. Your Reverence will find all the details in this Relation that I send you, beseeching you to obtain for us the prayers of all who have any love for these peoples. We stand in greater need of them than ever.*

My Reverend Father,

From Kebec, this first day of September, 1650.

Your very humble and obedient
Servant and subject in Our Lord,
PAUL RAGUENEAU.

[183] OF THE DEVASTATION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE HURONS, IN THE SPRING OF THE YEAR 1650.*

WE had passed all the Winter in the extremities of a famine which prevailed over all these regions, and everywhere carried off large numbers of Christians, never ceasing to extend its ravages, and casting despair on every side. Hunger is an inexorable tyrant,—one who never says, "It is enough"; who never grants a truce; who devours all that is given him; and, should we fail to pay him, repays himself in human blood, and rends our bowels,—ourselves without the power to escape his rage, or to flee from

* Chap. viii.

his sight, all blind though he be. But, when Spring came, the Iroquois were still more cruel to us, and it is they who have indeed blasted all our hopes. It is they who have transformed into an abode of horror—into a land of blood and carnage, into a theater of cruelty, and into a sepulchre of bodies stripped of their flesh by the exhaustions of a long famine—a country of plenty, a land of Holiness, a place no longer barbarous, since the blood shed for love of it had made all its people Christians.

Our poor famished Hurons were compelled to part from us at the commencement of the month of March, to go in search of acorns on the summits of the mountains, which were divesting themselves of their [185] snow; or to repair to certain fishing-grounds in places more open to the Southern Sun, where the ice melted sooner. They hoped to find, in those remote places, some little alleviation from the famine, which was rendering their existence a living death,—as it were, an enemy domiciliated, shut up in their own houses, who had made himself master of the situation,—and all this, while in dread of a death still more cruel, and of falling into the fire and flame of the Iroquois, who were continually seeking their lives. . . . They split up into bands, so that, if some fell into the hands of the enemy, others might escape. . . .

[187] Our poor starvelings were just beginning to enjoy the benefit of their fishery, which they found abundant enough; but their joy was to savor more of Heaven than of earth. On the day of the Annunciation, the twenty-fifth of March, a war-party of Iroquois—who had marched over nearly two hundred leagues of country, across ice and snow, crossing mountains and forests full of terrors—surprised, one nightfall, our Christians' camp, and perpetrated in it a cruel butchery. It seemed as if Heaven directed their every step, and as if they had an Angel for guide; for they divided their forces so successfully as to discover, in less than two days, every party of our Christians, who had scattered hither and thither. These were separated by six, seven, or eight leagues,—one hundred in one place, fifty in another; there were even some solitary families who had strayed into less well-known places, and away from all beaten track. Strange circumstance! of all that scattered people, but a single man escaped, who came to bring to us the news,—even as, in the days of old, it happened to that prodigy of Patience for whom there survived, in his losses, but one sad messenger, [189] who hastened breathlessly to apprise him of his calamity, and thus render it more poignant. . . .

Since then, misfortunes have crowded upon us. Hardly had the Christians who remained in the village of St. Joseph enjoyed a few days' respite, to raise their hopes after so terrible a blow, as that which had stricken them down, than their fear of the flames, and of the cruelty of the Iroquois revived. But an evil which they regarded only as remote seemed less terrible than the immediate pangs of an insupportable famine, which was already inclining them to the very rejections of nature, and causing them to devour rotting carrion. The Mother felt no horror in satiating her raging hunger on the body of her own child; nor did the children spare the body of their Father.

Hunger, it is said, drives the wolves from the woods; our starving Hurons were likewise compelled to leave a village where only horror abounded. This was toward the end of Lent. Alas! these poor Christians would have been only too happy had they had anything from which to fast, as even acorns and water. On Easter day we had a general communion for them. The next day, they parted from us, leaving in our care all their little property,—the [191] greater number publicly declaring that they made us their heirs, perceiving clearly that their death was not far away, and that they carried it within.

Indeed, but a few days had slipped by when news reached us of the misfortune we had anticipated. That poor scattered band fell into the snares of our enemies, the Iroquois. Some were slain on the spot; others dragged away captive; women and children were burned; some few escaped from the midst of the flames, which struck dismay and terror into every heart.

Eight days afterward, a similar misfortune assailed yet another band. Whithersoever they go, massacres await them. Famine follows them everywhere, in which they meet an enemy more cruel than cruelty itself; and to fill up the measure of misery without hope, they learned that two powerful war-parties were on the way, who were coming to exterminate them; that the first designed to make havoc of their fields, to pluck up their Indian corn, and to lay waste the country: while the second party was to cut down everything that might have escaped the fury of the first. Despair reigns everywhere.

At the height of these alarms, two old Captains came to see me privately, and addressed me thus: "My brother," they said to me, "thine eyes deceive thee when thou lookest on us; thou believest that thou seest living men, while we are but specters, the souls of the departed. The ground thou treadest on is about to open under us, to swallow us up, together with thyself, that we

may be in the place where we ought to be, among the dead. It is needful that thou shouldst know, my brother, that this [193] night, in council, we have resolved upon leaving this Island. The greater number intend to take refuge within the forest, and live alone; and as no one in the world will know where they are, the enemy cannot have knowledge of them. Some reckon on withdrawing six long days' journey hence; others take their route toward the people of Andastoé, allies of new Sweden; others speak boldly of taking their wives and children and throwing themselves into the arms of the enemy,—among whom they have a great number of relatives who wish for them, and counsel them to make their escape as soon as possible from a desolated country, if they do not wish to perish beneath its ruins. My brother," they added, "what wilt thou do alone in this Island, when all will have forsaken thee? Hast thou come here to cultivate the land? Wilt thou instruct the trees? These Lakes, and these Rivers, have they ears to listen to thy teaching? Couldst thou follow all this multitude which is about to disperse? The greater number will meet their death where they hope to find life. Even couldst thou have a hundred bodies, to be present in a hundred places, it would not suffice; and thou wouldst be a burden to them, and they would hold thee in abhorrence. Famine will track their every step, and war will hunt them down.

"My brother, take courage," added these Captains. "Thou alone canst bestow upon us life, if thou wilt strike a daring blow. Choose a place where thou mayst be able to reassemble us, and prevent this dispersion. Cast thine eyes toward Quebec, and transport thither the remnants of this ruined nation. Do not wait until famine and war [195] have slain the last of us. Thou bearest us in thy hands and thy heart. More than ten thousand have been snatched away by death. If thou delay longer, not one will remain, and then thou wouldst know the regret of not having saved those whom thou couldst have withdrawn from danger, and who disclosed to thee the means. If thou listen to our wishes, we will build a Church under the shelter of the fort at Kebec. There, our faith will not die out; and the examples of the Algonquins and of the French will hold us to our duty. Their charity will alleviate, in part, our miseries; and, at the least, we shall sometimes find there a morsel of bread for our little ones, who, to sustain life, have for so long lived on acorns, and bitter roots. After all, if we must die with them, death there would be to us far easier than in the midst of forests, where no one would assist us to die well; and where, we fear, our faith would in time become

enfeebled, whatever resolution we had to prize it more than our lives."

Having listened to the discourse of these Captains, I made a report of it to our Fathers. The matter was too important to settle in a few days. We redoubled our devotions; we consulted together, but still more with God. We offered prayers during forty hours, that we might discover his holy will. We discussed this matter fifteen, sixteen, even twenty times. It seemed to us more and more clear that God had spoken to us by the lips of these Captains; for the truth was apparent to us that the entire Huron country was but a land of horror and a region of massacres. . . .

[199] By roads which covered a distance of about three hundred leagues we marched, upon our guard as in an enemy's country,—there not being any spot where the Iroquois is not to be feared, and where we did not see traces of his cruelty, or signs of his treachery. On one side we surveyed districts which, not ten years ago, I reckoned to contain eight or ten thousand men. For all that, there remains not one of them. Going on beyond, we coasted along shores but lately reddened with the blood of our Christians. On another side you might have seen the trail, quite recent, of those who had been taken captive. A little farther on, were but the shells of cabins abandoned to the fury of the enemy, —those who had dwelt in them having fled into the forest, and condemned themselves to a life which is but [201] perpetual banishment. The Nipissirinien people, who speak the Algonquin tongue, had quite lately been massacred at their lake,—forty leagues in circumference, which formerly I had seen inhabited in almost the entire length of its coast; but which, now, is nothing but a solitude. One day's journey this side of the lake, we found a fortress, in which the Iroquois had passed the Winter, coming to hunt men; a few leagues thence, we met with still another. All along, we marched over the very steps of our most cruel enemies. . . .

[*Id., doc.* lxxiv, vol. xxxv, pp. 65-283; vol. xxxvi, pp. 19-67.]

XXV

[207] A Brief Account of Certain Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France.

[1653]

[The *Relations* of the Jesuit Missions in Canada, being written in French, had, of course, but a limited circulation in other countries than France, outside of ecclesiastical circles. These missions had now been carried on for twenty years, and the Roman Catholics of Europe felt general interest in them, as conducted by an order of priests within that Church. To satisfy this interest in Italy, Francesco Bressani [1]—who had been one of the missionaries in Huronia, from 1645 to 1649—wrote, after his return to his native land, the *Breve Relatione. . . .—Id.*, xxxviii, p. 14.]

[241] OF THE SOIL, FOOD, DRESS, AND CHARACTER OF THE BARBARIANS OF NEW FRANCE.*

THIS chapter would in itself require a whole book, and that will be composed, as I hope, in course of time; but,—as this writing is not so much for curiosity as for edification, and as brevity is a chief concern with me,—I will merely say that the country is very poor, but not sterile; when cultivated, it gives back with great abundance what it receives. . . .

[243] The Inhabitants reflect the poverty of the Soil, in [245] their food, dress, dwellings, sleeping accommodations, and manner of travel. The roving Barbarians, before knowing the French, lived solely by hunting or fishing, and, through necessity, fasted more than half the year—having no notion of Economy, and frequently lacking the means of preserving game or fish a long time, when these abounded, as they had no salt; [2] while the smoke which they used in place of salt, was not adequate for preserving provisions a long time; whence they frequently died of hunger, or sometimes inflicted death out of pity. But, since they have had commerce with the French, those who are situated near the sea have, by the exchange of their Beaver skins, provisions for some part of the Year.

* Part I, chap. iii.

But the Hurons and other Peoples distant from the sea, who are sedentary, hunt only for pleasure, or on extraordinary occasions; yet they have neither bread, nor wine, nor salt, nor meat, nor vegetables, nor any other food usual in Europe. They content themselves with Turkish corn [1] cooked in pure water, or seasoned, when possible, with some fish or meat, fresh or smoked, without any use of salt or other condiment; and with this grain are sown the fields which they cultivate. After our arrival, they also planted there beans, both large and small. The men's clothing is light, but—excepting a certain nation made up of a few Algonquins—all cover at least that which decency demands; but the women are more covered,—the Huron women, even in the house, at least from the waist to the knee; the Algonquin women, more than the most religious women in Europe. These garments are commonly of skins of various kinds of animals, sewed together, in size, five or six palms square,[2] and they serve as [247] cover at night.* They make of the same skins, in rather crude fashion, both sleeves and stockings for Winter. One of our blankets would serve to clothe by day and cover by night two Barbarians, during a whole winter. The somewhat long and dangerous navigation which they conduct on rivers and enormous lakes, with very distant nations for the beaver trade, is effected in little boats of bark, no thicker than a testone,[3]—holding at the most 8 or 10 persons, but commonly not more than three or four; they manœuver these dexterously, and almost without danger. For houses, both the Algonquins and the Hurons have nothing else than cabins; but the former make them of bark, light as parchment, which they stretch now here, now there, according to need, over certain poles which form, as it were, the skeleton of the cabin. The latter build enclosed towns, or fortified strongholds, with crossed stakes, traversed with trunks of trees, to protect themselves from attacks of enemies; and make their cabins 10, 15, 20, 30, or 40 cannes [4] in length, of great pieces of bark supported by beams, which serve to hold up their corn, to dry it in winter. But neither of them have any other bed than either some branches of trees, used by the former, or some bark or matting, used by the latter,—without tables, benches, or anything of the kind, the earth or some bark serving them for every purpose. And this was the living and lodging of

* "You know in France how much consideration is given to the style of a gown. Here all there is to do is to cut it out of a Beaver skin, and the Savage woman straightway sews it to her little child with a Moose tendon, with admirable promptness."—Le Jeune's *Relation*, 1636.—*Id.*, ix, *doc.* xxvi, p. 173.

ours in those missions,—which, indeed, were thought by many to be more arduous than any other missions of our Society.

But, in this almost unexampled poverty, there are nevertheless among them both poor and rich, noble and plebeian; and they have their ornaments,—[249] especially the women,—for the public feasts and ceremonies of games, dances, and feasts, which have little more than the name in common with those of Europe. Their customs are different from ours, both in peace and in war, both in public and in private; they do not uncover in making salutation, having been always uncovered before knowing the French. But silence and obedience of the young men toward the elders, serve as marks of respect; and, for ordinary salutation, they content themselves with a "good day," which in their language is expressed by saying *Quoe*.

The women wear their hair in a single braid, which falls behind their shoulders; the men, in various ways. Some shave half of the head; others, all, leaving only some tufts of hair here and there; others allow the hair to grow very long, and this is the most common; others leave it, in the middle, or on the forehead, straight as bristles. From this the first Frenchmen gave our Barbarians the name of Hurons, because of the *hure*,—that is to say, because of the straight locks, like bristles of a wild boar, which they wore on the middle of the head, as this is what *hure* signifies in French. They all commonly have black hair, and greatly hate curls—something exceedingly rare among them, if indeed they are found at all.

They paint their faces in various styles, and on sundry occasions; and many, their whole bodies,—some superficially and temporarily, others permanently. The former paint themselves, now black, now red, now various colors; these appear artistically bearded, those seem to wear spectacles; some have the whole face striped with various colors, [251] others, only half,—but all, shining with oil or grease, which they mix in their colors. Black they commonly take from the bottom of the pots; the other colors are of various earths, as lake, or are derived from certain roots, which yield a very fine scarlet color; and they paint themselves so well that some, at first sight, have supposed certain Barbarians to be clothed, who were perfectly naked,—their clothes consisting only of paint.

But those who paint themselves permanently do so with extreme pain,—using, for this purpose, needles, sharp awls, or piercing thorns, with which they perforate, or have others perforate, the skin. Thus they form on the face, the neck, the

breast, or some other part of the body, some animal or monster, —for instance, an Eagle, a Serpent, a Dragon, or any other figure which they prefer; and then, tracing over the fresh and bloody design some powdered charcoal, or other black coloring matter, which becomes mixed with the blood and penetrates within these perforations, they imprint indelibly upon the living skin the designed figures. And this in some nations is so common that in the one which we call the Tobacco and in that which —on account of enjoying peace with the Hurons and with the Hiroquois—was called Neutral, I know not whether a single individual was found, who was not painted in this manner, on some part of the body. And indeed, when the painting covers a great part of the body, it is dangerous, especially in cold weather; and—either through some sort of convulsion, or for some other reason—it has caused the death of more than one, making him a martyr to vanity and a fantastic caprice, in the fulfillment of which they [253] commonly give no sign of pain, although they experience it most acutely.

The reasons which they have for painting themselves,—especially for a temporary purpose,—are certainly not barbarous. This Painting serves them in winter as a mask against the cold and ice; in war, it prevents their countenances from betraying them by revealing inward fear, makes them more terrible to the enemy, and conceals extremes of youth or age, which might inspire strength and courage in the adversary. It serves as adornment at the public feasts and assemblies. They also paint the prisoners destined to the flames, as victims consecrated to the God of war, and adorn them as the ancients adorned theirs. They do the same also to their dead, for the same reasons for which we adorn ours. And as painting themselves is peculiar to the men, so it is the custom of men, and not of the women, to wear even in war little mirrors about their necks, or in the small pouches in which they carry the Tobacco which they smoke perpetually,—at the assemblies, and everywhere. They use hot baths, but in a very Barbarous manner; they enclose large stones, red-hot, in a little cabin, where 15 or 20 persons come together, seated like Apes, who touch one another closely, and remain there during whole hours,—working themselves, while singing violently, into an excessive perspiration; and on issuing thence, even at the beginning of winter, they plunge into some half-frozen lake or river, from which, inexplicable though it seem, they return without distress. They do this from superstition, for cleanliness, for health, and for pleasure; it is thus that they re-

fresh and invigorate themselves in the [255] midst of long journeys, and obviate fatigue upon returning. At their feasts, where they assemble by the hundred, all the dishes are announced, one by one, and at each the answer is made in a loud and strong voice, with this expression of thanks: "oh, oh,"—uttered with an H, which the Italians would pronounce with difficulty. There is singing for whole hours before eating. One sings, and all respond in a strong voice, from the chest, in measured time: "oh, oh." But they succeed one another in the song; and he who has taken some wild beast, or who makes the feast, does not eat of it, but either sings or talks while the others partake thereof. Before knowing the Europeans, as they had no kettles for cooking victuals, especially on their journeys, they made a ditch in the earth, and filled it with water, which they caused to boil by cooling in it a number of stones, first heated red-hot for this purpose. They have not such a variety of dances as we have, but these are more grave than ours,—which they praise for dexterity, but regard them as too frivolous for men. This fault cannot be imputed to them; since, even as young men, they accustom themselves to perhaps a too serious maturity.

Their Marriages are similar to those of the ancient Jews, the brother quite commonly taking the deceased brother's wife,—never contracting marriage with blood-relatives, however distant, but always preferring affinity to any other connection. The man endows the Woman, who bears the whole burden of her house, cultivates the fields, cuts and carries the firewood, does the cooking, and loads herself, on the journeys, with provisions, etc., for the husband. The part of the men is only war, hunting, fishing, [257] trade, in various countries, and the preparation of the things thereto necessary,—as offensive and defensive weapons, boats, oars, and snowshoes for going over the snows; and in these industries every one succeeds so well that the Europeans themselves would not know a better way of devising the things necessary to them for journeys,* for lodging in the woods, and for navigation. Wherefore, they are hardly Barbarians, save in

* "As we wished to build the chapel [of New Lorette] of bricks, and as no land suitable for making these had yet been discovered in the vicinity, we ordered 24 thousand at côte de Beaupré, between Château Richer and Ste. Anne. In the autumn of the same year, 1673, they were brought by water to Sillery, in Monsieur Basile's bark and shallop. . . .

"In the following winter, trains [1] were used for conveying these same bricks from Sillery to Lorette. . . . As for the lime, it was brought from Quebec by train, at the same time as the bricks which were at Sillery."—Bouvart's *Of the Chapel of Notre Dame de Lorette in Canada;* [Lorette, March 1 and 2, 1675] :—*Id.*, lx, *doc.* cxl, p. 81.

name. There is no occasion to think of them as half beasts, shaggy, black, and hideous.* They are without a beard, or other hair than that of the head, like the Americans of the torrid zone, perhaps because the two extremes of heat and cold produce the same effects: thus animals accomplish digestion both by the action of cold and by natural heat. I have tested this in the cod,—a very greedy fish, which digests almost everything; I have opened it, while still alive, and found the cold of its stomach well-nigh unendurable to my hand. And, if the cold of Europe does not have the same effect in the more northern countries, it is perhaps because of the many palliatives of cold, such as wines, brandy, spices, salt, stoves, etc., which they employ,—all of which things our Barbarians do not even know the name. They are not very dark, especially in their youth; they are strong, tall in stature, and well-proportioned; more healthy than we,—not even knowing the name of many diseases common in Europe, such as the stone, gout, rupture, etc. They are not found either hunchbacked or dwarfed, or very corpulent, or with goiters, etc. They are affable to one another, exchange visits very frequently, and like to be regarded as liberal and disinterested. They are certainly worthy of par- [259] ticular admiration in four things: first, their senses, which are most perfect,—so that, although they spend nearly six months without seeing anything but snow outside, and in their cabins, nothing but smoke,—they have, nevertheless, exceedingly acute vision, excellent hearing, an ear for music, and a rare sense of smell,—differing from ours only in this, that they esteem musk ill-smelling, and are indifferent to the odors of things which are not eatable. With this sense they frequently discover fire long before seeing it, especially at night. Their touch and skin are very delicate, their sensibility being perhaps increased by the ointments com-

* "The Savages are not so savage as is supposed in France; and I may say with truth that the intelligence of many yields in nothing to ours. I admit that their customs and their natural tendencies are extremely shocking,—at least to those who are not accustomed to them, and who reject them too quickly, without sufficiently knowing them. But if of a spirited Horse, which has nothing about him but nature, one makes, by taming him, a valuable Steed, which yields in no respect to all those which for a long time have been trained in the riding-school,—can one be astonished that the faith, entering the mind of a barbarian, corrects in him what is vicious, and gives him the sentiments of reason and grace which those experience who are born in Christianity? It is true that their manner of expression is different from ours; but, since the word of the heart is the same in all men, one cannot doubt that their tongue has also its beauties and its graces, as much as ours. Although they live in the woods, they are none the less men."—Ragueneau's Huron *Relation*, 1645-46:—*Id.*, xxix, *doc.* lx, pp. 281, 283.

monly used among them, as anciently among the Gentiles and the Hebrews. They anoint, when they have the means, the whole body, and especially the hair, for various and most excellent reasons. Secondly, they have an admirable fortitude in hardships: they endure hunger for ten or fifteen days,—sometimes from superstition, mostly by necessity; fire they endure without crying out. The youth accustom themselves to this from the age of ten or twelve years, two of them binding their arms together, and then putting a coal between the two arms, to see who will shake it off the first; they despise him who loses. They endure cold, heat, pains, or diseases, without complaining; and while, among physical pains, the sacred scripture esteems those of childbirth the greatest, the women, to set an example of courage, bring forth without giving any sign of pain; for, if they cried out, they would be despised and deemed cowardly, and could not again find husbands.

Thirdly, they possess a marvelous faculty for remembering places, and for describing them to one [261] another, and for guiding themselves in the woods where they hardly ever lose their way. I have several times tried, in cloudy weather, or by night, to lead some Barbarian astray,—using the compass, in the endeavor to confuse his notions of the four quarters of the World, and then questioning him where was the East, where the south, where the country of the enemy, where our own; yet I have never found that they were deceived, for they guided themselves just as securely by their senses as I by my compass. Indeed, this is a talent in a manner natural, which even the youths and the women use on occasion,—and particularly, to flee when they are prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and to travel three or 400 miles in the woods, where there is no road, in order to take refuge in our settlements; the proof of this we see many times every year.

Fourthly, a very tenacious memory. They have neither books nor writings; negotiations are carried on through embassies, in which I have been amazed to see how many things and how many circumstances they recollect. But this faculty shines forth still more in the Captains, who use little sticks instead of books, which they sometimes mark with certain signs, sometimes not. By the aid of these they can repeat the names of a hundred or more presents, the decisions adopted in the councils, and a thousand other particulars, which we could not rehearse without writing.

They have a clever understanding, and good judgement, also an excellent style of narration, and great eloquence; and matters, of which they possess the fundamental elements, they handle just as

well as the most sagacious Europeans. In France, people [263] have believed that their speeches and addresses, which we have reported in our relations, were fictitious; but I can assert that most of these, when translated into another language, are much less powerful than in their own.*

They have often persuaded us in affairs of importance, and made us change the resolutions which, after mature deliberation, we had taken for the weal of the country. I doubt not that they are capable of the sciences; they have a harmonious and excellent ear for music; but their music is different from, and in some degree more martial, than ours.

It is not taught as an art, but, as the most expert declare, it is admired as a natural accomplishment with many. We have proved them to be most capable not only of faith, which is more excellent than all the sciences, but also of the true science of the

* "It is a strange thing to find oneself in a country where it is necessary to learn without a teacher, without books, and without rules, at an age already mature, a language which has no likeness to ours. There is hardly another nation which does not write; there are sciences for nearly everything; books, —or, at least, many interpreters; sons of a European father and of a mother of the country, who facilitate not a little the study of the foreign tongues.

"But our Barbarians had neither one nor the other, and, indeed, a great incapacity for learning our languages,—which, if they could have learned them, would have served us not a little; because, they completing one half of the way, and we the other, we could more easily have met. But they, not knowing how to pronounce any labial letter, like B, F, L, M, P, X, Z, nor consonant I and V, could not learn our languages, which are full of those letters,—contrary to theirs, which have, especially the Huron, most of the words full of vowels; so that, to pronounce the same, it is not necessary to move the lips. The plan of theirs is very different from ours, having more numbers, and more persons in each number, than we have, and inflections altogether unknown to the most learned of Europe,—to say nothing of the pronunciation, and various combinations of letters unused with them, common with us,—accents, breathings, and changes of tone, without which not only would very great ambiguities occur in their language, but speech would be altogether unintelligible. To learn these, then,—besides the grace of the vocation,—very great labors were necessary, both for the Huron language and the Algonquin, which are the two principal ones. The former was the fruit of the humility of Father Brebeuf, already mentioned, who, when almost a man of forty, endured for more than three years the utmost contempt, seeking, amid ashes and smoke, this treasure. The second,—in addition to the help of an Apostate interpreter,—was purchased with no ordinary journeys and perils, which I desire to indicate here, for the edification of the reader,—translating part of a letter which Father Paul Le June, the first laborer in that vineyard of the Lord, then Superior of the whole mission, wrote to his Provincial in France: and, although he speaks of the Algonquian mission, nevertheless, because many things are the same in the Huron, it will not be here out of place. . . .

"The fruit of these labors—besides the merit of individuals, and the edification of the Barbarians—has been a fairly perfect knowledge of those languages. They are very different, as we have said, from ours, but most beautiful and regular, which makes us clearly see that God alone is the Author thereof,—it being impossible that so excellent a System, which surpasses that

Saints,—that is to say, of a most constant and most tender devotion.

[265] GOVERNMENT OF THE CANADIAN BARBARIANS.*

I DO not speak of all the nations of these countries, nor of all that concerns their government, which is admirable in this, that, being very different from ours, and therefore to many unknown, it is nevertheless quite as effective as our own, and even more so, since there appear, amid conditions of extreme liberty, very few disorders. I speak only of the nations which we know, and particularly of the Hurons.

These peoples have neither King nor absolute Prince, but certain chiefs, like the heads of a Republic, whom we call Captains, —different, however, from those in war. These hold office commonly by succession on the side of the women, sometimes by election. They assume office at the death of a predecessor (who, they say, is resuscitated in them). This is celebrated with certain ceremonies. These Captains have not *vim coactivam,* which even the Fathers do not exercise over their sons in order to correct them, as they use words alone; and, thus brought up, the more the sons increase in age, the more they love and respect their fathers. Therefore both the former and the latter obtain everything *precario* by eloquence, exhortation, and entreaties; and, as *signatum est super nos lumen vultus Domini,* rude though they were before our arrival, they were nevertheless acquainted with both vice and virtue; [267] and although free and undisciplined to the last degree, we soon wrought some improvement. On the other hand, certain virtues were so common among them, that they were not esteemed as such: for instance, a hospitality so great that they received every comer,—never driving him from the hut,

of all European languages that we know, is the product of minds rude and unversed in every science, as are the Canadians. We now have grammars of them, dictionaries, and various books. Nor could we, with an indifferent knowledge of their Language, have explained to them our sublime mysteries; for, as a rule, they have no abstract nouns, and few substantives, and these indeclinable,—using for adjectives verbs instead of nouns, which last among them are conjugated, not declined. The mere sign of the Cross has cost us about a year of study."—Bressani's *Relation,* 1653:—*Id.,* xxxix, *doc.* lxxxiii, pp. 103, 105, 119, 121.

Le Jeune's "letter" to which Bressani refers above is the twelfth chapter of the *Relation* of 1634, of which Bressani makes an abstract. For the original of this omitted abstract, *see* Kenton, vol. i, pp. 166-176.—ED.

* Part I, chap. iv.

and giving him whatever he needed just as to the most intimate members of the household, without asking any pay for it.* They also show an invincible patience in trials; a fortitude in receiving unmoved the most bitter news, as that of death; an imperturbable tranquillity when wronged by fellow-countrymen, even when they suffer personal loss; and a certain external seemliness in their behavior, which prevents a thousand levities that are quite common among European youth, especially when both sexes mingle without any external restraint. But, with these apparent virtues, they have genuine vices, within and without. To internal pride I attribute the saying of a Captain, who, being wounded by a young man, and seeing his people aroused to take vengeance therefore, checked them by saying: "Enough; did you not feel the earth shake with horror at that audacity?" This causes them stoically to dissimulate their passions, especially that of resentment; and it is a great reproach to say to one who begins to grow angry, "So you are getting angry?" Among the external vices one of the most common was theft,—they always priding themselves on their great skill, when able to accomplish it without being discovered. They turned everything to account, using for the adornment of their persons whatever was not available otherwise. They used to steal with both their hands and their [269] feet, in the presence and in the absence of the owner,—not for actual utility, but from pure vice. They have sometimes stolen implements of various trades, wholly useless to them, the hands of clocks, etc., and once, when one of our Fathers was saying the Office by the light of a hole in the cabin, they took through that hole the breviary from his hands, without his being able to see or to catch the thief. I found one of them who was stealing the door of a chapel of ours. But theft is not unpunished,—the penalty being, that he who is convicted of it may be justly despoiled, he and all his house; and this is carried out in such a way that a man who may have stolen an axe, for instance, or a similar trifle,

* "It is customary with these Peoples, even with the Unbelievers, that, when a nation seek refuge in any foreign country, those who receive them immediately distribute them over different households. Therein, they not only give them lodging, but the necessities of life as well, with a Charity savoring in nothing of the savage, which will one day put to shame many peoples who have been born to Christianity. I have very often seen this hospitality practiced among the Hurons,—as many times as we have seen nations devastated, or villages destroyed, or when some fugitive people, seven or eight hundred persons, would find, from the time of their arrival, benevolent hosts, who stretched out to them their arms, and assisted them with joy; who would even divide among them a share in lands already sown, in order that they might be able to live, although in a foreign country, as in their own."—Ragueneau's *Relation*, 1649-50.—*Id.*, xxxv, *doc.* lxxiv, pp. 207, 209.

loses, if he is found guilty, all his goods,—axes, kettles, clothes, provisions, nets, canoe, etc.,—until, if the prosecutor use rigor, he, his wife, and his children are left in total destitution of everything. To avoid contest in this matter, they have established, first, that if a thing, lost or dropped, even though it should be but three paces away, be taken, by any one whomsoever, this is not theft,—that it is only so when an object is taken from the cabins or huts; secondly, that the one from whom anything has been stolen, on recognizing it in the hands of another (wherein they are wonderful, distinguishing, I know not how, almost *ovum ab ovo*), must not suddenly seize it, but must question him,—for instance, "Who gave you that javelin?" If the other makes no answer, he is deemed convicted of theft; if he say that he has received it as a gift, or bought it of some one, he must tell the name of him who gave or sold it to him. Then the other goes to find the seller, and puts the same question to him; and, if this one name [271] to him another, he goes to find him, and continues the investigation until he finds one who has had it from nobody. In this, and in similar things, they display great sincerity,—never naming an innocent man; while the guilty one, through his silence, confesses himself the culprit. A case in point was brought before us. A poor woman, who had no other wealth than a collar of certain beads made of sea-shells,—which the French have called *porcelaine*, and which are, as it were, the money and the pearls of the country,—for fear lest while cultivating her field it might be stolen from the cabin, carried it with her in a pouch, which, in order that she might not be hindered in her work, she attached to the trunk of a tree, intending to get it again upon going away. A neighbor of hers, who was at work in another field, espied it, and suspecting that the good woman would forget it, she never lost sight of it. The old woman, after a while, leaves her field to go to another, near by; and the neighbor, who waited only for this, takes the pouch before her very eyes, and exclaims, after the manner of the country, "I have made a good find!" and goes away. Now the uncertainty is, whether this woman can legitimately keep it, or whether the other has the right to dispossess her. The intentions are obscure; for who knows whether the owner intended to return as she said, into the field? If she did not, the pouch, according to the accepted usage of the country, is accounted as abandoned, *et primo occupantis*. We referred the matter to the Captains, of whose prudence we took note. "If the matter is considered with strictness," they answered, "the prize is good,—at least the old woman has not the right to dis-

possess the other [273] woman; but the latter, unless she wishes to be thought unmannerly, litigious, and avaricious, should give back the pouch, and content herself with some civility or gratuity, which the other owes her." . . .[1]

[13] RELIGION OF THE SAME.*

I HAD read in sundry authors, who write against the Atheists, that Atheism is a sin against nature, which herself inspires in us *sensum quemdam divinitatis*. I did not doubt it; but I have confirmed myself in this opinion through what I have seen in our Barbarians. Among these wholly uncultivated people, nothing else seems to remain but corrupted nature alone; and yet they are very far from the opinions of our libertines, and from Atheism. At the outset, they believe in the immortality of the soul, and in two separate abodes toward the Sunset,—for some happy, and for others wretched,—although they mingle with these a thousand fables, as the ancients did in speaking of their Elysian fields. Secondly, they believe in good Spirits and evil ones; wherefore, in dangers, they undertake to appease the evil ones with a kind of sacrifice which they make by throwing some tobacco, or fat from their feasts, into the fire or the water; they do the same, to conciliate the good spirits. And certainly they have not only the perception of a divinity, but also a name which in their dangers they invoke, without knowing its true significance,—recommending themselves *Ignoto Deo* with these words, *Aireskui Sutanditenr*, the last of which may be translated by *miserere nobis*. Thirdly, they frequently address the [15] Sky and the Sun,—calling upon them to witness now their courage, now their misery, and often their innocence, and, in treaties or leagues with outside peoples, their sincere intention,—as a being who, as they believe, sees the most secret place of the heart, and is able to avenge the perfidy of traitors,—an acceptation very general in ancient paganism.

A nation of Algonquins nearer to the Hurons, called ondatauauat, invokes at almost every feast the maker of Heaven, asking him for health, long life, and favorable results in their hunting, fishing, wars, and trade; but they believe that the genie who has created the Heaven is different from the one who has made the Earth, and from the author of the Winter, who dwells toward

* Part I, chap. v.

the North, whence he sends the snows and the cold, as the genie of the waters sends tempests and shipwrecks. The winds have their origin from seven other genii, who dwell in the air and breathe forth the 7 winds which commonly prevail in those regions. *Quid perderent si unum colerent prudentiore compendio,* —to speak with Saint Augustine.

Other Algonquins, nearer to Kebek, believe that every species of animals has a first one, which is, as it were, the beginning and origin of the others; thus all the beavers, they say, have issued from the first beaver, which they imagine to have the height of a cabin; and he who sees these first ones in a dream, is fortunate in the hunt of that species whereof he has seen the first. Being questioned where these progenitors live, they answered that they do not know with certainty, but that they believe that those of the birds are in the Sky, and those of the other animals in the waters.[1] Our Barbarians were indeed without religion,—that is, without regulated [17] and ordinary worship of the divinity, of whom they had but an obscure knowledge; therefore they had neither temples, nor Priests, nor feasts, nor prayers and public ceremonies; but they were not only not Atheists, but also not so irreligious as not to render some homage to those genii to whom they attributed their most signal good fortune. So they not only invoked them often, as we have said of the Sun, but publicly thanked them in their victories, attributing to them all their success therein, and all remedies for their ills,—but relying only upon superstitious means, to which chiefly they had recourse before being instructed in the faith. It will seem a paradox to hear mention of superstition,—that is, of superfluous religion, where there was none at all; but it is not a new thing to see that in vices there is a passage *ab extremo ad extremum, sine medio.* And because this topic is, if I am not mistaken, likely to be of interest, I will briefly mention it here.

The infidel Hurons distinguished three sorts of diseases; some natural,—the effects of purely natural causes; others, occasioned by the soul of the patient being desirous of something; others, by sorcerers. The first, they said, are cured with natural remedies; the second, by satisfying the desires of the soul; the third, by extracting the spell from the ailing man's body. But, for the second, it must be recognized that, besides the free—or, at least, voluntary—desires that we usually have, the Hurons thought that our souls had other desires, in a manner natural, and hidden, born in the depth of the soul,—not in the way of conscious knowledge, but through a certain migration of the soul into some object

proportioned to itself,—which the philosophers would [19] call *desideria innata,* to distinguish them from the first, which are *desideria elicita.*

The Hurons, then, persuaded themselves that the soul revealed the first desires by means of dreams, which are its own voice; and if these dreams (they said) are fulfilled, it remains content; otherwise, it is vexed, and not only no longer seeks good and happiness through the body, but, revolting against it, causes it various infirmities, and often death. In a dream, then, when one thinks of some distant thing, they believe that the soul went forth from the body, in order to become present at the thing dreamed of,—not the perceptive soul, which (they said) never abandoned the body, but the rational one, which in its operation does not depend on the body. For this reason, they diligently observed dreams, in order to know the desires of the soul, that they might not irritate it; and they often obeyed it at the cost of blood,—causing their very limbs to be cut off, with extreme pain, if the dream so commanded. It thus happened, while we were there, to a prominent man, who—having dreamed at night that he was in the hands of the enemies, who were cutting off one of his fingers with a sea-shell—suddenly awoke, and prepared a solemn feast. Upon that occasion,—the dream being related, according to their custom,—he did, in the presence of all, actually have the finger cut off with most cruel pain,—using, instead of a knife, a shell which lacerated rather than cut the flesh and sinews. This was done to fulfill the dream,—which they obeyed, and to which they offered sacrifice, as to a true divinity,—and by the advice of their diviners, of whom we shall presently speak. But the wisest regarded the dream, as we were saying, as a [21] voice of the soul, which thus revealed its innate desires, which in their language were called *ondinnonk.* These they believed to be so revealed by dreams, that they remained, none the less, frequently concealed; and, just as we manifest our thoughts by words, and yet, can know them by supernatural vision, they thus imagined that some were found more enlightened than others, and capable of seeing, in the greatest depth of the soul, its natural and most secret desires; and they called this kind of people *arendioguanne.* These were commonly their physicians,—or, rather, charlatans, —who, when called to visit some sick man, ordinarily used no other medicine than their superstitious science,—divining the occult desire of the soul, which was despitefully tormenting the patient's body. They said they had this vision and virtue from an *Oki,*—that is, from a powerful genie dwelling in them, which

had appeared to them in a dream, or in watching, in the form of an Eagle, or Raven, or some other like animal. They discovered the hidden desires of the sick man, either by looking into a basin full of water; or by acting as if possessed by some fury, as did formerly the Sibyls; or by hiding themselves in some secret place, whence they said they saw the images of the afflicted soul's desires, which they then made known to him, that he might content it. But the remedies, both of dreams and of these diviners, were mostly vain and useless although all, vying with one another, applied themselves to procure the things desired,—as the charlatan said, by the sick man's soul,—without sparing either expense or effort. Here the eloquence of the Captains found practice; here appeared the liberality [23] and religion of their fellow-countrymen; and whereas among themselves they would be ashamed to ask for themselves things, even of little moment, it was no shame on these occasions,—that is, to content the dream, or *ondinnonk*,—to ask for exorbitant things: gifts, banquets, dances,—little decent, which were never danced, except on such occasions,—and it would have been impiety and sacrilege to refuse them. More than one of ours, at the start, ran the risk of life for not being willing, in such cases, to coöperate in their superstitions. These remedies, commonly esteemed superstitious, served then, only to show the esteem in which the sick persons were held, —who, when influential, often pretended to be sick, in order to be honored by the respect of the public. To this procedure the patient was always obliged, out of gratitude, to attribute his health,—even though he felt worse than before; and because those who did so from vanity would suddenly rise upon their feet, belief in the efficacy of these remedies, although they were altogether vain and useless, was common in the country.

The remedy of the enchanters was of the same nature; they commonly used some simples, of a sort to induce vomiting, and, if the sick man cast up some lock of hair, some twig, or tiny pebble, they said that this was the spell. This they often boasted of removing, with the point of a knife, from some part of the body,—substituting, by a ruse, something which they themselves held concealed between the fingers, or elsewhere. If the patient did not get well, they said there was still another demon, and repeated the remedy; and, if he died, they excused themselves by saying that the demon [25] which slew him was stronger than theirs. Notwithstanding all the bad results of these treatments, this superstitious notion was so rooted throughout the country that scarcely in many years could it be diminished. The origin of

this error was a false principle, but one undisputed among them, that all remedies always infallibly have their effect; if, then, the patient did not recover with a natural remedy, the malady was supernatural, and there was need of a supernatural and superstitious remedy. The greater part of their remedies, as being very impotent, did not operate; they then concluded that almost all diseases were supernatural,—either from spells, or from secret desires of the soul. Superstition was, therefore, everywhere current, although we, after long and diligent investigation, were not able to convince them that in their remedies or in their diseases there was nothing above the forces of nature; nor could we find any trace of true magic, or witchcraft, and evil art, because the demon which possessed them so absolutely, and without meeting any opposition in the soul, does not care, perhaps, to become their slave, as is the case with wizards, whose souls he claims in payment of slight services which he renders them. It confirmed us in this opinion to see that they had a superstitious regard for everything which savored a little of the uncommon. If, for instance, in their hunt they had difficulty in killing a Bear or a Stag, and on opening it they found in its head or in the entrails a bone, or a stone, or a serpent, etc., they said that such an object was an *oki,*—that is, an enchantment which gave strength and vigor to the animal, so that it could not be killed; and they used it as the superstitious do reliquaries, [27] in order to be always prosperous. If they found in a tree, or beneath the soil, some stone of an uncommon shape, like a plate, or spoon, or any vessel, they esteemed this encounter fortunate; because certain demons (they said), which live in the woods, forget these things, which makes any person who finds them again successful in fishing, hunting, trade, and gaming. These objects they called *Aaskuandi,* and believed that they often changed form, transforming themselves, for instance, into a serpent, or a raven's beak, or an Eagle's claw, etc.,—changes which none had seen, but which all believed, like a thousand other fables invented by various nations. These latter sold them, at a tolerably high price, rare but worthless objects, merely through their persuasion that this superstition brought them advantage.[1]

We may regard this belief as still more confident in predictions, which were sold, not only by Prophets, but also by masters of the seasons, who hardly ever divined the truth, and yet did not lose credit. On the contrary, the confidence of the Savages in the multiplicity of spells and witchcrafts went so far, that upon mere suspicion they often killed and burned even their fellow-country-

men, without any other accuser or judge than a dying man, who said that he had been bewitched by such a one, who was killing him,—citing as witness thereof either the ondinnonk, or a dream, on which depended the very lives of these men. . [29] . . It would now remain for us to say something of their pious observances toward their dead, which was the most sacred and solemn ceremony that they had; but, because I fear length in this epitome, I merely note here, first, that the infidels fear the souls of the enemies tormented by them, and yet they take care and are earnest to expel them from the cabins, with horrible and universal noise, after the Sunset of the day when they have put them to death; but they do not fear those souls of enemies who have died otherwise, and much less those of their friends and relatives. These last the women solemnly bewail,—especially in the morning, just after daybreak,—for entire weeks; but the widows, besides this bewailing, no longer adorn themselves, or bathe or anoint themselves, but, with dishevelled hair, punctiliously observe a sullen silence. There was a certain mother, who kept in her hut for whole years the body of her dead son, although very putrid; they do not believe that the soul, even when separated, withdraws thus suddenly from the body. They [31] frequently go, especially the women, to mourn at the sepulchers of their dead, which are outside the villages,—usually all in the same open space, but each by itself in the air, above 4 supports, in coffins of huge pieces of the bark of trees,—if they have died a natural death. There they leave them until a feast which they call "the feast of the dead," which they make every 8 or 10 years. At that time, all those of the same village take down these coffins, and carefully scrape the flesh from the bones of their departed; and, having enveloped them in precious skins, with an invitation to the whole country, they solemnly bury them all together, forever, in a great trench richly lined,—where they also bury various gifts, kettles, etc., which they think that the souls need, even in the other life.[1] But he who dies by violent death is burned, or buried,—immediately, and often still half alive (and I have seen this more than once),—except those who have died from the cold, of whom they make a superstitious and protracted dissection before putting their bare bones in the ground: but neither the former nor the latter are again removed thence, even for the feast of the dead,—they believing, without reason, that the souls of those unhappy ones, who died miserably either in war, or by shipwreck, etc., have no communication in the other life with the other souls. Secondly, they bury the corpses with what they

had most precious in life; and, at the burning of a village,—preferring the dead to the living, and the sepulchers to the cabins,—they did not feel troubled at incurring an irreparable loss, that they might save the bones of their departed before extinguishing the fire in their own cabins. Our neophytes, desirous to con- [33] tinue their custom of burying with them the things dear to the deceased, gave us, as a reason, their own grief, and said that they did not do so because they believed such things to be necessary or useful to the souls separated from the bodies, but to remove from their own eyes the things which, being often seen in the cabin, revived in their minds, with new grief, the memory of the deceased one. Thirdly, if the memory of kinsmen already dead afflicts them sensibly, much more does it displease them to hear these mentioned; and the greatest insult that can be said to a man is to say to him: "Thy father, or thy mother, or thy kinsmen are dead." Indeed, merely to say "thy dead," they esteem the most horrible of all curses, in itself capable of bringing one person to blows with another. And, if by necessity a dead man must be named, his own name cannot be mentioned without cruel insult, unless there be added at the end, "deceased," as we say, "the late so-and-so"; or, indeed, he is called, absolutely, "the deceased," or "he who has forsaken us." And on this account, when any one has died in some village, the Captains promptly announce the fact in a loud voice through the street, so that he may no more be named without "the late"; and if any one have the same name as the dead, in the same village,—he changes it for some time, in order not to irritate the wound, still fresh, of the afflicted relatives. But if the name of the deceased were famous, it is never lost, but it is assumed again by the head of the family at some solemn banquet; and this person is said to have brought him to life again. This was infallibly observed in all the names of the Captains, who thus never die. . . .

[*Id., doc.* lxxxiii, vol. xxxviii, pp. 203-287; vol. xxxix, pp. 11-263; vol. xl, pp. 13-65.]

XXVI

[37] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1653 to the Summer of the year 1654.

Sent to the Reverend Father Nicolas Royon, Provincial of the Society of Jesus *in the Province of France.*

[The *Relation* of 1653-54 is written by François le Mercier, except the last chapter, which is an epitome of information received by the Paris editor from other sources. . . .

In the . . . spring (1654) a young Frenchman is captured near Montreal by an Iroquois band; the chief of another band voluntarily becomes a hostage for his safety, and procures his release. With the Frenchmen, the Iroquois bring also presents to ratify peace, and to urge the coming of the "black robes" to their country. In June, a Huron and Algonkin fleet comes down to the French settlement, bringing a cargo of furs. War between the Iroquois and the Eries has begun, which especially leads the former to strive for peace with the French and Hurons. In July, two young Frenchmen who had spent the winter with the Mohawks, as hostages, are brought back to Quebec by "the Flemish Bastard." About this time, Father Le Moyne departs on a journey to the Onondagas, in accordance with their invitation to the Jesuits,—a proceeding which arouses the jealousy of the Mohawks. . . .

The Huron colony on Orléans Islands is in a prosperous condition. . . . The Fathers in charge have formed among them a society, the Congregation of Our Lady, comprising "the élite of the Christians." . . . These Christians maintain a fund for aiding the poorest of their number. Having received a gift from a similar congregation in Paris, they send to those benefactors a porcelain collar, to testify their gratitude. It is accompanied by a letter of thanks in their language, written upon birchbark, penned by Chaumonot in their name; this letter, followed by a translation, is given by Le Mercier. . . .—*Id.*, xli, pp. 9-13.]

[77] A FLEET OF HURON AND ALGONQUIN CANOES FROM THE UPPER NATIONS, ALLIES OF THE FRENCH, ARRIVE IN THE MONTH OF JUNE AT MONTREAL AND AT THREE RIVERS, AND BRING THITHER GOOD NEWS.*

AFTER the capture of the Surgeon of Montreal,** and before his return from Captivity, while we were still in suspense between fear and hope, not knowing what would be the issue of that affair,—a fleet appeared in the distance, de-

* Chap. iv.

** "A young Surgeon in pursuit of his prey,—laying his snares for the Beaver in remote places where never had solitude seemed to him sweeter,—a

scending the rapids and waterfalls which are above Montreal. There was reason to fear that it might be a hostile army; but, upon its approach, it was seen to be composed of friends, who were coming from a distance of four hundred leagues to bring us news of their Nation and learn some of our own.

The people of Montreal and three Rivers experienced a double joy upon seeing that these canoes were laden with furs, which those nations come to exchange for our french products.

These people were partly Tionnontatehronnons, whom we formerly called the tobacco Nation, and who speak the Huron language; and partly Ondataouaouats, speaking the Algonquin language, and called by us Cheveux relevez, because their hair does not hang down, but is made to stand erect like a high crest.[1]

[79] All these peoples have forsaken their former country and withdrawn to the more distant Nations, toward the great lake which we call "the lake of the Stinkards," because they dwell near the Sea,—which is salt, and which our Savages call "stinking water." This lake is toward the North. The devastation of the Huron country having made them apprehensive of a like misfortune, and the fury of the Iroquois having pursued them everywhere, they thought to find security only by retreating to the very end of the world, so to speak.*

band of Onneiochronnon Iroquois, who had gone thither to hunt men, captured this hunter of animals."—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1653-54:—*Id.*, xli, *doc.* lxxxvi, p. 67.

* "In the bark *Ste. Anne* was a Huron named Tsawenhohi, from Arhetsi, who had arrived in the month of August at Montreal, with a nephew of his, named A,arenhon,ok, who came from Atra'kwae. They told as news: 1st, the capture of Teoto'ndiaton, and the desolation of the Neutral Nation:[2] . . ." *Journal of the Jesuits*, 1651:—*Id.*, xxxvi, *doc.* lxxviii, p. 141.

"On the 31st [of July], a canoe from Three Rivers arrives, which brings us the News of the arrival of three canoes from the country of the Hurons,—to wit, Aennons, a Huron; Mangouch, a Nipissirinien; Matoutisson, whom the Hurons call Onda,enronk; Eentawai and Totraenchiarak, Andarahi'ronnons; and two Ondatawawak, *vel* Outawak, to wit, Teóchiawenté and Otontagonen. These seven savages have brought news that all the Algonquin Nations are assembling, with what remains of the Tobacco Nation, and of the Neutral Nation, at A,otonatendïe, three days' journey above the sault Skia,é,[3] toward the south. Those of the Tobacco Nation have wintered at Tea,onto'rai; the Neutrals, to the number of 800, at sken'chio,e, toward Te,o'chanontian; these two Nations are to betake themselves next autumn to A,otonatendïa, where even now they number a thousand men,—to wit,

"400 Ondatonateni;

"200 Outawak, or cheveux relevez;

"100 Awe,atsiwaen'ronnons, and people from the Nation of A'chawi;

"200 Enskia,e'ronnons;

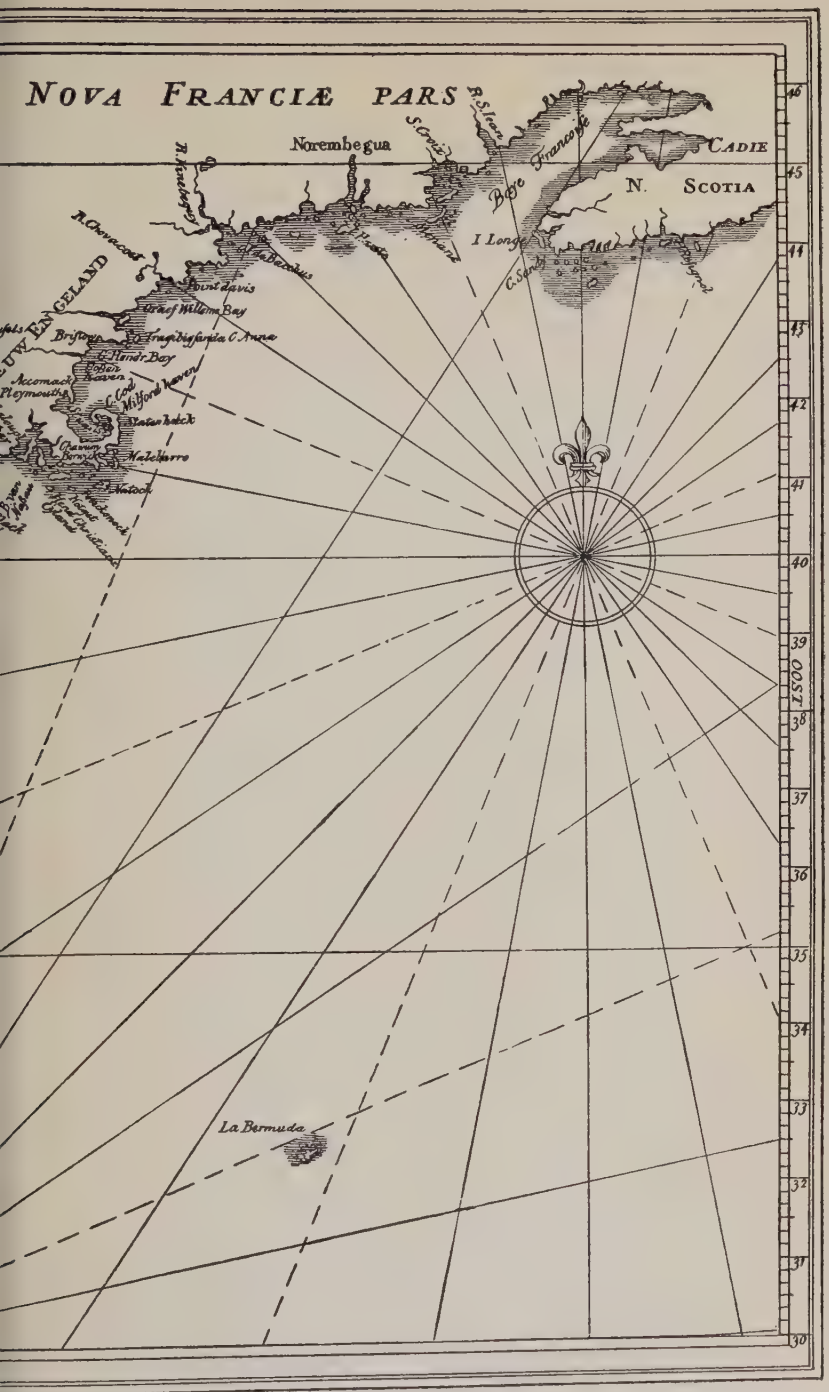
"100 Awechisae'ronnons and Achirwachronnon.

"Achawi is the one who is directing all this affair."—*Journal of the Jesuits*, 1653:—*Id.*, xxxviii, *doc.* lxxxvi, p. 181.

NEW NETHERLAND, ETC

From De Laet's *Novus Orbis*, published in 1630-33, and d

[*From "The Jesuit Relations*



ANNES DE LAET, 1630

by Winsor as "the first printed map of New Netherlands"

Documents," *Vol. XXVIII.*]

They live there in large numbers, and form a greater population than before occupied all those countries; several of them have different languages, which are unknown to us. Nevertheless, they must be brought to a knowledge of God, and we must some day proclaim his majesty to them.

Those who came to visit us,—to the number of about sixscore,—met, on their way, some Sonnontaehronnon Iroquois, and some people of the Wolf Tribe, allies of the Anniehronnon Iroquois.* They were out on a hunting expedition, and our visitors took thirteen of them Captive,—not intending, however, to treat them with the customary cruelty, or even to bind their arms and hands. God softens the hearts of barbarians when he wishes that Peace should be made.

This victorious band arrived safely at Montreal; seeing in what disposition its inhabitants were, and how everything pointed toward Peace, they made a present of these captives to Sagochiendagehté, the Onnontaehronnon Captain, who had voluntarily remained there as a hostage,[1] pending the return of the Frenchman who had been carried off a prisoner. . . .

[81] They informed us that a fresh war had broken out against them, and thrown them all into a state of alarm; that the Ehriehronnons were arming against them (these we call the Cat Nation, because of the prodigious number of Wildcats in their country, two or three times as large as our domestic Cats, but of

*"This settlement [Renselaerswick] is not more than 20 leagues from the Agniehronons; there is access to them either by land or by water,—the River on which the Iroquois dwell falling into that which passes by the Dutch; but there are many shallow rapids, and a fall of a short half league, past which the canoe must be carried.

"There are several nations between the two Dutch settlements [New Amsterdam and Renselaerswick or Fort Orange], which are thirty German leagues apart,—that is to say, 50 or 60 French leagues. The Wolves,[2] whom the Iroquois call Agotsaganens, are the nearest to the settlement of Renselaerswick or to the fort of orange. Several years ago, there being a war between the Iroquois and the Wolves, the Dutch Joined these latter against the others; but, 4 having been taken and burned, peace was made. Later, some nations near the sea having slain some Dutch of the most remote settlement, the Dutch killed 150 savages, not only men and women, but little children. The savages having, in various reprisals, killed 40 Dutch, burned many houses, and wrought damage reckoned, at the time when I was there, at 200,000*ll*,—two hundred thousand livres,—troops were levied in New England. Accordingly, at the beginning of winter, the grass being short, and some snow on the ground, they gave the savages chase with six hundred men, two hundred being always on the march, and one set continually relieving another. The result was, that, being shut up on a great Island, and unable to flee easily, because of the women and children, there were as many as sixteen hundred killed, including women and children. This compelled the remainder of the savages to make peace, which still continues. That occurred in 1643 and 1644."—Jogues's *Novum Belgium*, 1646:—*Id.*, xxviii, *doc.* lvi, pp. 113, 115.

a handsome and valuable fur).[1] They informed us that a village of Sonnontoehronnon Iroquois had been already taken and set on fire at their first approach; that that same nation had pursued one of their own armies which was returning victorious from the direction of the great lake of the Hurons, and that an entire Company of eighty picked men, which formed the rear-guard, had been completely cut to pieces; that one of their greatest Captains, Annenraes by name, had been captured and led away captive by some skirmishers of that Nation,—who, in order to deal this blow, had come almost to the gates of their village. They declared, in a word, that all the four Nations of the upper Iroquois were on fire; that they were leaguing together, and arming to repulse this enemy; and that all this compelled them earnestly to seek for Peace with us, even though they might not have had any such thoughts before.

This news taught us that God, by diverting the arms and forces of our enemies elsewhere, was aiding us in a most unexpected manner.

[83] The Cat Nation is very populous, having been reënforced by some Hurons, who scattered in all directions when their country was laid waste, and who have now stirred up this war which is filling the Iroquois with alarm. Two thousand men are reckoned upon, well skilled in war, although they have no firearms. Notwithstanding this, they fight like Frenchmen, bravely sustaining the first discharge of the Iroquois, who are armed with our muskets, and then falling upon them with a hailstorm of poisoned arrows, which they discharge eight or ten times before a musket can be reloaded.

We, however, are left in peace; and Father Simon le Moine, who has but recently returned from the upper Iroquois, assures us that they were arming themselves to set forth from that quarter, to the number of eighteen hundred men.

[85] THE ANNIEHRONNON IROQUOIS ARRIVE AT QUEBEC IN THE MONTH OF JULY, AND BRING BACK TWO FRENCHMEN WHOM THEY WERE HOLDING AS HOSTAGES.*

Two young soldiers of the garrison at Quebec had gone, in the month of November, 1653, with the Anniehronnon Iroquois who had brought back Father Poncet,[2] liberated from his captivity.

* Chap. v.

They had been sent to serve as hostages, or, rather, as an assured pledge, that the Iroquois and we were really of one mind, and that we were desirous of living in a spirit of mutual confidence.

All winter long there had been seen, at Montreal and at Three Rivers, many Iroquois of that Nation, whose presence was a constant confirmation of the Peace. Nevertheless, some items of news that reached us, and even some of the letters from our Frenchmen, continued to inspire us with distrust,—until, toward the end of the winter, an Anniehronnon Captain, the son of an Iroquois mother and a Dutch Father,[1] brought us letters from the Captain of fort Orange in New Holland, and from some Dutch tradesmen, who all assured us that now they really saw a disposition for Peace on the part of the savages allied to them.

This same Iroquois Captain made a second journey to bring back to us our two French hostages, according to the promise he had given us. They [87] arrived at Quebec in the month of July, a very few days after Father Simon le Moine had left us for his journey to Onnontagué, of which we shall speak in the following Chapter.

We were, at this point, confronted with a difficulty; we saw well that there would be some cause for jealousy between the four upper Iroquois Nations and the Anniehronnon Iroquois,—each of them being anxious to secure for its own country the honor of this embassy of Father le Moine. The Onnontaehronnons desired it because they had first brought the news of the Peace; while the Anniehronnons wished for it because they are the nearest to us,—being situated, as it were, on the frontier.

The Anniehronnon Captain made his complaints on the subject with cleverness and intelligence. "Ought not one," said he, "to enter the house by the door, and not by the chimney or roof of the cabin, unless he be a thief, and wish to take the inmates by surprise? We, the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire; and we have, from time immemorial, dwelt under one and the same roof." In fact, from the earliest times, these five Iroquois Nations have been called in their own language, which is Huron, *Hotinnonchiendi,*—that is, "the completed Cabin," as if to express that they constituted but one family.[2] "Well, then," he continued, "will you not enter the cabin by the door, which is at the ground floor of the house? It is with us Anniehronnons, that you should begin; whereas you, by beginning with the Onnontaehronnons, try to enter by the roof and through the chimney. Have you no fear that the smoke may blind you, our fire not being extinguished, and that you may

fall [89] from the top to the bottom, having nothing solid on which to plant your feet?" *

Monsieur the Governor was therefore obliged to make him some presents, in assurance that Ondessonk (that is the name of Father Simon le Moine) would go also to his country, provided he could overtake him on the road, and deliver to him our letters, informing him of our purposes. These letters caused him to hasten his departure; but the Father had gained a start and could not be overtaken, pursuing his journey according to the plan first adopted.

[91] JOURNEY OF FATHER SIMON LE MOINE TO THE COUNTRY OF THE ONNONTAEHRONNON IROQUOIS, IN JULY, AUGUST, AND SEPTEMBER.**

On the second day of the month of July,—the feast of the Visitation of the most blessed Virgin, who is ever favorable to our enterprises,—Father Simon le Moine [1] set out from Quebec on the journey to the Onnontaehronnon Iroquois. Passing by three Rivers, he proceeded thence to Montreal, where a young man of stout heart and long a resident here, very piously joined him. For greater ease I will follow the Father's journal.

"On the 17th day of July, St. Alexis's day, we set out from home with that great saint of many travels, toward a land unknown to us. . . .

[95] "On the first day of the month of August, some Iroquois fishermen, perceiving us from a distance, came trooping up to receive us. One of them hastens forward, running half a league to be the first to tell us the news, and inform us of the condition of the country. He is a Huron captive, and a good Christian, whom I formerly instructed during a [97] winter that I spent with the Savages. This poor lad could not believe that I was his pastor, whom he had never hoped to see again. . . .

"On the 3rd, toward noon, we found ourselves on the banks of a river, a hundred or a hundred and twenty paces in width, on

* It is true that the stumbling block which might hinder our design [of entering the Iroquois country] lies with the lower Iroquois called Anniengehronnons [2] with whom we do not go to dwell. They may presume that, if we unite ourselves so closely with the four Upper Nations, it will be to place ourselves in a position to fear them no longer."—*Relation*, 1656-57:—*Id.*, xliv, *doc.* xcvi, pp. 63, 65.

** Chap. vi.

the other side of which there was a fishing hamlet. An Iroquois, to whom I had formerly shown some kindness at Montreal, took me across in his canoe; and then, as a mark of honor, carried me on his shoulders, not allowing me to set foot in the water. All received me with joy, and those poor people enriched me out of their poverty. I was escorted to another village, a league distant, where a young man of importance entertained me at a feast because I bear his Father's name, 'Ondessonk.' The Captains, each in his turn, came and made us their speeches. I baptized some little skeletons who, perhaps, were only waiting for this drop of the precious blood of Jesus Christ.

[99] "The 4th. They ask me why we are dressed in black, and I take occasion to speak to them concerning our mysteries; they listen very attentively. A little dying child is brought to me, and I name it Dominique. The time is now past when these little innocents are hidden from our sight. I was regarded as a great medicine-man, although I had, as my sole remedy, only a bit of sugar to give to those feeble creatures. We pursue our journey, finding our dinner awaiting us midway. The nephew of the first Captain of the country is to lodge me in his cabin, being sent by his uncle to escort us, and bringing us all that the season could furnish them in the way of the choicest delicacies,—above all, some bread made of fresh indian corn; and some ears, which we roasted in the fire. On this night we again sleep at the sign of the beautiful star.

"The 5th. We had four leagues to cover before arriving at the chief village, Onnontage.[1] The roads are full of people going and coming, who are out to greet me. One calls me a brother, another an uncle, another a cousin; never have I had so many kinsfolk. At a quarter of a league from the village, I began a harangue which brought me into high favor: I called by name all the Captains, families, and persons of importance,—speaking slowly and in the tone of a Captain. I told them that peace was attending my course, that I was dispelling war in the more distant nations, and that joy was accompanying me. Two Captains made me their harangue upon my entrance, but with a joy and a light in their countenance, that I had never seen in savages. Men, women, and children,—all showed me respect and love.

[101] "At night I caused the chiefs to assemble, in order to give them two presents. The purpose of the first was to wipe their faces, so that they might look on me with favor, and that I might never see any sign of sadness on their brows. The second was to remove any gall still remaining in their hearts. After

several more exchanges of courtesy, they withdrew to consult together; and at length responded to my presents with two others, richer than mine. . . .

"In the evening, our host drew me aside and said to me, with a great show of affection, that he had always loved us; and that at last his heart was content, as he saw that all the troops of his nation asked only for Peace. He added that the Sonnontoehronons had come, a short time before, to exhort them to take wise action in this matter on the side of Peace, making some fine presents for this purpose; that the Onioenhronnons had brought three collars, with the same object in view; that the Onneiochronnons deemed themselves fortunate to have been freed from a troublesome affair by its means, and that they had no longer any desire except for Peace; that the Anniehronnons would doubtless follow the others; and that therefore I was to be of good cheer, since I bore with me the welfare of all the land. . . .

[107] "On the 9th, toward noon, there comes a direful report of the murder of three of their hunters at the hands of the cat Nation, a day's journey from here. That means that war is kindled in that direction."

[109] GENERAL COUNCIL FOR PEACE WITH THE FOUR IROQUOIS NATIONS; AND, AFTERWARD, THE RETURN OF FATHER SIMON LE MOINE FROM HIS JOURNEY.*

"ON the tenth day of August, the envoys from the three neighboring Nations having arrived, after the customary summons of the Captains, to the effect that all should assemble in Ondessonk's cabin, I opened the proceedings" (thus the Father continues his Journal) "with a public prayer, which I offered on my knees and in a loud voice, using the Huron tongue throughout. I appealed to the great master of heaven and earth, that he might inspire us to act for his glory and our own good; I cursed all the Demons of hell, since they are spirits of discord; and I prayed the guardian Angels of the entire country to speak to the hearts of my hearers, when my words should strike their ears.

"I astonished them greatly when they heard me name them all by Nations, bands, and families, and each person individually who was of some little consequence—all by the help of my writ-

* Chap vii.

ten list, which was to them a thing full of both charm and novelty. I told them that in my speech I had nineteen words to lay before them.

"First, I said that Onnontio—Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of New France—was speaking through my mouth, and in his person the Hurons and the [111] Algonquins, as well as the French, since all three Nations had Onnontio for their great Captain. A large Porcelain collar, a hundred little tubes or pipes of red glass, which constitute the diamonds of the country, and a moose-skin, somewhat worn,—these three presents accompanied one word only.

"My second word was to cut the bonds of the eight captives from Sonnontouan, who had been taken by our Allies, and brought to Montreal," as has been related above in the fourth chapter.

"The third was to break also the bonds of those members of the Wolf Nation who had been captured at about the same time.

"The fourth, to thank the people of Onnontagué for bringing back our captive to us.

"The fifth present was to thank the people of Sonnontouan for rescuing him from his position on the scaffold.

"The sixth was for the Onioenhronon Iroquois, because they too had helped in this.

"The seventh, for the Onneiochronnons, in return for breaking the bonds that held him captive.

"The purpose of the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh presents was to give to each of these four Iroquois Nations a hatchet, to be used in the New war in which they were engaged with the Cat Nation.

"The twelfth present was intended to renew the courage of the Sonnontoehronnons, who had lost some of their number in this war.

"The thirteenth was to strengthen their palisade,—that is, to enable them to maintain a strong defense against the enemy.

"The fourteenth, to paint their faces; for it is the [113] custom of the warriors here never to go into battle without having their faces painted,—some with black, some with red, and some with various other colors,—each having in this matter his own style of livery, so to speak, which he retains through life.

"The fifteenth, to harmonize all their thoughts, for which purpose alone I made three presents,—a porcelain collar, some little glass Tubes, and a moose-skin.

"With the sixteenth, I opened Annonchiassé's door to all the Nations,—thus indicating that they would be welcome in our cabin.

"With the seventeenth, I exhorted them to become instructed in the truths of our faith, making three presents to accompany this word.

"With the eighteenth, I asked them to lay no more ambuscades in future for the Algonquin and Huron Nations when they should wish to visit us in our French settlements. I made three gifts with this request.

"Finally, with the nineteenth present, I wiped away the tears of all the young warriors, caused by the death of their great Captain Anneneraes, who had been taken Captive by the cat Nation not long before.

"At each of my presents they uttered a loud shout of applause from the depths of their chests, in evidence of their delight. I was occupied fully two hours in delivering my entire harangue, which I pronounced in the tone of a Captain,—walking back and forth, as is their custom, like an actor on a stage.

"After that they gathered together by Nations and bands, calling to them an Anniehronnon who by good luck happened to be present. They consulted [115] together for more than two hours longer, when they at length called me back and gave me a seat of honor among them.

"That one of the Captains who is the tongue of the Country and acts as its orator, repeated faithfully the substance of all that I had said. Then they all began to sing to express their joy; and told me that I might, for my part, pray to God, which I did very willingly.

"After these songs, he addressed me in the name of his nation. 1. He thanked Onnontio for the good will he entertained toward them, in token whereof he produced two large Porcelain collars.

"2. In the name of the Anniehronnon Iroquois, he thanked us for causing the lives of five of their allies, of the Wolf Nation, to be spared,—therewith, two more collars.

"3. In the name of the Sonnontoehronnon Iroquois, he thanked us for rescuing from the flames five of their people, and this with two more collars. Each present was followed by applause from the whole assembly.

"Another Captain, of the Nation of the Onneiocronnons, arose. 'Onnontio,' said he, addressing Monsieur de Lauson, our absent Governor, 'Onnontio, thou art the support of the earth, thy spirit is the spirit of Peace, and thy words soften the most rebellious

hearts.' After other praises, which he uttered in a tone animated with affection and respect, he displayed four large collars, with which to thank Onnontio for encouraging them to make a spirited fight against their new enemies of the cat Nation, and for exhorting them never to wage war again with the French. 'Thy voice, Onnontio,' said he, 'is [117] wonderful, for it produces in my heart, at the same time, two wholly opposite emotions. Thou givest me courage to fight, and thou softenest my heart with thoughts of Peace. Thou art both peaceful and yet very warlike, —beneficent to those thou lovest, and terrible to thy enemies. We all wish thee to love us, and we shall love the French for thy sake.'

"To conclude these thanksgivings, the Onnontaerrhonnon Captain took the word. 'Listen, Ondessonk,' he said to me: 'Five whole Nations address thee through my mouth; I have in my heart the sentiments of all the Iroquois Nations, and my tongue is faithful to my heart. Thou shalt tell Onnontio four things, which are the gist of all our deliberations in Council.

" '1. It is our wish to acknowledge him of whom thou hast told us, who is the master of our lives, and who is unknown to us.

" '2. The May-tree for all matters of concern to us is today planted at Onnontagué.' He meant that that would be henceforth the scene of the assemblies and parleys relating to the Peace.

" '3. We conjure you to choose a site that will be advantageous to yourselves, on the shores of our great lake, in order to build thereon a French settlement. Place yourselves in the heart of the country, since you are to possess our hearts. Thither we will go to receive instruction, and thence you will be able to spread out in all directions. Show us Paternal care, and we will render you filial obedience.

" '4. We are involved in new wars, wherein Onnontio gives us courage; but for him we shall have only thoughts of Peace.'

[119] "They had reserved their richest presents to accompany these last four words, but I am sure that their countenances spoke more eloquently than their tongues, and joy was depicted on their faces, with so much kindness that my heart was deeply moved. . . .

[147] OF THE FIRST CONGREGATION OF OUR LADY AMONG THE SAVAGES.*

. . . . . .

[165] To conclude this chapter,—which would never come to an end, were I to relate the hundredth part of God's workings in their hearts,—I will say that these good members of the Congregation ** have adopted a pious practice of making a little present every Sunday to the Virgin, each one giving a Porcelain bead for each rosary recited during the week. The number of these beads,—which are the pearls of the country,—runs sometimes as high as seven or eight hundred; and their devotion has prompted them to make collars of these in the style of embroidery,—in which, interweaving beads of violet and white porcelain, they write what they wish to say in honor of the Virgin.

They have formed a kind of public treasury, made up from their poverty,—I mean from their little presents,—which, with a piety truly admirable, they use in helping the poor. We aid them in increasing this little treasure, having added to it some charitable contributions from France, and, among others, an offering of Charity from the Members of the Congregation of the professed house at Paris.

* Chap. x.

** "When we left the Hurons, in the year 1650, after the country had been laid waste by the cruelty of the Iroquois, our design was to take away with us the Christian families that could accompany us, and thus to save at least some remnants of a people whom God had called to the Faith, and who should one day serve as seed for restoring Christianity in all these regions. Those who dispersed in other directions found the death from which they were fleeing, the greater part failing to escape from the fury of the Iroquois, so far as not to fall victims to them, each and all,—some being cruelly burnt, and others killed on the spot or carried away captive; and it even happened that a number of them, after escaping from the enemy, met death at one another's hands, since there was no longer any form of Government among them or even any association in living,—each looking out for himself as best he could, and the stronger oppressing the weaker for the sake of stealing the little that they possessed.

"Those who followed us have found with us salvation of soul and of body. In order to give them a fixed abode (the Hurons not being a nomadic Nation) they were assigned a section of the Island of Orleans, separated from the French, and in sight of Quebec, about two leagues below it. We had to feed them, both adults and children, for the first two years, and to build them a church, and a fort to protect them against the invasions of the Iroquois, the fear of whom followed them everywhere. It was necessary to furnish them with kettles and hatchets and even to provide clothing for the greater number of the families; and we have been obliged to continue this expenditure for a great many poor, sick, and disabled persons. In short, we are their Fathers, their Mothers, and their All."—*Relation*, 1653-54:—*Id.*, xli, *doc.* lxxxvi, pp. 137, 139.

[167] These good Huron members of the Congregation, meeting together a short time ago to thank them, in their own peculiar manner, for their alms, resolved to send them a collar on which are written, in black porcelain upon a background of white, the words, *Ave Maria gratia plena;* and they begged me to accompany this devout offering of theirs with a letter, which I wrote, in their name, upon birchbark, our substitute for paper. Its tenor is as follows:

AWATAKEN TE ETSINNONRON KWANNIONK ATOEN AWAT.

Ennnhiek ourochen ata atiaou endeontera aawenhon aiawachienda en Marie Iesous hondwen rohaone staawaroni aaenhaon ondechaweti ondikiokwi chiach otiokwato eti dia enk aondioura on Ato en Iesous hechiena Skendiunra tokha stan onëk te rehonnrak Wario ierhe a echiendaen; onkhiatendotondi a awen kwario hatindore daathatori hwannene (ïsa restir) daak onachiendaenk te andakwateri isa echien Skwahentonendi echien eetsiennonteen Iesous hondwen te a o annra d'eesaet, onde skwandi onrantrahwi stan te skwannonkona thora onne io ennhaæ ontaskouentenrihatie ate o, ennhae stan iesta eskhwannontenk onde ati onwatres ti onwahachen ionwen stan in a iakhinnont de Warie aeodtawen, chia aowenhaon stante hotïesewas, isondakiwannen, nien aakonannonhwe Iesous hondwen, aiakhicharon tho onnonkwarota onde hasten. ahiatonkwi doki Aronhia, eronnonte onnonronkwanionti Wario tho tho ionnonkwarotahe daeoeharonniati ti arensae nonwarenso trahwi trudi stontaaataton. Tsieharaenkhwas asken Warie stihon khondeesachien daentakwa de [169] wendar ersiaskannhadesa awerhethusen te awachiendaenk ti onachiendaonk: aeri te onwandiontourie aionwa hetsaronhons d'Iesous hena asonwandiendienrontraak diawachiendaen, isa de ersonweskwen, tho ioti nonionhwa onioneskwandik onne skwahwichenion ti skwachiendoek. Onwe d'hoenkhwi haoneskwandik onne aweti hondoiarisene hondi, onrachen d'ason te iatendwesohiedocha. isa de skachiendaenk Warie daakaroëna tho ioti te skwaannia da at ondoutsawastis ondorari de, aronhiae ewatehwaten, endi te onwandiont tho ioti te onwa, annra doeha, onde ichien ochiensennik. Te ato en te skwannonhous Warie hersihetsaron d'Iesous a han doierisern eraweti de Warie oenkhwi aioneskwen. Tawatrendaenhas de skwarenserrak Warie orensa wen eetsiatrendaendaenhas denwanensotrak endi. kwatakhen onne i, en, a, enrhon onwa en asei onne d'Iesous hondwen tho ioti de tsonhwa skwaenasti. On wannonhwe, din nendi awannonhwe. Onne tho

i, arihwetsi de Hechon sawarchotrahwindi iostwen, sehiaton, wade arati ithochuen awaihenwi te awan non dateri ahiaton.

Awatakhen te etsinnonronk wannionek atoen awa Chiakha Oachonk warue harihwa sennik Louis Atharatou annen Chaose sondeaskon.

And on the back is written:

To Messieurs the Members of the Congregation of Our Lady in the Professed House of the Society of JESUS.

AT PARIS.

From the Huron Christians of the Congregation of Saint Mary, On the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, in New France.

[171] My Brothers: We extend to you our sincere respect. Only a year ago our hearts were opened, and we adopted the plan of honoring Mary, the mother of Jesus. We were then told that there were in all parts of the world societies formed to say to her, out of the depth of the soul: "Yes, Mother of Jesus, thou seest my heart; and thou seest that it does not speak falsely when it says to thee, "Mary, I wish to honor thee." We are told that in Paris, where you are honored by the people, it is a pleasure to see you, for you count it your sole honor to honor the Virgin. You have gone before us, and we wish to follow you. The mother of Jesus, in her regard for the poor, has prompted you not to hold them in contempt. Several years ago, you sent us some rich presents. We met together and said, "What shall we send to those noble servants of the Virgin? They need nothing from us," said we, "for they are rich; but they love the mother of Jesus; so let us send them a collar of our Porcelain, whereon is written the greeting that an Angel from Heaven brought to the Virgin." We have recited as many rosaries, in the space of two months, as there are beads in the collar—one bead of black porcelain being worth two of white. Present this collar to her, and tell her that we wish to honor her. We would like to honor her as highly as you do, but we have not so much understanding as you have for serving God. If the mother of Jesus asks her son to give us, in truth, the understanding that we need for honoring her, then we shall honor her more; and, as we rejoice that you honor her better than we, so you too will rejoice. [173] A husbandman is gratified when he sees all the ears of his cornfield well ripened; but he is troubled if he sees some that are not ripe when harvest-time comes. You, who

honor the Virgin with all your heart, are regarded by her as ears of her field which are ripe for heaven. We, who have not yet sense, and are only beginning to serve the Virgin, are regarded by her as ears not yet ripe; and that grieves her. Since you love her, ask of Jesus that all the field of the Virgin may be ripe, as it should be, for heaven, in order that she may be pleased. Pray for us, when you say your rosary, and we will pray for you when we say ours. We are brothers, since the mother of Jesus is our mother as well as yours. She loves us, and we wish to love her. This is what we have asked Echon [1] to write to you for us; for we can speak, but we cannot write.

My Brothers,

Jacques Oachonk, {Prefect of the Congregation,
Louys Taieron, {the two
Joseph Sondouskon, {Assistants,

Honor and salute you in all sincerity.

OFFERING OF A SCARF OF PORCELAIN, MADE BY THE HURONS TO THE VIRGIN, PATRONESS OF THE CONGREGATION OF PARIS.

Tsendaon de Aronhiae esenda erati onnonhiaskhwi chesannontenk a atatoeti de wendat acharo nonde de charato eti, onnonkwarota da at onwenses onwacharonniati Aronhia, eronnon awenda onw'ahi- [175] akhonkwi onde te sannonronkwannionti de k, Gawrier, eonkwa andronnonwacharonniati, aonhwa, andoron doki, awendaonwahiatonkwi, Warie re stakwaterison eskwensken desacheta enkhwindik. Ondeskin atawaatarirontak aronhiae de awenhe.

TRANSLATION.

Receive, O Lady of Heaven, this present, offered to you by the chosen ones of your Huron Servants. It is a Collar full of hidden meaning. It is composed of our finest Pearls. It is inspired and enriched by the Utterance and the Greeting given you of old by the Angel Gabriel. We have nothing more precious in our hands, and nothing holier in our hearts, for presenting to you, and for gaining us the kingdom of Heaven through your mediation.

[*Id., doc.* lxxxvi, vol. xli, pp. 25-203.]

XXVII

[31] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the Country of New France, in the years 1655 and 1656.

Sent to the Rev. Father Louys Cellot, Provincial of the Society of Jesus *in the Province of France.*

[The *Relation* of 1655-56 is written by Jean de Quen,[1] in the absence of his superior (Le Mercier) at the Onondaga mission recently begun by the Jesuits. This enterprise constitutes the main subject-matter of the *Relation*, and is fully described in the journal of Father Dablon, who, with Chaumonot, began the mission in the preceding autumn (1655). . . .

The Fathers behold and describe many superstitious rites,—among these, some practiced in obedience to dreams, which even involve the sacrifice of human life; also the Ononhouaroia, or "festival of fools," as Chaumonot calls it. One of the men participating therein, the host of the Fathers, sets his own cabin on fire; but Chaumonot arrives in time to put out the flames, and pacifies the frenzied man.

The ceremonies which are annually performed by these savages in preparation for war are also described. . . .

The account of the Onondaga mission being finished for this year, De Quen proceeds to mention the discoveries of two young Frenchmen who return (August, 1656) from a two years' trading and exploring expedition to the upper lake region. Their names are not given here, but recent researches identify these adventurers as Radisson and Groseilliers, and the region explored by them as Wisconsin and the shores of Lake Superior. . . .—*Id.*, xlii, pp. 9, 12, 13.]

[37] Journey of Father Simon Le Moyne to the Agnieronnon Iroquois.*

IN the Summer of last year, 1655, it was thought necessary to send a Father of our Society into the country of the Agnieronnon Iroquois, in order that we might, by this show of friendship and confidence, confirm the peace with them. The lot having fortunately fallen upon Father Simon le Moyne, he left Montreal on this errand, on the seventeenth day of August, with twelve Iroquois and two Frenchmen. . . .

[39] The Father reached the village of Agniée[2] on the seventeenth of September, and was received with extraordinary cor-

* Chap. i.

diality, being presented at the outset with three porcelain collars. The first was to check any possible bloodshed on the way, which might alarm him,—that is, he was not to fear death by treachery. The second was to cheer his heart, and prevent any emotion from disturbing his rest. Finally, they must needs anoint his feet with a precious balm, to allay the fatigues of so long a journey; and such was the purpose of the third porcelain collar.

On the following day, when all the people had assembled in the public place, the Father displayed the presents brought by him from Onnontio, Governor of the Country. Instead of beginning this ceremony with a song, as is their custom, he invoked God in a loud voice and in the language of the country,—calling him to witness the sincerity of his heart; and entreating him to take vengeance on those who should violate their faith, and break a promise given so solemnly in the sight of the Sun and of the Heaven. This greatly pleased these people.

One of the Iroquois Captains exhibited, in his turn, some very rich presents, in answer to the various articles of peace proposed by the Father. The first and finest of these presents was a large image of the Sun, made of six thousand porcelain beads,—its purpose being, as he said, to dispel all darkness from our councils, and to let the Sun illumine them even in the deepest gloom of night.

These Nations are composed only of rogues, and yet we must trust ourselves to their fickleness, and surrender ourselves to their cruelty. Father Isaac [41] Jogues was killed by those traitors while they were showing him the most love. . . .

[49] EMBASSY OF THE ONONTAERONNON IROQUOIS WHO ASK FOR SOME FATHERS OF OUR SOCIETY TO CONVERT THEM TO CHRISTIANITY.*

At the time when Father Simon le Moyne was sent to the Agnieronnon Iroquois,—who are nearer Montreal and Kebec, and who, while making Peace with us, have never desisted from their hostile designs on the Algonquins and Hurons,—the Onontaeronnon Iroquois, who are more distant, came on an Embassy representing all the upper Iroquois Nations, to confirm the Peace, not only with the French, but also with the Algonquins and Hurons.

* Chap. ii.

The delegation consisted of eighteen men, who came to Kebec by way of Montreal and three Rivers, to see Monsieur de Lauson, Governor of the country, and also the Algonquin and Huron savages living here.

A great crowd assembled on the date fixed for the council,—Sunday, the twelfth of September, 1655, at noon. In the midst of this assembly the chief Ambassador, who acted as spokesman, displayed twenty-four collars of porcelain—the pearls and diamonds of this country, in the Savages' eyes. . . .

[57] A response in kind to all these presents would have been necessary, had we not purposed sending to their country two of our Fathers to enlist their more cordial support, and to spare no effort in promoting so important an enterprise. This blessed lot fell on Fathers Joseph Chaumont and Claude Dablon, of whom the former knows the language and commands the sympathies of the Savages, while the latter has recently come from France, with heart and soul bent upon this Mission.

Our minds had been greatly divided regarding the propriety of exposing our Fathers to this new risk before the return of Father Simon le Moyne, who was still in the hands of the Agnieronnon Iroquois. For nothing would have been more in accord with the disposition of those Nations,—treacherous as they [59] are, and having such an advantage over us in the possession of men whom they well knew to be dear and precious to us,—than to fall upon us and our Hurons and Algonquins, when we were no longer fearing them and when thoughts of Peace had, in most minds, displaced hostile distrust. Nevertheless Monsieur our Governor was of the opinion that we must risk all for the sake of winning all, as it was to be feared that, if we allowed this opportunity to pass by, our course would cause a rupture of the Peace, as showing too evident distrust on our part. . . .

Finally, on the nineteenth of September, our Fathers and these Ambassadors left us. I cannot more faithfully set forth the successive events of their journey, and the fruits which God has reaped therefrom, than by giving the journal sent us by Father Dablon.

[61] JOURNEY OF FATHERS JOSEPH CHAUMONT AND CLAUDE DABLON TO ONNONTAGUÉ, A COUNTRY OF THE UPPER IROQUOIS.*

THE People named the Agneronnons are called the Iroquois of the lowlands, or the Lower Iroquois; while we speak of the Onontaeronons, and other Nations near these, as the Iroquois of the highlands, or the Upper Iroquois, because they are situated nearer the source of the great Saint Lawrence river and inhabit a country full of mountains. Onontaé—or, as others pronounce it, Onontagué—is the chief town of the Onontaeronnons; and thither our course was directed.**

Having, then, left Kebec on the 19th of September, 1655, and Montreal on the 7th of October, we ascended the Saint Louys rapids; these are formed by currents of water intercepted by rocks that extend for about a league. The passage being rather rough and difficult, we made only four leagues that first day. On the next, we walked a quarter of a league from our halting-place, to join some of our Savages, who had started out ahead of us, in order to have time, while waiting for us, to make some Canoes. . . .

[75] On the 30th, we left the water, and prepared for our overland trip to Onontagué. In the afternoon there appeared 60 Oneoutchoueronon Warriors, on their way to fight the so-called Neds percés,[1] beyond the rapids. They were led by Atondatochan, the [77] same who came to Montreal in the second Embassy sent by the village of Oneout. He is a man of fine appearance, and an eloquent speaker. He begged us to stay here one day longer, that he might learn our errand.

These Warriors having all assembled on the 31st, Father Chaumonot, after the ceremonies customary on such occasions, addressed Atondatochan; he said, first, that he congratulated himself and thanked God at seeing that great man, whose voice had rung out so loud at Montreal that it was still to be heard there, so great was its strength. In the second place, he said that he was led to visit that country in order to secure the fulfillment of his promise, to speak from that time but the same language, to have but one Sun, and one heart,—in short, to be thenceforth

* Chap. iii.

** "From the word *Onnonta,* which in the Iroquois tongue means 'a mountain,' is derived the name of the Village called Onnontaé, or, as others name it, Onnontagué, because it is situated on a mountain; and the people dwelling there are consequently called Onnontaeronnons or Onnontagueronnons."—*Relation,* 1657-58:—*Id.,* xliv, *doc.* xcviii, p. 185.

brothers. . [79] . . After the Father had spoken for half an hour, the Chief began the song of response; and all commenced to sing, in wondrous harmony, in a manner somewhat resembling our plain-chant. The first song said that it would take all the rest of the day to thank the Father for so good a speech as he had made them. The second was to congratulate him upon his journey and his arrival. They sang a third time to light him a fire, that he might take possession of it. The fourth song made us all relatives and brothers; the fifth hurled the hatchet into the deepest abyss, in order that peace might reign in all these countries; and the sixth was designed to make the French masters of the river Ontiahantagué.[1] At this point the Captain invited the salmon, brill, and other fish, to leap into our nets, and to fill that river for our service only. He told them that they should consider themselves fortunate to end their lives so honorably; named all the fishes of that river, down to the smallest, making a humorous address to each kind; and added a thousand things besides, which excited laughter in all those present. The seventh song pleased us still more, its purpose being to open their hearts, and let us read their joy at our coming. At the close of their songs, they made us a present of two thousand porcelain beads. Then the Father raised his voice, and told the Chief that his fine powers of speech would ever increase in volume; that, hitherto, they had resounded through all the confines of Lake Ontario, but, in future, they would speed across the greatest of all Lakes, and be heard as thunder throughout France. At this the Captain and all his followers were extremely pleased. They then [81] invited us to the feast which closed the ceremonies. . . .

[115] REPLY TO THE FATHERS' PRESENTS.*

THE sixteenth day was still more successful than those preceding, being appointed for receiving a reply to our presents; and this reply was as favorable as could be desired by the most zealous adherents of our Faith. . . . They began their acknowledgments with six airs, or chants, which savored nothing of the savage; and expressed very naïvely, by the variation of tones, the different passions which they sought to portray. The first

* Chap. vii.

The chapters omitted here deal with the arrival of the Fathers at Onontagué (Nov. 5), and of the presentation of their gifts.—ED.

chant was composed of these words: *Oh, the beautiful land, the beautiful land, that the French are to occupy!* Agochiendaguesé, [117] represented by an Elder, who continued just as if the chief himself had been speaking, began alone; then all the rest repeated his exact words and tones, harmonizing remarkably well.

In the second chant, the Chief intoned the words, *Good news, very good news;* and the others repeated them in the same tone. Then he resumed: *In very truth, my brother, in very truth, we are speaking together; in very truth, we have a message from heaven.*

The third chant had an ornament, in the form of a very musical refrain, and was as follows: *My brother, I salute thee; my brother, be welcome. Aï, ai, aï, hî. O the beautiful voice, O the beautiful voice that thou hast! Aï, aï, aï, hi. O the beautiful voice, O the beautiful voice that I have! Aï, aï, aï, hi.*

The fourth chant had another ornament; the Musicians, namely, beat time by striking their feet, hands, and pipes against their mats. This they did in such perfect accord that the sound, so regular, blended with their voices and became a harmony pleasing to the ear. The words were as follows: *My brother, I salute thee; again I salute thee. In all sincerity, and without simulation, I accept the Heaven that thou hast shown me; yes, I approve it. I accept it.*

The fifth time, they sang as follows: *Farewell, war; farewell, hatchet! We have been fools till now, but in future we will be brothers; yes, we will really be brothers.*

The final song was composed of these words: *Today the great peace is made. Farewell, war; Farewell, arms! For the affair is entirely beautiful. Thou upholdest our Cabins, when thou comest among us.*

These songs were followed by four beautiful presents. With the first, Agochiendaguesé, after a long speech testifying his gratitude that he and [119] Onnontio were now but one, said that, since the Hurons and Algonquins were Onnontio's children, they must be his also; he therefore adopted them by offering the first two presents, which he cast at the Father's feet. . . .

[121] After this Captain had finished speaking, the Chief Deputy from Oiogoen [1] arose and made a speech of thanks, of much wit and eloquence, which lasted a good half-hour. The pith of his polite address was, that he and all his Nation deemed themselves greatly obliged to Onnontio for the honor of adoption by him; that they would never become unworthy of that high distinction, or fail to do honor to so illustrious a connection; and

that, furthermore, brilliant as it was, it did honor to Onnontio, since neither the speaker nor his people had ever been adopted except by people of rank; yet that this adoption of them by Onnontio crowned all the glory which they derived from all their previous ties and alliances. To show his joy over this glory, the Deputy began a song, which was as pleasing as it was new. All present sang with him, but in a different and a heavier tone, beating time on their mats; while the man himself danced in the midst of them all, performing strange antics,—keeping his whole body in motion; making gestures with his hands, feet, head, eyes, and mouth,—and all this so exactly to the time of both his own singing and that of the others, that the result was admirable. He sang these words, *A, a, ha, Gaianderé, gaianderé;* that is, translated into Latin, *Io, io, triumphe.* And then, *E, e, he, Gaianderé, gaianderé; O, o, ho, Gaian-* [123] *deré, gaianderé.* He explained what he meant by his *Gaianderé,* which signifies, among the natives, "something very excellent." He said that, what we call the Faith, would be called by them *Gaianderé;* and, to explain it better, he offered his first present of porcelain. . . .

[125] On the seventeenth, after celebrating holy Mass, we were taken out to make measurements for a Chapel. It was erected on the following day, which, by good omen, was the day of the dedication of the Church of saint Peter and saint Paul. It is true that all our marble and precious metals were only bark. Upon its completion, it was consecrated by the Baptism of three children, to whom the way to Heaven was opened under that bark roof just as well as it is to those who are held over fonts whose arches are of gold and silver.

[145] SOME REMARKABLE CURES. THE FATHER CONTINUES HIS TEACHINGS. THE SAVAGES OBEY THEIR DREAMS.*

. . . . . .

[147] Toward evening of the ninth of January, we were spectators of the most subtle sorcery of the Country, employed for the cure of a sick woman of our cabin who had long been ailing. The Sorcerer entered [149] with a Tortoise-shell in his hand, half full of small pebbles,—such are their instruments of magic. He took a seat in the midst of a dozen women who were to assist him in banishing the disease, and the neighbors gathered about to see

* Chap. ix.

this superstitious ceremony. All it consists in is, that the Magician strikes the Tortoise-shell against a mat, and intones a song, while the women dance about him, in time with his singing and with the noise of the Tortoise-shell. You see them move their feet, arms, head, and entire body, with such violence that great drops of perspiration soon cover their bodies. At the first trial, the disease was not expelled, or at the second, or at the third; this caused the dance to be prolonged far into the night, while the patient's illness abated not a particle.

On the fifteenth, after Baptizing a young Huron in our Chapel, we spent a good part of the morning in observing the holy Sabbath day, teaching, and directing the prayers of our visitors, who came in such numbers as to fill our Chapel seven times over. As we explain our Mysteries to them, so they at times relate their legends to us. They have an amusing myth touching the creation of mankind on earth. They say that one day the Master of Heaven, plucking up a large tree, made a hole leading from Heaven to earth; and a man of that Country, becoming angry with his wife, threw her into this hole, and so made her fall from Heaven to earth. She was not hurt, however, though she was pregnant with two children, a boy and a girl. Now, by these Twins, the earth was peopled.[1] . . .

[151] Not long ago, a man of the Village of Oiogen saw one night in his sleep, ten men plunge into the frozen river, entering through a hole made in the ice, and coming out through another. The first thing that he did on waking was to prepare a great feast, to which he invited ten of his friends. They all came; joy and gladness prevailed, with singing, dancing, and every accompaniment of a good feast. "This is well," said the Master of the feast, "you [153] give me pleasure, my brothers, showing by your joy that you like my entertainment. But it is not all; you must show me whether you love me." Thereupon, he told them his dream, which, however, did not confound them; for, instantly, all ten offered to fulfill it. Accordingly, they went to the river, and pierced the ice, making two holes, fifteen paces apart. The Divers stripped. The first one prepared the way for the others, plunging into one of the holes and coming out successfully at the other. The second did the same, and likewise the rest, until the tenth man's turn came, and paid the penalty for all; he could not find his way out, and perished miserably under the ice.

In the same Village of Oiogoen, there occurred last year an event which caused all the inhabitants much anxiety. One of

them, having dreamed that he gave a feast of human flesh, invited all the chief men of the Country to his cabin to hear a matter of importance. When they had assembled, he told them that he was ruined, as he had had a dream impossible of fulfillment; that his ruin would entail that of the whole Nation; and that a universal overthrow and destruction of the earth was to be expected. He enlarged at great length on the subject, and then asked them to guess his dream. All struck wide of the mark, until one man, suspecting the truth, said to him: "Thou wishest to give a feast of human flesh. Here, take my brother; I place him in thy hands to be cut up on the spot, and put into the kettle." All present were seized with fright, except the dreamer, who said that his dream required a woman. Superstition went so far, that they adorned a girl with all the riches of the Country, —with [155] bracelets, collars, crowns, and all the ornaments used by women,—just as victims of old were decked for immolation; and that poor innocent, not knowing why she was made to look so pretty, was actually led to the place appointed for the sacrifice. All the people attended to witness so strange a spectacle. The guests took their places, and the public victim was led into the middle of the circle. She was delivered to the Sacrificer, who was the very one for whom the sacrifice was to be made. He took her; they watched his actions, and pitied that innocent girl; but, when they thought him about to deal the death-blow, he cried out: "I am satisfied; my dream requires nothing further." Is it not a great charity to open the eyes of a people so grossly in error?

Not only do they believe in their dreams, but they also hold a special festival to the Demon of dreams. This festival might be called the festival of fools, or the Carnival of wicked Christians; for, in both, the devil plays almost the same part, and at the same season. They call this celebration HONNONOUARORIA, and the Elders announce it through the Village streets. We witnessed the ceremony on the twenty-second of February, of this year, 1656. Immediately upon the announcement of the festival by these public cries, nothing was seen but men, women, and children, running like maniacs through the streets and cabins,—this, however, in a far different manner from that of Masqueraders in Europe, the greater number being nearly naked, and apparently insensible to the cold, which is well-nigh unbearable to those who are most warmly clothed. Some, indeed, give no farther evidence of their folly, than to run [157] thus half naked through all the cabins; but others are mischievous. Some carry

water, or something worse, and throw it at those whom they meet; others take the fire-brands, coals, and ashes from the fire, and scatter them in all directions, without heeding on whom they fall; others break the kettles, dishes, and all the little domestic outfit that they find in their path. Some go about armed with javelins, bayonets, knives, hatchets, and sticks, threatening to strike the first one they meet; and all this continues until each has attained his object and fulfilled his dream. In this connection, two things are worthy of note.

First, it sometimes happens that one is not bright enough to guess their thoughts; for they are not clearly put forth, but are expressed in riddles, phrases of covert meaning, songs, and occasionally in gestures alone. Consequently, a good Œdipus is not always to be found. Yet, they will not leave a place until their thought is divined; and if they meet with delay, or a disinclination or inability to guess it, they threaten to burn up everything,—a menace which is only too often executed, as we very nearly learned to our own cost. One of these maniacs stole into our cabin, determined that we should guess his dream and satisfy it. Now, we had declared at the outset, that we would not comply with these dreams; yet he persisted for a long time in shouting, storming, and raving—in our absence, however, for we retired to an outlying cabin to avoid the riot. One of our hosts, annoyed by these cries, came to him to learn what he wanted. The madman answered, "I kill a Frenchman; that is my dream, which must be fulfilled at any cost." Our host [159] threw him a French coat, pretending that it had been stripped from a dead man; at the same time, working himself into a frenzy, he declared his determination to avenge the Frenchman's death, saying that his destruction should be followed by that of the whole Village, which he was going to reduce to ashes, beginning with his own cabin. Thereupon, he drove out relatives and friends and servants, and all the crowd which had gathered to witness the outcome of this hubbub. Left alone, he shut the doors, and set the whole place on fire. At the moment when all were expecting to see the entire cabin burst into flames, Father Chaumonot, returning from an errand of charity, arrived on the scene. He saw a fearful smoke issuing from his bark house, and was told the reason. Breaking in a door, he rushed into the midst of the fire and smoke, removed the firebrands, extinguished the fire, and gently forced his host to withdraw,—to the surprise of the entire populace, who never thwart the fury of the Demon of dreams. The man's frenzy, however, did not abate; he ran through the

streets and cabins, crying at the top of his voice that he would set everything on fire, in order to avenge the Frenchman's death. A dog was offered to him, to become the victim of his wrath and of the Demon of his passion. "That is not enough," he said, "to wipe out the shame and indignity done me in wishing to kill a Frenchman lodged in my house." A second dog was offered him, and he became pacified at once, returning to his cabin as calmly as if nothing had occurred.

Note, if you please, by the way, that, just as he who has captured a prisoner in war, often takes only [161] his apparel, and not his life, so he who has dreamed that he is to kill some one, very often contents himself with his clothes, without assailing his person. For that reason, the dreamer was given a Frenchman's coat. Let us proceed.

Our host's brother, like all the rest, wished to play his part. Dressing himself somewhat like a Satyr, and decking his person from top to toe with the husks of Indian corn,—he had two women disguise themselves as veritable Megeras,—their hair flying, their faces coal-black, their persons clothed with a couple of Wolfskins, and each armed with a handspike or large stake. The Satyr, seeing them well fitted out, marched about our cabin, singing and howling at the top of his voice. Then, climbing to the roof, he went through a thousand antics, with an outcry as if the day of destruction had come. After that, he came down, and proceeded solemnly through the entire Village, the two Megeras walking before him, and striking with their stakes whatever chanced to come under their hands. If it be true that every one has some grain of folly,—since *Stultorum infinitus est numerus*,—then these people must be acknowledged to possess more than half an ounce apiece. But this is not all.

Scarcely had our Satyr and Megeras passed out of our sight, when a woman, armed with an arquebus which she had obtained through her dream, rushed into our cabin. She was shouting, howling, and singing, saying that she was going to war against the Cat Nation, that she would fight them, and bring back some prisoners—with a thousand imprecations and curses on herself, if what she had dreamed should not take place.

[163] This Amazon was followed by a warrior, who came in carrying his bow and arrows and a bayonet. He danced and sang, shouted and threatened; and then suddenly rushed at a woman who had entered to view this comedy. He leveled the bayonet at her throat, then seized her by the hair, but was satisfied with cutting off a few locks; after this, he retired, to give

place to a Diviner, who had dreamed that he could guess the location of any concealed article. He was ridiculously attired, and bore in his hand a sort of divining-rod, which he used for pointing out the place of concealment. Still, his companion, who carried a vase filled with some kind of liquor, was obliged to take a mouthful and blow it out upon the head, face, hands, and wand of the Diviner, before the latter could find the object in question. I leave the solution of the mystery to the reader.

A woman came in with a mat,[1] which she spread out, and arranged as if she wished to catch some fish; she thus indicated that some must be given her, to satisfy her dream.

Another simply laid a mattock on the ground. It was guessed that she wanted a field or a piece of ground, which was exactly her desire. She was content with five furrows for planting Indian corn.

After that, a little grotesque figure was put in front of us. We rejected it, and it was placed before other persons; after the mumbling of some words, it was carried off without further ceremony.

One of the Village chiefs appeared in wretched attire, and all covered with ashes. Because his dream, which called for two human hearts, was not [165] guessed, he caused the ceremony to be protracted one day, never ceasing his foolish actions during that time. Entering our cabin, in which there are several fireplaces, he went to the first, and tossed ashes and coals into the air; he repeated the performance at the second and third, but did nothing at ours, out of respect.

Some come entirely armed, and behave as if they were engaging the enemy. They assume the attitudes, shout the battle-cries, and join in the scramble of two armies in action.

Others march about in companies, and perform dances with contortions of body that resemble those of men possessed. In short, one would never end if he tried to relate all that is done during the three days and three nights in which this nonsense lasts, such a din prevailing the while that scarcely a moment's quiet is to be had. Yet this did not prevent us from holding Prayers as usual in our Chapel, or hinder God from manifesting his Love toward these poor peoples in certain miraculous cures, granted by virtue of holy Baptism. Of them, however, we shall not speak here. Let us finish the account already begun of their obedience to their dreams.

It would be cruelty, nay, murder, not to give a man the subject of his dream; for such a refusal might cause his death. Hence,

some see themselves stripped of their all, without any hope of retribution; for, whatever they thus give away will never be restored to them, unless they themselves dream, or pretend to dream, of the same thing. But they are, in general, too scrupulous to employ simulation, which would, in their opinion, cause all sorts [167] of misfortunes. Yet there are some who overcome their scruples, and enrich themselves by a shrewd piece of deception.

The Satyr mentioned above found his cabin stripped of many articles, for which we were indirectly responsible; because great and small dreamed of the French, and as we would not listen to their demands, he, being fond of us, satisfied them. But, at length, wishing to reimburse himself, he assumed the garb already described, and impersonated not only a Satyr, but also the phantom which he feigned had appeared to him in the night with an order to collect forty Beaver-skins. This he accomplished in the following manner. He began to shout through the streets that he was no longer a man, but a brute beast; whereupon the Elders held a council for the restoration of one of their Chiefs to his original form. This was effected as soon as he had been given what he wished and pretended to have dreamed about.*

A poor woman was less fortunate in her dream, running about day and night, and catching only an illness. They wished to cure her with the commonest remedies of the Country, which are

*"A warrior [of the Iroquois] having dreamed that he had been taken prisoner in battle, in order to avert the fatality of this direful dream, summoned all his friends, upon awaking, and implored them to aid him in his misfortune, and to show themselves his true friends by treating him like an enemy. Accordingly, they threw themselves upon him, stripped him entirely naked, bound him, dragged him through the streets with the customary hooting, made him mount the scaffold, lighted the fires around him, and prepared, with cruel compassion, to render him that odious service. But he was content with all these preliminaries and, after passing some hours in singing his death song, thanked the company, believing that after this imaginary captivity he would never be actually a prisoner.

"Another man, having in a dream seen his cabin on fire, could find no rest until he could see it actually burning; and the Elders, after mature deliberation on the matter, proceeded in a body to set it on fire, which they did with ceremony—very nearly as city Aldermen light the bonfires.

"What happened to a third man is far more extraordinary. This wretched dreamer, not thinking it was showing enough respect to his dream to have himself burned in effigy, was determined that the fire should be actually applied to his legs, in the same way as to captives when their final torture is begun. What a spectacle, to see this Martyr to Dreams submitting to a veritable roasting, of such duration and cruelty that it took six months for him to recover from his burns!"—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1661-62:—*Id.*, xlvii, *doc.* cviii, pp. 179, 181.

emetics compounded of certain roots steeped in water, but they gave her such a quantity that she died immediately, her stomach bursting to let out two kettlefuls of water that she had been made to take.

A young man of our cabin came off with a good powdering. He dreamed that he was buried in ashes, and, on awaking, was bent on making the illusion a reality. He invited ten of his Friends to a feast for the purpose of fulfilling his dream, and [169] they acquitted themselves most excellently of the commission, covering him with ashes from head to foot, and rubbing them into his nose, ears, and all parts of his body. We were disgusted with such a ridiculous ceremony, which all the rest viewed with silent admiration, as some great mystery. . . .

[171] CEREMONIES PREPARATORY TO WAR. SOME ENGAGEMENTS.*

Toward the end of the month of January, we witnessed the Ceremony performed every Winter in preparation for war, to which they incite one another in two ways.

First, the war-kettle, as they call it, is hung over the fire in Autumn, that each of the Allies may put therein some choice bit to cook all Winter; that is, that they may participate in the intended enterprise. When the kettle had boiled until the month of February, many Hunters being present from Sonnontouan and Oiogoen, they held the war-feast, which lasted several nights. They sang, danced, and made countless grimaces, as a public announcement of their determination never to draw back in this fight, and to die in all sorts of torment rather than yield. With this declaration, they threw live coals and hot ashes at one another, exchanged heavy blows, and burned one another, to see if any were likely to fear the enemy's fires. One must bear it all, on this occasion, and submit to be roasted by his best friends, without showing a sign of pain; otherwise, he would be disgraced and branded as a coward.

The Father was invited to put something into the kettle, to make it better, and he told them that he intended to do so; then, adapting himself to their [173] ways, he said that the French would put some gunpowder under it, which pleased them greatly.

The other ceremony that they perform every Winter, to gain

* Chap. x.

courage for fighting, regards the drugs used in dressing wounds. For this, all the Village Sorcerers or Jugglers, the Physicians of the Country, assemble, to give strength to their drugs, and, by the ceremony performed, to impart to them a virtue entirely distinct from that derived from the soil.*

The chief Sorcerer takes his place in the middle of the group, surrounded by a great crowd. Then, raising his voice, he says that he is about to impart to the drugs or roots in his pouch the power of curing all kinds of wounds. Thereupon, he begins to sing at the top of his voice, the other Sorcerers responding and repeating the same song, until the desired virtue has been infused into the roots. To prove this, he does two things. First, he bites his lips, drawing blood and letting it run down his chin; then, in plain sight of all, he applies his drug to his lips, adroitly sucking up the flowing blood; and the people, seeing the bleeding checked, applaud loudly, as if the drug had indeed quickly cured the wound.

And, to show that his remedies not only restore the sick to health, but also raise the dead to life, he causes to come out of his pouch a little dead Squirrel, which he holds by a cunning attachment to the end of the tail. He places it on his arm; all see that it is dead; then he applies his drugs, and, pulling the string as slyly as possible, he makes it return to his pouch, apparently revived before the spectators' eyes. Producing it again, he makes it move, as the Jugglers of France move their puppets. In [175] that large assembly, there is scarcely a person who does not show his admiration for the virtue of the herbs which work so mighty a miracle. After this great prodigy, the Master Sorcerer parades through all the streets, followed by a great crowd, singing at the top of his voice, and showing off his simples. Now, all this is done to make the young warriors fearless of wounds in battle, since they possess so sovereign a remedy. It is not in America alone that people seem to take pleasure in being deceived, but in Europe also. . . .

* "Here is a strange Hiroquois custom: We have been told that they sometimes take a new-born child, stick arrows into it, and throw it into the fire; when the flesh is consumed, they take the bones and crumble them to powder; and when they intend to go to war, they swallow a little of this powder, believing that this beverage increases their courage. They also use these ashes for their charms and superstitions. The mother who gives her child for this abominable sacrifice is rewarded with some valuable present."—Le Jeune's *Relation*, 1640:—*Id.*, xix, *doc.* xli, p. 71.

[185] COUNCILS HELD BY THESE TRIBES. MEETING WITH HURONS. EXECUTION OF A PRISONER. A SAVAGE'S VISION.*

On the fifth of February, there came to Onnontagué many Hunters from Sonnontouan and Oiogoen, whom the Father greeted with two presents of a thousand beads to each Nation; telling them that they entered not only the country of the Onnontaguehronnons, but also that of the French, since the two formed but one People. He added that the joy at their coming was general; and he wished that Onnontio could have seen what fine children he had in that Country, for he would be especially pleased with them. He also, with the present offered in his name, wiped away the blood still remaining on their persons from their latest engagement with the Cat Nation. They responded with two similar presents, after which they prepared for their war-feast. We withdrew, to leave them at liberty to carry out fully the ceremony already mentioned. . . .

[189] On the eleventh of February, a Deputy from Onneiout came to treat of the general affairs of the country. He told the Father, among other things, that the peace between the French and the Anniehronnons was a permanent one, and so well compacted that there was nothing to fear on either side. But I would not place much confidence in it.

He caused a council to be held,** and, when the Deputies of the other Nations had assembled, with the Elders of the Village, the Father was invited to attend, for the sake of learning this

* Chap. xii.

** "We follow the location of the places in the order of the Chapters; for after the Nation of Agnié and that of Onneiout, proceeding in a Southwesterly direction, we reach Onnontaé,—a large Village, and the center of all the Iroquois Nations,—where every year the States-general, so to speak, is held, to settle the differences that may have arisen among them in the course of the year.

"Their Policy in this is very wise, and has nothing Barbarous in it. For, since their preservation depends upon their union, and since it is hardly possible that among peoples where license reigns with all impunity—and, above all, among young people—there should not happen some event capable of causing a rupture, and disuniting their minds,—for these reasons, they hold every year a general assembly in Onnontaé. There all the Deputies from the different Nations are present, to make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts,—by means of which they maintain a good understanding with one another."—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1667-68:—*Id.*, li, *doc.* cxxiv, p. 237.

"After the nation of the Agniez and that of the Onneiouts, going in a Southwesterly direction, one comes to Onnontagué,—[1] a large Village, the center of all the Iroquois tribes, and the place of the general assemblies that they hold each year."—*Relation*, 1668-69:—*Id.*, lii, *doc.* cxxv, p. 153.

Deputy's errand. He went, and, addressing the representatives of Onneiout and Oiogoen, he told them that he was glad to see them, enjoined union upon them, and begged them not to give ear to the slanders of the envious. His speech ended with a present of a thousand beads to each Nation.

[191] The Deputy from Onneiout rose, and brought forward a handsome collar of two thousand beads, which he presented to the Father, to wipe away the blood shed by the Anniehronnons since the first negotiations for peace. He gave him another, a similar one, to thank him for adopting them as his children and compatriots, exhorting him to be a veritable Father, not only in word, but also in reality, as indeed he was expected to be. The third present was to encourage him in the enterprise, which he and Agochiendaguesé had so happily begun and nearly completed. Then, to attest his joy at being adopted by Onnontio, he sang, and made his companions sing. That done, he spoke for a full half-hour, declaring his sentiments upon his adoption, and naming all the relatives he had at Kebec, at three Rivers, and at Montreal. Never Actor played his part better than this man did, especially when he undertook to entertain the company for more than two hours with his Countrymen's deeds of prowess, portraying by voice and gesture, battles, assaults, exploits, victories, defeats, the dead, the living,—and all with a grace and simplicity beyond conception.

Toward evening of the same day, three Soldiers of this Village arrived with three scalps, taken from some people of another language than that of these Regions, and of a country far distant from here. They also brought home two young men of the Cat Nation, well formed, well dressed, strong, and between twenty and thirty years of age. Whether because the Onnontaguehronnons had not taken them in regular warfare, or because they, in despair of escaping, had given themselves up voluntarily, they [193] thought that they ought not to be treated as captives; and, indeed, upon their arrival, they were assigned to two of the most honorable families, to take the place of two deceased members. The younger and handsomer one, a Nephew of the other, was given to the greatest warrior of the Country, named Aharihon, a Captain famous for his warlike exploits, but as arrogant and bloodthirsty as he is brave, as will presently appear.

One of his brothers having been recently killed by the Cat Nation, he was replaced by this newly-adopted man. The cruel Captain held his brother in such high esteem that he had already made him a sacrifice of forty men,—causing them to be burned,

since he did not believe that there was any one worthy to occupy his place.* When, accordingly, this young man was given him as a substitute for the deceased, he presented to him four dogs, upon which to hold his feast of adoption. In the middle of the feast, while he was rejoicing and singing to entertain the guests, Aharihon arose, and told the company that this man too must die in atonement for his brother's death. The poor lad was astounded at this, and turned toward the door to make his escape, but was stopped by two men who had orders to burn him. On the fourteenth of February, in the evening, they began with his feet, intending to roast him, at a slow fire, as far up as the waist, during the greater part of the night. After midnight, they were to let him rally his strength and sleep a little until daybreak, when they were to finish this fatal tragedy. In his torture, the poor man made the whole Village resound with his cries and groans. It was fearful to hear him shrieking in the dead of [195] night. He shed great tears, contrary to the usual custom, the victim commonly glorying to be burned limb by limb, and opening his lips only to sing; but, as this one had not expected death, he wept and cried in a way that touched even these Barbarians. One of Aharihon's relatives was so moved with pity, that he advised ending the sufferer's torments by plunging a knife into his breast—which would have been a deed of mercy, had the stab been mortal. However, they were induced to continue the burn-

*"'Near this place [Montreal] we surprised the Captain General of the Iroquois, surnamed Nero by our Frenchmen who have been in their country, because of his notorious cruelty. This in time past has led him to sacrifice to the shade of a brother of his, slain in war, eighty men, burning them all at a slow fire, and to kill sixty more with his own hand. He keeps the tally of these on his thigh, which consequently appears to be covered with black characters.

"'This man commonly has nine slaves with him, namely, five boys and four girls. He is a Captain of dignified appearance and imposing carriage, and of such equanimity and presence of mind that, upon seeing himself surrounded by armed men, he showed no more surprise than if he had been alone; and when asked whether he would not like to accompany us to Quebec, he deigned only to answer coldly that that was not a question to ask him, since he was in our power.

"'Accordingly he was made to come aboard our Vessel, where I took pleasure in studying his disposition as well as that of an Algonquin in our company, who bore the scalp of an Iroquois but recently slain by him in war. These two men, although hostile enough to eat each other, chatted and laughed on board that Vessel with great familiarity, it being very hard to decide which of the two was the more skillful in masking his feelings.

"'I had Nero placed near me at table, where he bore himself with a gravity, a self-control, and a propriety, which showed nothing of his Barbarian origin; but during the rest of the time he was constantly eating, so that he fasted only when he was at table.'"—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1662-63:—*Id.*, xlviii, *doc.* cxii, pp. 169, 171.

ing without interruption, so that before day he ended both his sufferings and his life.

On the seventeenth, three thousand porcelain beads having been lost, the Soothsayer was consulted. Covering his face and blindfolding his eyes,—in order to see more clearly, as was said, —he ran about through the streets, the people following. After he had run for a considerable time, he went straight to the foot of a tree, where he found two thousand beads—the third thousand being retained by him to repay him for his trouble. Thereupon followed great applause, and an emulous propounding of riddles while he was in heat.

On the twenty-fourth, while the Honnaouaroria—of which we spoke above, in connection with dreams—was being held, there arrived three Warriors, returning, after more than a year's absence, from the war against the Cat Nation. One of them announced, on his arrival, that he had a matter of very great importance to communicate to the Elders. These having assembled, he told them that, while seeking the enemy, he met a Tortoise of incredible size; and, some time after, he saw a Demon in the guise of a little Dwarf, who is said to have already appeared to [197] others. They call him Taronhiaouagui, which means "he who holds up the Sky."[1] This Dwarf or Demon spoke as follows: "I am he who holds up the Sky, and the guardian of the earth; I preserve men, and give victories to warriors. I have made you masters of the earth and victors over so many Nations: I made you conquer the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Ahondihronnons, Atiraguenrek, Atiaonrek, Takoulguehronnons and Gentaguetehronnons; in short, I have made you what you are: and, if you wish me to continue my protection over you, hear my words, and execute my orders.*

* "The Demon, seeing the fruit of our instructions, has incited a woman of this Village [Onneiout] to interrupt them. She affirms that she has seen the great God of the Iroquois, Tcharonhiaouagon,—who has revealed to her, she says, that the Andastogué will come to besiege this Village in the Spring, and that one of the most powerful of their enemies, named Hochitagete, will be captured and burned by the Onneiout. It is asserted that the voice of that Andastogué was heard; from the bottom of a kettle he uttered wailing cries, like the cries of those who are being burned. This woman—mad or possessed—is believed in all that she says. Every day there is a gathering at her house, where there is nothing but dancing, singing, and feasting,—a powerful deterrent to our prayers."—Bruyas, *Relation*, 1669-70:—*Id.*, liii, *doc.* cxxvi, pp. 251, 253.

"They [the Iroquois] have a certain ceremony—one of the most important of their superstitious observances—which they hold at least once a year, toward the month of February, with great solemnity, in honor of their dreams, through which they claim to know all the decrees of a certain Taronhiaouagon respecting their good or evil fortune. This spirit, they declare, is the mightiest of

"First, you will find three Frenchmen in your Village when you arrive there. Secondly, you will enter during the celebration of the Honnaouroria. Thirdly, after your arrival, let there be sacrificed to me ten dogs, ten porcelain beads from each cabin, a collar ten rows wide, four measures of sunflower seed, and as many of beans. And, as for thee, let two married women be given thee, to be at thy disposal for five days. If that be not executed item by item I will make thy Nation a prey to all sorts of disasters; and, after it is all done, I will declare to thee my orders for the future." So saying, the Dwarf vanished. This vision the man immediately related to his companions, who witnessed, as they affirmed, its verification that very day. Seeing by chance a Stag, he called it from a distance, and bade it come to him. The Stag obeyed, approaching and coming up to receive its death-stroke from our Visionary. Though the whole story was probably only a fiction of these three Warriors, who invented the dream to cover their shame at [199] returning empty-handed after so long an absence, still it is certain that the man was as wasted, pale, and depressed, as if he had spoken with the Devil. He spat blood, and was so disfigured that one scarcely dared to look him in the face. The Elders did not fail to offer the sacrifice as commanded, so prompt are they to obey whatever resembles a dream.

[219] OF THE ARRIVAL OF A COMPANY OF ALGONQUINS CALLED THE OUTAOUAK.*

On the sixth day of August, 1654, two young Frenchmen, full of courage, having received permission from Monsieur the Governor of the Country to embark with some of the Peoples who had come down to our French settlements, began a journey of more

all spirits, and the Master of our lives. The ceremony is held either for the cure of some person of wealth and station; or before their hunting expedition, to obtain good success therein; or when they are about to adopt some important war plans. It will sometimes last four or five days, during which all is disorder, and no one does more than snatch a hasty meal. All are at liberty to run through the cabins in grotesque attire, both men and women, indicating—by signs, or by singing in enigmatical and obscure terms—what they have wished for in their dreams; and this each person tries to divine, offering the thing guessed, however precious it may be, and making a boast of appearing generous on this occasion. The head-man of the Village is the prime mover in this whole affair, and to him it belongs to determine the time and conditions of the ceremony."—Dablon's *Relation*, 1670-71:—*Id.*, lv, *doc.* cxxvii, p. 61.

* Chap. xiv.

than five hundred leagues under the guidance of these Argonauts, —conveyed, not in great Galleons or large oared Barges, but in little Gondolas of bark. The two Pilgrims fully expected to return in the Spring of 1655, but these Peoples did not conduct them home until toward the end of August of this year, 1656. Their arrival caused the Country universal joy, for they were accompanied by fifty canoes, laden with goods which the French come to this end of the world to procure. The fleet rode in state, and in fine order along our mighty river, propelled by five hundred arms, and guided by as many eyes, most of which had never seen the great wooden canoes of the French,—that is to say, their Ships.

Having landed, amid the stunning noise of Cannon, and having quickly built their temporary dwellings, the Captains ascended to Fort saint Louys to salute Monsieur our Governor, bearing their speeches in their hands. These were two presents, which represent words among these Peoples. One [221] of the two gifts asked for some Frenchmen, to go and pass the Winter in their Country; while the other made request for some Fathers of our Society, to teach all the nations of those vast Regions the way to Heaven. They were answered, in their own way, by presents, and were very willingly granted all that they asked. But, while those assigned to this great undertaking are making their preparations, let us learn some news from the two French Pilgrims and from their hosts.[1]

First, it is well to note that the Huron language extends fully five hundred leagues toward the South, and the Algonquin more than five hundred toward the North. I know well that there are some slight differences among these Nations; but they consist in certain dialects, which are soon learned, and which do not affect the fundamental principles of the two languages.

In the second place, there are in the Northern regions many Lakes which might well be called fresh-water Seas, the great Lake of the Hurons, and another near it, being as large as the Caspian Sea.

In the third place, we were told of many Nations surrounding the Nation of the Sea, which some have called "the Stinkards," because its people formerly lived on the shores of the Sea, which they call *Ouinipeg*, that is, "stinking water." The *Liniouek*, their neighbors, comprise about sixty Villages; the *Nadouesiouek* have fully forty; the *Pouarak*, at least thirty; and the *Kiristinons* surpass all the above in extent, reaching as far as the North Sea.[2] The Country of the Hurons, which had only seventeen Villages,

extending over about as many leagues, maintained fully thirty thousand people.

[223] A Frenchman once told me that he had seen, in the Country of the people of the Sea, three thousand men in an assembly held to form a treaty of peace. All those Tribes make war on other more distant Nations,—so true is it that men are Wolves toward men, and that the number of fools is infinite. These fools practice mutual slaughter, each wishing to prescribe the law to the other. . . .

[*Id., doc.* xc, vol. xlii, pp. 17-245.]

XXVIII

[99] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the countries of New France, from the Summer of the year 1656, to the Summer of the year 1657.

[The burden of this year's report is the work begun among the Iroquois tribes. . . . The Iroquois country, its physical characteristics and resources, are described. The trees and fruits of the country are mentioned. The springs of salt, sulphur and petroleum excite the wonder of the French visitors of that region,—as also do the fertility of the soil, and the abundance of fish in the streams and lakes. The five Iroquois tribes who dwell in that land are characterized. Their ferocity and cruelty are extreme, and, in their thirst for blood, they have so devoted themselves to war that their own losses are enormous; "they have so depopulated their own Villages that these now contain more Foreigners than natives of the country." The Senecas comprise people from as many as eleven different tribes. Some account is given of the Iroquois customs in marriage, sickness, mourning, and burial; their domestic relations; their superstitions, especially as connected with dreams, etc. Their hospitality, and kindness to their own poor, are highly praised. . . .—*Id.*, xliii, pp. 13, 17, 18.]

[257] OF THE NATURE AND OF SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY.*

THE country of the five Iroquois Nations, before their conquests, lay between the 40th and 50th degrees of latitude; at present, we do not know the extent of their dominion, which has been increased on all sides by their military valor. Our residence is situated between the 42nd and 43rd degrees, on the shores of the little Lake Gannentaa,[1] which would be one of the most commodious and most agreeable dwelling places in the world, without excepting even the levee of the River Loire, if its inhabitants were as polished and as tractable.

It has advantages that are wanting in the rest of Canada; for, besides grapes, plums, and many other fruits,—which it has in common with the fine Provinces of Europe, it has a number of others, which excel ours in beauty, fragrance, and taste. The forests consist almost entirely of chestnut and walnut trees.

* Chap. xi.

There are two kinds of nuts; one kind is as sweet and agreeable to the taste as the other is bitter; but, with all their bitterness, an excellent oil is extracted from them by passing them through the ashes, through the mill, through fire, and through water, in the same way as the Savages extract oil from sunflowers.[1] Stoneless cherries are found there.* Fruits grow there which are of the color and size of an apricot, whose blossom is like that of the [259] white lily, and which smell and taste like the citron. There are apples as large as a goose's egg; the seed has been brought from the country of the Cats and looks like beans; the fruit is delicate and has a very sweet smell; the trunk is of the height and thickness of our dwarf trees; it thrives in swampy spots and in good soil. But the most common and most wonderful plant in these countries is that which we call the universal plant; because its leaves, when pounded, heal in a short time wounds of all kinds; these leaves, which are as broad as one's hand, have the shape of a lily as depicted in heraldry; and its roots have the smell of the laurel. The most vivid scarlet, the brightest green, the most natural yellow and orange of Europe pale before the various colors that our Savages procure from roots. I say nothing of trees as tall as oaks, whose leaves are as large and as open as those of cabbages; or of many other plants, peculiar to this country, because as yet we are ignorant of their properties.[2]

The springs, which are as numerous as they are wonderful, are nearly all mineral. Our little Lake, which is only six or seven leagues in circumference, is almost entirely surrounded by salt springs.** The water is used for salting and seasoning meat,

* "In all our Hostelries, we found neither bread, nor wine, nor meat, nor fish. God gave us a small wild fruit, called here [in the Iroquois country] *Atoka*.[3] The young people went to gather it in the neighboring meadows, and although it is neither palatable nor substantial, hunger made us find it excellent. It is almost of the color and size of a small cherry."—*Relation*, 1656-57:—*Id.*, xliii, *doc.* xcvi, p. 147.

** "In size, the Lake is about two leagues in length, and half a league in width. We have observed three remarkable facts in connection with it.

"The first is, that, South of it, there are springs of salt water, although the Lake itself is very far from the Sea,—just as in Lorraine, where there are similar springs. But I do not think that salt can be obtained there with as much facility as here; for it is found ready-made on the soil in the vicinity of those springs, and, when the water is boiled, it is easily turned into salt.

"The second is, that, in the Spring, so great numbers of Pigeons collect around these salt-springs, that sometimes as many as seven hundred are caught in the course of one morning.

"The third remarkable fact is, that at the same place there are found certain snakes, which are seen nowhere else. We call them rattlesnakes, because, as they crawl along, they make a noise like that of a rattle,—or, rather, of a

and for making very good salt. It often forms of itself in fine crystals with which nature takes pleasure in surrounding these springs. The salt that forms at a spring about two days' journey from our residence, toward Oiogoen, is much stronger than that from the springs of Gannentaa, for, when the water—which looks as white as milk, and the smell of which is perceptible from a great distance—is boiled, it leaves a kind of salt almost as corrosive as Caustic. The [261] rocks about that spring are covered with a foam as thick as cream. The spring in the direction of Sonnontouan is no less wonderful; for its water—being of the same nature as the surrounding soil, which has only to be washed in order to obtain perfectly pure sulphur—ignites when shaken violently, and yields sulphur when boiled. As one approaches nearer to the country of the Cats, one finds heavy and thick water, which ignites like brandy, and boils up in bubbles of flame when fire is applied to it. It is, moreover, so oily that all our Savages use it to anoint and grease their heads and their bodies.[1]

One must not be astonished at the fertility of this country, for it is everywhere watered by Lakes, Rivers, and Springs, which are found even on the highest mountains. But, if these waters make the earth fertile, they themselves are none the less fruitful in what pertains to them. The fish most commonly found in them are Eels and Salmon, which are caught there from the Spring to the end of Autumn. Our Savages construct their dams and sluices so well, that they catch at the same time the Eels, that

cicada. At the ends of their tails they have round scales, so joined with one another that, by opening and closing them, they make that noise, which is heard at a distance of twenty paces. These rattles or scales also make a noise when they are shaken after the death of the snake; but it is not so loud as that which the snake makes when alive. The natives of the country say that its scales are an excellent remedy for toothache, and that its flesh, which they find as well flavored as that of the eel, cures fever. They cut off the tail and the head, which is quite flat, and almost square, and eat the remainder. The body is about three feet long, thicker than a man's wrist, and all speckled on the back with black and yellow spots,—except on the tail, which is almost entirely black. It has four teeth, two above and two below, as long as our small needles, but much sharper. It bites like a dog, and injects its poison into the wound through a small black sting, which it draws out of a bag containing the poison. When a person is bitten, he at once swells up, and, unless he receives prompt assistance, he dies in a short time, entirely covered with red pustules. When these Snakes see a man, they hiss and shake their tails, sounding their rattles, either to frighten the enemy, or to excite themselves for the fight,—or, rather, because God has given them that instinct in order that men may be on their guard at the approach of so dangerous an animal. I know not whether these Snakes are attracted by the salt; but I do know that the spot whereon we have erected our dwelling, and which is surrounded by fine springs of fresh water, is not infested by them, although it is on the shore of the same Lake."—*Relation*, 1656-57:—*Id.*, xliii, *doc.* xcvi, pp. 151, 153, 155.

descend, and the Salmon, that always ascend. In the Lakes, they catch fish in a different manner; they spear them with a trident by the light of a bituminous fire, which they maintain in the bows of their canoes.

The temperature of the atmosphere, which resembles that of France, added to those advantages supplied by the waters and the earth, greatly facilitates the conversion of the Savages. We have reason to hope, therefore, that their capricious and peculiar disposition, of which we are about to speak, will be the only obstacle to their blessedness.

[263] OF THE CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS OF THE IROQUOIS.*

THE Iroquois, of whose Villages we have as yet discovered only fourteen, are divided into the Lower and the Upper Iroquois. The former consist only of the Anniehronnons, who are the most cruel, and with whom we have less communication. Under the name of the Upper Iroquois are comprised the Sonnontouaehronnons, who are the most numerous; the Onontagehronnons, who are the most influential, and our most faithful allies; the Oiogoenhronnons, who are the most arrogant; and the Onneiouthronnons, who are the weakest of all.[1]

The character of all these Nations is warlike and cruel; and, as they have no neighbors to fight, because they have subjugated all of them, they go to seek new enemies in other countries. Not long ago, they went to carry war very far beyond the country of the Cats, to peoples who have as yet no knowledge of Europeans, by whom they are equally unknown.** The chief virtue of these poor Pagans being cruelty, just as mildness is that of Christians, they teach it to their children from their very cradles, and accustom them to the most atrocious carnage and the most barbarous spectacles. Their first expeditions are undertaken merely for the purpose of shedding human blood and of signaling themselves by murders; and their infantile bands, armed with hatchets and guns which they can hardly carry, do [265]

* Chap. xii.

** "For our Iroquois have discovered, beyond the Cat Nation, other and numerous Nations who speak the Algonquin language. There are more than thirty villages whose inhabitants have never had any knowledge of Europeans; they still use only stone hatchets and knives, and the other things that these Savages used before they began to trade with the French."—*Relation*, 1656-57:—*Id.*, xliv, *doc.* xcvi, p. 49.

not fail to spread fear and horror everywhere. They go to war at a distance of two or three hundred leagues from their country, over inaccessible rocks and through vast forests, provided solely with hope, and leaving in their Villages, for whole years at a time, only their women and little children. But a few scalps that they bring back, or a few prisoners of war, destined to be butchered by them, are the trophies with which they consider their labors happily rewarded.

Nevertheless, these victories cause almost as much loss to them as to their enemies, and they have depopulated their own Villages to such an extent, that they now contain more Foreigners than natives of the country. Onnontaghé counts seven different nations, who have come to settle in it; and there are as many as eleven in Sonnontouan. Thus, their ruin, caused by their conquests, gives us the advantage of preaching the Faith to a number of various Nations, whom we could not visit and instruct each in its own country.

Their marriage makes only the bed common to the husband and wife; each one lives, during the day, with his own relatives. The wife goes to her husband at night, returning early next morning to the home of her mother or of her nearest relative, and the husband does not dare to enter his wife's cabin until she has had some children by him. The only community of property between them is, that the husband gives all the products of his hunting to his wife, who in turn renders him certain services, and is obliged to till his fields and harvest the crops.

They make their most serious illnesses ridiculous [267] by the gross superstitions with which they seek to cure them. They are convinced that they are afflicted with diseases only because the soul is in want of something for which it craves; and that it is only necessary to give it what it desires, in order to detain it peacefully in the body. They all vie with each other as to who shall be the most liberal, giving to the sick person all the presents that he desires and on which he considers that his life depends. A dying man may be seen surrounded by awls, scissors, knives, bells, needles, and a thousand other trifles, from the least of which he expects to obtain health. If at last he happen to die, his death is attributed to the absence of some article that he desired. "He dies," they say, "because his soul wished to eat the flesh of a dog, or of a man; because a certain hatchet that he wished for could not be procured; or because a fine pair of leggings that had been taken from him could not be found." If, on the contrary, the sick man recover his health, he attributes

his cure to the gift of the last thing that he wished for during his illness, and afterwards he cherishes it forever, preserving it carefully until his death. Thus, as they believe that all their illnesses are due to the same cause, they also recognize but one remedy for effecting their cure.

The Dead are not more exempt from their superstitions than the sick. As soon as any one dies in a cabin, one hears in it the cries and lamentations uttered by the assembled relatives of all ages and both sexes; and so frightful are they that one would take that lugubrious uproar, which lasts for months and even for entire years, for the howlings of Hell. Meanwhile,—after the dead man is buried, and his [269] grave is filled with provisions for the sustenance of his soul, and after a sort of sacrifice has been offered to him by burning a certain quantity of corn,—the elders, with the friends and relatives of the deceased, are invited to a feast, to which each one brings his presents to console the most afflicted. Thus did they proceed in the presence of a Father of our Society, who, at one of those ceremonies, represented Monsieur the Governor. One of the most notable of the Elders, with grave demeanor, exclaimed in a lugubrious voice: *Ai, ai, ai, agatondichon,* "Alas, alas, alas, my beloved relatives! I have neither mind nor words wherewith to console you. I can do nothing but mingle my tears with yours, and complain of the severity of the illness that treats us so ill. *Ai, ai, ai, agatondichon.* I am, nevertheless, consoled when I see Onnontio and the remainder of the French weeping with us. But, take courage, my relatives! Let us not cause sorrow any longer to so honorable a guest; but let us dry the tears of Onnontio by wiping away our own. Here is a present that will dry up their source." The present that he gave at the same time was a fine collar of Porcelain beads, and it was followed by the gifts and condolences of all the others. The liberality of the women was not less than that of the men on that occasion. The ceremony concluded with a feast, the best morsels of which were reserved for the sick persons of rank in the Village. As all this could not arrest the tears and the cries of one mother, one of the relatives, in order to testify his devotion by consoling her, disinterred the dead body; and, after clothing it with new garments, he threw the grave-clothes into the fire. This he did two or three [271] times on different occasions, until he found nothing but the bare bones, which he wrapped up in a covering to present them to the afflicted woman. Finally, some time after these ceremonies, the liberality of those who have given presents of consolation is acknowledged

by distributing among them the effects of the deceased, to which other things are added if these do not suffice.*

There is nothing for which these peoples have a greater horror than restraint. The very children cannot endure it, and live as they please in the houses of their parents, without fear of reprimand or of chastisement. Not that they are not punished sometimes by having their lips and their tongues rubbed with a very bitter root; but this is seldom done for fear that vexation might lead the children to cause their own death by eating certain noxious plants, which they know to be poisonous. These are most often used by the married women, to revenge themselves for the ill treatment of their husbands by thus leaving them the reproach of their death.**

However, amid so many defects due to their blindness and to their barbarous training, they still possess virtues which might cause shame to most Christians. No Hospitals are needed among them, because there are neither mendicants nor paupers as long as there are any rich people among them. Their kindness, humanity, and courtesy not only make them liberal with what they have, but cause them to possess hardly anything except in common. A whole village must be without corn, before any indi-

* "The same man [the husband of Catherine Gandeacteua, an Iroquois convert], after his wife's death, behaved like a perfect christian. It is the custom of the Savages to give all the goods of the deceased to their relatives and friends, in order to bewail their death, and to bury with them a portion of what they owned during their life; and to set up tombs, and paint thereon beasts and birds which they call spirits or masters of life. But the husband of our deceased woman, in his capacity of first captain, assembled the council of the elders and told them that their former customs must no longer be observed, as these were of no profit to their dead. He said that, as for him, his purpose was to adorn the dead woman's body with her most precious goods, since she was to rise again some day; and to employ the rest of what had belonged to her in giving alms to the poor."—Chauchetière's *Narrative of the Mission of the Sault*, 1667-68:—*Id.*, lxiii, *doc.* clvi, pp. 183, 185.

** "On the 15th [of April], we learned that a young man had poisoned himself at *Ossossané;* and in reference to this some Savages told us that one of the principal reasons why they showed so much indulgence towards their children, was that when the children saw themselves treated by their parents with some severity, they usually resorted to extreme measures and hanged themselves, or ate of a certain root that they call *Andachienrra*, which is a very quick poison."—Le Mercier's Huron *Relation*, 1637:—*Id.*, xiv, *doc.* xxix, p. 37.

"One day, when he [Soranhes, a Huron] found himself alone in his cabin with one of his little daughters, he sent her to get a certain root that they call Ondachienroa, which is a quick poison. This child went for it very innocently, supposing that her father intended to make some medicine, as he had shown some slight indisposition. She brought him some, but not enough to suit him, and she returned for it the second time. He ate his fill of it; a high fever attacked him, and carried him off in a little while." [1]—Le Mercier's Huron *Relation*, 1637:—*Id.*, xiii, *doc.* xxix, p. 27.

vidual can be obliged to endure privation. They divide the produce of their fisheries equally with all who come; and the only reproach they address to [273] us is our hesitation to send to them oftener for our supply of provisions.

In our last Relation, we stated how closely their superstitions were connected with their dreams; but the instances we have seen since are too extraordinary to be omitted. A woman, who was very ill, at Onnontaghé, had dreamed that she required a black gown to effect her cure. But, as the recent cruel massacre of our Fathers by those Barbarians deprived them of all hope of being able to obtain one from us, they applied to the Dutch, who sold them at a very high price the wretched cassock of Father Poncet,[1] who had shortly before been despoiled of it by the Annienhronnons.* The woman attributed her cure to it, and wished to keep it all her life as a precious relic. It was in her hands that we recognized it. They have only to dream of a thing, to be induced to take long journeys to seek it. Last Summer a woman—who could not find at Kebec a French dog that she had come there to get, because a nephew of hers had seen it in a dream—undertook a second journey of more than four hundred leagues, over the snow, the ice, and the roughest roads, to seek the animal so ardently desired at the place whither it had been taken. Would to God that we paid as much heed to the inspirations of heaven as these Barbarians do to their dreams!

[*Id., doc.* xcvi, vol. xliii, pp. 79-317; vol. xliv, pp. 19-81.]

* "'Those who returned . . . told us that they found, near the Island of saint Eloy, two faces drawn with charcoal on a tree from which the bark had been removed, and the names of Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot written beneath these. Furthermore, they said they had found in the same place a book in which was written, in substance, these words: "Six Hurons, turned Iroquois, and four Anniehronnons are carrying off Father Poncet and Mathurin Franchetot. They have not yet done us any injury. It is their custom to treat their prisoners gently as long as they are still in fear of being overtaken."'"—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1652-53:—*Id.*, xl, *doc.* lxxxiv, pp. 121, 123.

XXIX

[85] Journal of the Jesuit Fathers,[1] in the year 1658.

[The *Journal des Jésuites* is continued during 1658 by Jean de Quen, superior of the Canadian missions, with occasional gaps which are filled in by Druillettes, Chaumonot, and Le Moyne. . . .

On the twenty-third [of April] all the Frenchmen of the Onondaga settlement arrive at Quebec; the mission is broken up. A month later, Le Moyne returns from the Mohawk country, with envoys from that tribe, who seek the release of hostages held by the French; this is granted by D'Ailleboust. A few weeks later, an Iroquois band carry away as prisoners three Frenchmen from Montreal; one of these is Adrien Joliet, a brother of the explorer. . . .

Garakontié, the Onondaga chief, brings back Joliet and another French prisoner, and asks the Jesuits to return with him. They promise to do so when affairs between the French and Iroquois are settled. . . .

In November, seven Frenchmen are captured by Mohawks; but envoys from that tribe, meeting them on the way, bring back these men to Three Rivers. They then proceed to Quebec, where they still talk of peace, and promise to bring hither, next spring, an Oneida who had murdered a Frenchman. D'Argenson promises to send Le Moyne to them in the spring, and releases some of their prisoners, but detains others as hostages.—*Id.*, xliv, pp. 12, 13, 14.]

[93] APRIL . . .

Mission broken up.

[95] 23. The mission of onontage was broken up. All our fathers, brethren, and frenchmen who were there arrived at quebec, about 5 o'clock in the evening.*

MAY . . .

Return of Father Le Moyne.

20. We received news at quebec by the alguonquin warriors that Father simon le moine had arrived at three Rivers with 3 Agnieronons, one of whom was an elder. [97] Those warriors brought the scalp of an agnieronon, whom they had killed.

* "The resolution being formed to abandon those regions . . . the difficulties of its execution . . . appeared insurmountable. . . .

"To supply the want of canoes, we had secretly constructed two boats of a new and excellent model for shooting the rapids. These boats drew but very little water, and carried a heavy load,—fourteen or fifteen men, and fifteen or sixteen hundred livres in weight. We had also four boats of the Algonquin

21. About noon, father le Moine came with three agnieronons, who brought him back, and 6 hurons of montreal; these had left the army of 200 who were to go to tadoussac.

22. Father Le Moyne brings back the voice of the Agneerronons, who, on the 19th of April, in the presence of the most notable among the dutch of manatte,[1] gave him 7 Presents. 1st: "I wipe away the sweat from thy brow, and the mud from thy shoes."

2nd: "I give thee 3 of my people, one of each nation, to take thee back. My brother will take my place as thou takest that of onontio, who comes not to see us."

3rd: "Thou seekest a quarrel: and say not that it is I. I brought Marguery[2] back to thee, and Thou didst tell the onontagherronon to kill me."

4th: "I have nothing crooked in my thoughts. I wish to be thy Brother. We who are men of wisdom say to thee, 'Take heed of what thou hast done.'"

5th: "That the Algonquains, on whose account our nephews are being detained, may let them go."

6th: "Thou shalt not put me in irons. If on another occasion thou be killed, how can I help it?"

pattern, and four of the Iroquois, which were to complete our little fleet for fifty-three Frenchmen.

"But the difficulty was to embark unperceived by the Iroquois, who constantly beset us. The conveyance of the boats, canoes, and all the equipment, could not be accomplished without much noise; and yet, without secrecy, there was nothing to hope for but a general massacre of our whole company, at the moment when it should be perceived that we had the least thought of taking our departure.

"Therefore we invited all the Savages in our neighborhood to a grand feast, where we exerted our utmost skill and spared neither the drums nor the musical instruments, in order to lull them to sleep by an innocent charm.

"He who presided at the ceremony played his part with such skill and success that each one was bent on contributing to the public joy. They vied with one another in uttering piercing yells, now of war, now of glee; while, out of complaisance, the Savages sang and danced in the French manner, and the French in that of the Savages. To encourage them more and more in this fine game, presents were distributed to those who best played their parts, and who made the most noise for drowning that made outside by two-score of our men in transporting all our outfit. When the lading of the boats was entirely completed, the feast came to an end at the appointed time; the guests withdrew, and sleep having soon overcome them, we left our house by a rear door and embarked with little noise, without saying Farewell to our Savages."—Ragueneau, *Relation*, 1657-58.—*Id.*, xliv, *doc.* xcviii, pp. 175, 177, 179.

7th: "Do like the dutchman, who interferes not in the wars of the Wolves," etc.

8th: "Ye dutch, be witnesses that I tell the Frenchman that he commences the 1st."

[99] Onontio replies:

1st: "To grease the feet of the conductors of Father ondesonk"—3 coats.

2nd: "I unbind thy nephews."

3rd: "I dispel the fear of the elders, who are afraid to come to us."

4th: "The Algonquains and hurons obey us perfectly. It is I who was killed at montreal, it is I who put thy nephews in irons, and it was neither the huron nor the Algonquain."

5th: "Thou art the 1st to irritate me: never have I commenced war. When with one hand thou gavest me back the late Marguery and Normanville, with the other thou didst kill my brother, the Algonquain."

6th: "I remove the brushwood from the road that the elders will take."

7th: "Those of thy nephews who shall remain here will keep up the fire that thou didst formerly kindle here for thyself."

8th: "I speak not: thy voice is still lost with thy presents. When the elders shall come here, I will speak."

After the council, one of the 3 Ambassadors divided a collar in two. With one half he said: "It is the oneioutchronon who has killed thee; he is thoughtless, and sometimes does the same to me, who am his Father."[1] With the other, he gave thanks that his nephews had been unfettered.

25. The Iroquois returned to their country.

The gallery of the fort breaks during a council.

On the 22nd, while the Council was being held on the gallery of the fort, at which were present Monsieur the governor, the Fathers [101] Superior, Mercier, Chaumonot, and Gabriel, the Alguonguins, hurons, and Iroquois, The Gallery broke in the middle. All who were on it fell, but without injury, except to two or three. . . .

SEPTEMBER

[109] 16. At 6 o'clock in the morning, the boat from Montreal arrived, bringing us Father le Moine and Monsieur Suart, with abundant News, both good and bad. Garaconké,* chief of the Onontageronons, had Come to Montreal with presents, etc.; two frenchmen, taken prisoners at 3 Rivers, had been brought back; 11 Onontageronons had been taken prisoners at Montreal; 2 Onontageronons had been [111] killed; the huron called "le Roy de Suede" had escaped; 9 Canoes of Outawak, loaded with furs, had arrived at Montreal, etc. *Vide infrà* A.[1]

Father le moyne; Monsieur Suart.

19. At 7 o'clock in the evening, mother agnes st. paul and Mother Marie Renee de la nativité, hospital nuns of quebec, embarked to proceed to Montreal with father Chaumonot, who was Sent by Monsieur the governor to manage there the affairs of the Onontageronons.

2 hospital nuns go to Montreal.

25. At 9 o'clock in the evening, The shallop arrived from three Rivers, bringing Five Oneioutcheronon Iroquois who had, by stratagem, been taken prisoners by the french, a short distance above 3 Rivers. Three others were killed in the fight, and a sixth was allowed to go; he was sent on an embassy to his own country, with presents, to tell what was happening.

Five Iroquois taken prisoners: 3 killed.

A. Here are the presents that our guest Harakontie hung up for us on the pole at Montreal, in bringing back to us two of our Frenchmen, Jolyet and Chretofle, who had been captured at Three rivers by those of onneiout.

August 31st.

* "Father de Lamberville also informs me of the death of Garakontié, that renowned captain of whom so much has been said in all our relations during more than twenty years. The well-known virtue of this worthy Iroquois deserves that I should repeat here quite at length what the Father writes to me about him; . . .

" 'One knows the obligations under which the whole Colony lies to garakontié. He has saved from the fires of the Iroquois more than 26 frenchmen, whom he ransomed, fed, and sheltered in his own Cabin, until he could personally bring them back to us. He saved the lives of more than 60 other frenchmen, by the secret warning that he gave of the designs which the Iroquois entertained of a general massacre. . . . He was the first who induced his Countrymen to make peace with us; who, for that purpose, came many times on an

Jolyet and Christofle return from the Iroquois.

"After having wiped away thy tears, opened thy throat, and washed away the blood,"—

1st: "I come to clean the places where blood has been spilled."

2nd: "I give thee a beverage to calm thy heart."

3rd: "I wipe away the shame that those of Onneiout have cast upon my face."

[113] 4th. "I do the same once more."

5th: "I bury the three companions of Achiendase, who were drowned with him while they were going down to Kebeq."

6th. "I throw Sand on all graves where Blood has been spilled."

7th: "I desire that thou shouldst say a kind word to me."

8th: "I replant at Montreal the tree already planted for the transaction of affairs."

9th: "The Sun has become eclipsed there, I reattach it."

10th: "I rekindle thy council fire."

11th: "I spread the mat for those who will there speak of affairs."

12th: "I clear out the whole river, removing the rocks that are in it."

13th: "I beg thee to receive my nephews here as hunters."

14th: "A tie that shall bind you tightly with our 4 Nations."

15th: "Return to my country, and teach me to pray to God, as thou didst."

16th: "I assure thee that thy house at Gannentáa is still standing."

17th: "The Agnieronnons have already assured thee that they have rebuked those of onneiout."

18th: "I break the fetters of my Nephew Atio-

embassy to quebec; who concluded the peace; and who, since that time, has Preserved it to us by his authority and Counsels, always turning elsewhere the weapons of the Iroquois. . . .

"'One Day before his death, he asked two Things of me. The first was to have him buried after the french manner; also, that I would not allow his grave to be filled up with his garments, as is the custom with the savages; and that I would make him a Coffin of 4 planks, which he immediately provided.

"'The 2nd was that I would erect a high Cross next to his grave, in order that it might be seen from afar, and that, after his death, people might not forget that he had been a Christian. I carried out his wishes very exactly.'"—Lamberville, Dablon's *Relation*, 1677-78.—*Id.*, lxi, *doc.* cxliv, pp. 21, 23, 29.

honchiot, who has been thy guest for 9 months."

19th: "I assure thee that I have complained at Agnienge of the murder committed here."

20th: "I regret that my name has served [115] those from Onneiout to capture 3 frenchmen at Three rivers."

21st: "Think not that I feel any resentment for the death of two of my nephews, whom thou hast just killed."

22nd: "I place stones on their grave, so that no more may be said about it."

23rd: "Let me pass, when I shall come to kill the Algonquin."

24th: "Let us seek an expedient, that I may kill the Algonquin."

25th: "I bring thee back thy two Nephews, as I have already done formerly."

26th: "I inform thee that two hundred of my nephews are going to war against the nation of Fire."

Presents of the Black gowns.

Father le moyne gave him three presents, on the evening of the same day, in the name of the black Gowns. *Secretò.*

1st: "We did not leave thy country *inimico animo:* we could have ravaged thy village.

2nd: "What decided us to do so was, that the murder at Montreal remained unpunished, and that bands of warriors started every day for Kebeq, of which the French believed us to be the cause.

3rd: "The black gowns are ready to return to thy country when matters shall be thoroughly settled on all sides."

OCTOBER

Hospital nuns.

3. About 9 o'clock at night, Father Chaumonot returned from Montreal to quebec, and [117] informed us that the 2 hospital nuns had arrived there safely. . . .

September 28th.

On the 28th of september, Father Chaumonnot gave presents at Montreal, by order of Monsieur The Governor, to 2 Onnontageronnons, who were sent back to their own country. One was named A'enhia; and The other Otchiondi, was a huron adopted by Jean Baptiste Achioñagras.

1st: To weep for The two huron Captives of Onnontage killed by The french When they Tried to detain them as prisoners, saying that, if they had been willing to wait for Gara'kontie, they would not have been ill-treated.

2nd: To unite his voice to that of Gannonchiase, in order to thank Gara'kontie for having brought back his nephews, and for having given such fine presents.

3rd: To inform the Elders of Onnontage that, if they wish to get The Fathers back again (as they say they do), they must bring us little girls, to be placed with The Ursuline Mothers.

4th: That The Place of the council will be at 3 Rivers.

A fifth present was given Sokenda'ti, a huron Captive of Onneiout; he was sent back to that country, to tell the Elders that [119] Gandouta're, Te gannonchiogen, Agonnon'rentonnion, Agannen'raiesa, and Garhagonha, who were captured at 3 Rivers, are alive.

October. Iroquois captured.

20. Three Agnieronnons, who were going to war at Tadousac, broke their canoes below Cousture's house, and were compelled to take refuge there. Word was sent to Monsieur the governor, who had them brought to The fort at night. They were put with the other prisoners.

Bastion at cap Rouge.

28. In the evening, there appeared before the bastion at cap rouge 7 Iroquois, who asked nopce for peace, and for news of their people who were prisoners in Kebec. They told him that they could have killed him had they wished to do so. They took 4 or 5 minots of peas in Monsieur Gautier's Barn, and then returned in their canoes to their people on the other side. . . .

NOVEMBER

Eleven Iroquois prisoners escaped.

8. We learned from Montreal, by a canoe that arrived at Quebec from there, that the eleven prisoners of onontage had all escaped from their prison through the window, after breaking two iron bars, on the 19th of October, 1658.

10. We learned from three Rivers, by a canoe that arrived at quebec at 7 o'clock in the morning, that, on the 5th of this month, [121,] twelve Agnieronon Iroquois had taken prisoners 4 frenchmen, who were making hay on the other side of the River opposite three Rivers; also, four other frenchmen toward lake St. pierre, who were on their return from hunting. The same Iroquois sent one of the 8 prisoners back to three Rivers to inform the Captain of their capture; and to tell them that they were taking the others to Agnie, to bring them back only in the spring, with the elders of the country, to treat for peace. . . .

4 frenchmen captured by the Iroquois.

Four others.

20. Six Agnieronon ambassadors arrived at quebec with Father le Moine, who was at 3 Rivers. and with them A Dutchman from New Holland, to assure them that the french would do them no harm. Their object is to obtain the release of their people who are prisoners, and to make peace, (so they say), with all Alguonquins And hurons. They brought back our 7 frenchmen, who have been taken prisoners within the past 15 Days, and left them as they passed by three Rivers.

7 french prisoners brought back by The Iroquois.

In the first place, they were taken to the fort, where Onnontio gave them 2 small presents, each of a great brasse of porcelain beads. The first was to open their eyes, and The second to clear Their throats.

They replied at once with 3 small presents, each of a brasse. The first, to wash away blood; The second, to wipe away Tears; The 3rd, to clear the throat.

They asked to speak on the following day; [123] they were told in answer that we wished to let them rest on The Morrow; but that, on The Day after, we would listen to Them. To this they agreed.

Presents of the Iroquois, Te Garihogen and others,—

Envoys of the 3 nations,—of the bears, of the Wolves, and of The turtle.

22. 1st: "Onnontio, thou hast sent word to us that thou wishest to speak to us. We have listened to thy voice; all our 3 nations—namely, of the Bears, of the Wolves, and of the turtle—have sent us. It is on their behalf that I speak."

2nd: "I know not what it is to chain men. I beg thee, Onnontio, to cast away thy irons and thy fetters."

3rd: "I have brought back thy 7 Nephews, who were being taken to my country."

4th: "I replace the sun, to enlighten the depths of our thoughts."

Presents of the Savages.

5th: "I thank thee that thou makest me see my nephews again."

6th: "I am a woman, and carry the hurons and Algonquins upon my braid of hair."

7th: "We are 7 allied nations,—The sonnontwerronnon, The oiogwen, The onnontageronnon, The frenchman of Gannentaà, The onneiout, The Anniege, The Mahingan, and the dutchman. Withdraw not from our alliance."

8th: "All our allies have deputed me to come and get thy opinion."

9th: "Again I put The river in order; we and our children will hereafter be able to navigate it in peace."

[125] 10th: "Otsindiakhon, namely, the Captain of new holland, is my companion in this embassy."

11th: "Onnontio and myself, during the 5 years in which we have had peace, have held each other by the arm."

12th: "Usually troubles arise among The allies of various nations."

"The onneiout, my child, has been the cause of the difficulties that we have had to settle: but he has given up The 3 frenchmen whom he had taken at 3 Rivers.

"In the spring, you will see again him whom they had placed into Our hands that we might bring him back to you; he is in new holland."

13th: "As to the 5 Onneiouts whom You keep in irons, I do not tell you to give them up to me; I only beg You to unchain them.*

* "Having caught her [a Huron runaway wife] they told her she was condemned to prison until her sense should come to her. As she tried to break away from them, they bound her and placed her in a canoe, to take her to Kebec. Some Pagan young men, observing this violence,—of which the Savages have a horror, and which is more remote from their customs than Heaven is from earth,—made use of threats, declaring they would kill any

14th: "I leave You to seek The means of establishing a firm peace."

15th: "I appoint my country of Anniege as the place of the council, at which I shall gather all our nations. I beg thee, Onnontio, to speak well, so that I may not be ashamed to carry back thy Voice."

16th: "I request thee to give us some canoes in which we may return, and some guns with which we may kill animals for food on the way."

Onnontio's thanks for those 16 presents.

Presents of the french.

25. 1st: He gave 6 coats and a piece of stuff 2 ells in length to the Ambassadors.

2nd: With a handsome collar, he thanked [127] them for the first 4 presents, especially because they had brought back our 7 frenchmen.

3rd: With another collar he gave thanks for The 4 other presents, especially for that which said that they still looked upon us as their allies.

4th: He gave thanks for the next 4 presents with a collar, dwelling on the fact that he had taken The dutchmen as his Advocate with us.

5th: He gave thanks for the 4 last presents with another collar explaining to Them how The Onneiouts had been too hasty in coming down here before there was news of The coming of Gara'kontie, who had brought back The 2 frenchmen to Montreal. (This is incorrect.)

Onnontio's presents to be carried into the country of the Iroquois.

Presents that are sent away.

1st: "Onnontio speaks in the name of the french, the hurons and the Algonquins. He has come from france to procure peace throughout all these countries, so that the Preachers of The gospel may have free access to them."

2nd: "Since You leave to me The means of securing peace, here is one that I find. Father

one who laid a hand on the woman. . . . But among these peoples—where every one considers himself, from his birth, as free as the wild animals that roam their great forests,—it is a marvel, or rather, a miracle, to see . . . any act of severity or justice performed."—Vimont's *Relation*, 1642:—*Id.*, xxii, *doc.* xlviii, pp. 83, 85.

ondesonk will go to your country to negotiate peace with all Your nations."

3rd: "The Algonquin will go next spring on an embassy to Your country. At present, he has nothing to give to the Ambassadors whom he would send."

4th: "I am sorry that your young men are not more obedient. I would give You back all Your nephews; but the little faithfulness [129] that they show compels me to keep 4 of your people here, to assure The Life of the Father who goes with You."

5th: "I do not wish peace for two or three years only, I desire an eternal peace; and the way to make it eternal is to unite our country with yours. Come, therefore, and dwell among us, and we will dwell with you; and, at least, bring us girls when you come to get Your Nephews."

6th: "I wipe away The blood shed at 3 Rivers and at Montreal." An Arquebus.

7th: "I remove The irons from the Onneiouts, and send back one of them with You, that Garontagwann may know that I am a better Father than he is a child."

8th: "I turn away the muzzles of Your firearms from the bodies of men, and turn them toward animals." An Arquebus.

9th: "Take care of Father ondesonk." Some lead and powder.

10th: "All The nations shall be gathered together, to hear my Voice from the mouth of Ondesonk."

After these presents, Te Garihogen gave the 2 following—

1st: "I cast into the depths of the earth all mutual reproaches," etc. "Let us speak no more of them."

2nd: "I beg Onnontio to take care of the 4 hostages whom he detains."

26. A portion of the Agnieronons, and the released prisoners, started for their own country.

[*Id., doc.* xcvii, vol. xliv, pp. 83-131.]

XXX

[149] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS in the country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1657 to the Summer of the year 1658.

[A chapter of this *Relation* is devoted to an account (mainly by Druillettes)[1] of the great Western region recently explored by Radisson and Groseilliers, with the tribes dwelling therein, and mention of "different routes from Canadas to the North Sea"—information which is derived partly from those two adventurers, partly from Indians who have also traveled westward. Six routes to Hudson Bay (the "North Sea") are here described. Then follows an account of fourteen different tribes dwelling in the region of the great lakes. . . .

A chapter (apparently written by Le Jeune) is devoted to differences in physical and mental constitution, in dress, and in various customs, between the French and the savages. . . .—*Id.*, xliv, pp. 16, 17.]

[235] DIFFERENT ROUTES FROM CANADAS TO THE NORTH SEA. THE NAMES OF MANY RECENTLY DISCOVERED NATIONS.*

PROPTER *verba iabiorum tuorum ego custodivi vias duras.* St. Paul could well appropriate this passage to himself; for verily the words of Jesus Christ consigned him to paths that were indeed rough and toilsome. As soon as he began to preach the Gospel, plant the Church, and win salvation for mankind, he found only crosses everywhere, in Judea, in Greece, in Italy. He met with naught but calumny and persecution, perils and dangers, on land and sea, from Jews and Gentiles—*periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in civitate, periculis in solitudine, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus.* In such wise did the Apostles preach the faith in Asia and in Europe, and so must it be preached in America.

Our Fathers have tried to follow in these footsteps, so far as lay in their slender power; they perish at sea, are killed on land, are burned, eaten, slandered, and persecuted everywhere,—*quasi*

* Chap. v.

morientes, et ecce vivimus,—like men who are put to death every day, and yet live. When one door is closed to them, they enter by another. They entrust themselves to the river Sagné, ascend it despite its swift current, penetrate the gloom of the thickest forests, and go every- [237] where in search of poor forsaken tribes. The enemy slays the sheep and the shepherds. They follow the people called the Poissons blancs into their country, and are put to death. They go up to the land of the Outaouak, and are murdered. They visit the Nipisiriniens, the Hurons, and the Neutral Nation, and are captured on the way and burned. Banished from among the Hurons, the Nipisiriniens, and other neighboring tribes, they effect an entrance into the country of the Iroquois, proclaiming the greatness of God and preaching Jesus Christ. The people conspire against them and against the French. Whither shall they go? What shall they do? Nearly everywhere the door is closed to the Gospel. But all is not yet lost; the Tadoussac Mission and those to the Porcupines, the Poissons blancs, and the tribes that associate with them still remain; as do also the missions to the Abnaquiois, and to the remnants of the Hurons and Algonquins. And, if it shall please God to cast his eyes upon the recently-discovered Nations whose names have been sent me by a Father who is a great Missionary, the harvest will be richer and the Mission more holy than ever. But let us hear him speak.

"I send you," says he, "some memoranda which I have obtained, partly from two Frenchmen who have made their way far inland, and partly from several Savages who are eye-witnesses to the things which I am about to describe, and which will be of service in draughting a general Map of those regions. You will see, in the sketch that I send, where I have placed Tadoussac, Three Rivers, the Lake of the Nipisiriniens, and the Great Sault; and, if I have not located them correctly, you will, if you please, rectify [239] my scrawl. In it you will also see the new routes for going to the North sea, by way of Tadoussac, by way of Three Rivers, and by way of the Nipisiriniens, with the distances between places estimated according to the number of days taken by the Savages to make the journeys; I reckoned fifteen leagues a day going down stream,—owing to the swiftness of the current, —and seven or eight leagues going up. I have traced these routes, following the Rhumb-line marked by the Savages themselves, always in a direction between Northwest and West, or West by South; very seldom due North.

NEW FRANCE, IÚ

Reduced from the prin

[*From "The Jesuit Relations*

GREENLAND
TERRE DE LABRADOR
CANADA
LE GOLFE DE SAINT LAVRENT
TERRE NEVVE
NOUVELLE FRANCE
Croix Blanche
Belle Isle
Le grand Baye
Croye
Tour Aponie
Le Grand Banc
Bonnavert
I. de Sable
DESCRIPTION DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE
ou sont remarquees les diverses habitations des François, depuis la premiere descouverte jusques a present, recueillie et dressée sur diverses relations modernes
1643
A Paris chez Jean Boisseau, Enlumineur Roy pour les Cartes Geographiques, en l'Isle du Palais a la Royalle Fontaine de Louvens.

JEAN BOISSEAU

nal in Lenox Library

Documents," Vol. XXIII.]

"You will also see the names of the principal Nations, which I have noted on the Map that I send you, designating each by a single cabin. All these Nations are stationary and very populous, and all speak either pure Algonquin, or pure Montagnais, or pure Abnaquiois. Some confuse these three languages, which much resemble one another, so that these Missions as a whole may be called the Algonquin Missions; for any one who learns the Algonquin language will soon readily understand them all. God has given me a tolerable acquaintance with these three tongues. Let us say a few words about these routes and these Nations."

ROUTES TO THE NORTH SEA

"The first route to the North sea, starting from Tadoussac, runs nearly Northward; its course is as follows: One must ascend the Sagné river, which empties into the great river St. Lawrence at Tadoussac, and paddle up the lake called Piouakouami, distant from Tadoussac about forty [241] leagues in a straight line. The Savages take five days to go up by this route, because of the currents and falls which they encounter; but they need only two long days' journey for the descent, being aided by the swiftness of the current.

"From lake Piouakouami one must proceed to another lake named Outakouami; the distance between the two, according to the Savages' account, is the same as that between Kebec and Montreal, that is, sixty leagues, which they accomplish in ten days' going up and in five coming down.

"The distance from lake Outakouami to the sea is, as I infer from their reports, about sixty leagues. They take five days for this journey, which is slightly descending, by way of a large Bay or inlet which is on the same meridian as this lake, toward the North.

"On the left side of lake Outakouami, as you go toward the West, a river, flowing from the inland region, or rather from the forests with which this country is completely covered, empties into this lake. The Savages say that, on ascending this stream, one comes to the river Metaberoutin, which we call the Three Rivers, about three days' journey beyond a lake called by them Ouapichiouanon; and thence one proceeds to the Bay of the people named Kilistinons, who are on the North sea.

"The second route to this sea is by way of the Three Rivers, going toward the Northwest. One goes from Three Rivers to

the lake called Ouapichiouanon, about a hundred and fifty leagues from where the Three Rivers empty into the St. Lawrence. Coming down, the Savages make this journey in seven days.

[243] "From this lake one proceeds in a straight line to the river of the Ouakouingouechiouek. Last Spring the Savages covered this distance in three days, although it is fully forty leagues; but, as the route is slightly descending, progress is the more rapid, whereas, on the upward journey it is considerably retarded.

"From the river of the Oukouingouechiouek to the Bay of the Kilistinons called Nisibourounik, I estimate the distance at about sixty or seventy leagues, and it is accomplished in four days. A Kilistinon Savage, coming to the above mentioned river of the Oukouingouechiouek to trade or barter goods, passed the Winter with these peoples, and promised them to return in the Spring with many of his countrymen. He asserts that it is only a four days' journey.

"Third route. The Nipisiriniens, starting from their lake,—which is called Nipisin, and whence they have taken their name of Nipisiriniens,—reach the North sea in fifteen days; that is, their lake is distant therefrom perhaps a hundred and fifty leagues.

"Fourth route. The Achirigouans,* who live on a river emptying into the Fresh-water Sea of the Hurons, go in a few days to trade with the Ataouabouskatouk Kilistinons, who are on the sea-shore. We shall see below that there are several clans of Kilistinons.

"Fifth route. The upper Algonquins reach the sea in seven days, going in three days to the lake called Alimibeg, and thence descending in four more days to the Bay of the Kilistinons, which is on the coast.

"There is a new way still, from the country [245] of the Hurons to Three Rivers, starting from the lake called Temagami,—that is, 'deep water,'—which I think is the Fresh-water sea of the Hurons, and the source of the great St. Lawrence river. After proceeding some distance on this great river, one goes across country about fifteen leagues, passing some small streams,

* ". . . another nation of Algonquins, named Achirigouans. Their country extends toward the West, approaching the tribes of the Sault; the Aoueatsiouaenronnon,—that is to say, "who inhabit the coasts of the Sea"; and other very numerous nations, with whom these have their principal trade and very close association."—Ragueneau's Huron *Relation*, 1645-46:—*Id.*, xxx, *doc.* lx, p. 113.

to the lake called Ouassisanik, whence flows a river which takes one to Three Rivers. By this route, about two years ago, twenty-five Nipisirinien canoes arrived, laden with men, women, children, and furs. They told us that they had everywhere found moose, or beavers, or fish, which had furnished them with food; and assured us it would be easy for our Frenchmen, starting from Three Rivers, to reach the Fresh-water sea of the Hurons in a month. The above routes are more difficult to travel than the highroad from Paris to Orleans.[1] Let us now note the names of the recently-discovered Nations."

NAMES OF MANY RECENTLY-DISCOVERED NATIONS

"Father Gabriel Dreuillettes, from whom we have obtained the greater part of what is contained in this Chapter, conferred the name of Saint Michel upon the first Village which he mentions. Its inhabitants are called, in Algonquin, Oupouteouatamik. In this Village there are computed to be about seven hundred men; that is to say, three thousand souls, since to one man there are at least three or four other persons, namely, women and children. They have for neighbors the Kiskacoueiak and the Negaouichiriniouek. There are in this Village about a hundred men of the Tobacco [247] Nation, who took refuge there to escape the cruelty of the Iroquois.

"The second Nation is composed of the Noukek, Ouinipegouek, and Malouminek. These people are but a very short distance from the Village of Saint Michel, or from the Oupouteouatamik. They reap, without sowing it, a kind of rye which grows wild in their meadows, and is considered superior to Indian corn.* About two hundred Algonquins, who used to dwell on the Northern shores of the great Lake or the Fresh-water sea of the Hurons, have taken refuge in this place.

* "'There is in that country [of the Ottawas] a certain plant, four feet or thereabout in height, which grows in marshy places. A little before it ears, the Savages go in their Canoes and bind the stalks of these plants in clusters, which they separate from one another by as much space as is needed for the passage of a Canoe when they return to gather the grain. Harvest time having come, they guide their Canoes through the little alleys which they have opened across this grain-field, and bending down the clustered masses over their boats, strip them of their grain. As often as a Canoe is full, they go and empty it on the shore into a ditch dug at the water's edge. Then they tread the grain and stir it about long enough to free it entirely of hulls: after which they dry it, and finally put it into bark chests for keeping. This grain much resembles Oats, when it is raw; but, on being cooked in water, it swells more than any European grain.'"[2]—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1662-63:—*Id.*, xlviii, *doc.* xcii, pp. 121, 123.

"The third Nation is distant about three days' journey inland, by water, from the Village of St. Michel. It is composed of the Makoutensak and Outitchakouk. The two Frenchmen who have made the journey to these regions say that these people are of a very gentle disposition.

"The fourth Nation has a Village of a thousand men, distant three days' journey from the Village of St. Michel, its total population being four or five thousand souls.

"The fifth Nation, called the Aliniouek, is larger; it is computed at fully 20,000 men and sixty Villages, making about a hundred thousand souls in all. It is seven days' journey Westward from St. Michel.

"The sixth Nation, whose people are called Oumamik,* is distant sixty leagues, or thereabout, from St. Michel. It has fully eight thousand men, or more than twenty-four thousand souls.

* "Among the ouchestigouetch there happened to be, by a special providence, an Oumamiois [1] Captain, a man of intelligence, who seemed to be the most devoted to prayer. . . . As I found him to be a man of intelligence, and thoroughly acquainted with all that country, I did not lose this excellent opportunity to ask him a number of questions, which I shall set down here, with the replies.

"'Is it very far from here [Lake Manikougan] to the two Villages where thy relatives and thyself dwell?' 'One can arrive there in twenty nights or thereabout.'

"'Can one ascend thither in a Canoe?' 'Yes; but beyond those Villages Canoes are not used, for want of bark to make them, the trees of that country being very small.'

"'Are those two Villages well peopled?' 'There are a great many people there.' A Papinachois who wintered with us confirmed this statement for me, having been there formerly.

"'Are there any other villages near these?' 'Yes, there are two; and, farther away, two others.'

"'On what do the inhabitants of those districts live?' 'In summer on fish, which they catch in large lakes, where they are found in abundance; and in Winter on Caribou flesh, which they prefer to Moose.'

"'Is it very far from those Villages to the North sea?' 'It takes a Winter to go there and return.'

"'Hast thou been to the North Sea?' 'Yes.'

"'Is the coast of that Sea inhabited?' 'I have seen a great many Savages there.'

"'Oblige me by giving me the *Massinahigan*, the description with the names of the tribes inhabiting that coast.' He gave me the Topography of those regions with the names of the inhabitants composing the different nations. . . .

"'Have Europeans—French, or Spanish, or English—made their appearance on that coast?' 'No.'

"As a result of this conversation, it was decided that he should return next year to the same Lake,—saint Barnabé [Manikougan],—and that I, or some other one of our Fathers, should go and join him at this same post, in order to go up from that place to the two villages, and labor there in teaching his Compatriots."—Nouvel, Lalemant's *Relation*, 1663-64:—*Id.*, xlix, *doc.* cxv, pp. 67, 69, 71.

"The seventh, called the Poulak, or 'Warriors,' contains thirty Villages, situated West by North from St. Michel.

"The eighth lies to the Northwest, ten days' jour- [249] ney from St. Michel, and has fully 40 Villages, inhabited by the Nadouechiouek and Mantouek.

"The ninth, situated beyond the Nadouechiouek, thirty-five leagues or thereabout from lake Alimibeg, is called the Nation of the Assinipoualak, or 'Warriors of the rock.'

"The tenth Nation is that of the Kilistinons, who comprise four Nations or tribes. Those of the first are called the Alimibegouek Kilistinons; of the second, the Kilistinons of Ataouabouscatouek Bay; of the third, the Kilistinons of the Nipisiriniens, because the Nipisiriniens discovered their country, whither they resort to trade or barter goods. They comprise only about six hundred men, that is, two thousand five hundred souls, and are not very stationary. They are of a very approachable disposition.

"The people of the fourth tribe are called Nisibourounik Kilistinons.

"The fourteenth Nation has thirty Villages, inhabited by the Atsistagherronnons, and is six or seven days' journey Southwest by South from St. Michel. The Onnontagueronnons have recently declared war against them." [1]

The Father speaks also of learning from a Nipisirinien Captain that he had seen at one place two thousand Algonquins tilling the soil; and that the other Villages of the same country were still more populous. This Captain asserted that toward the South and Southeast there were more than thirty Nations, all stationary, all speaking the Abnaquiois tongue, and all more populous than were the Hurons of old, who numbered as many as thirty or thirty-five thousand souls within the limits of seventeen leagues.

[251] "I do not speak," says the Father, "of the Nations that have long been known." Indeed, he says nothing of the Kichesipiirinioueк, the Kinonchepiirinik, the Ounountchatarounongak, the Mataouchkairinik, the Ouaouechkairinioueк, the Amikouek, the Atchougek, the Ouasaouanik, the Ouraouakmikoug, the Oukiskimanitouk, the Maskasinik, the Nikikouek, the Michesaking, the Pagouitik, people of the great Sault, and the Kichkankoueiak. All these Nations, several of whom have been maltreated by the Iroquois, use the Algonquin tongue. . . .

[277] OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE FRENCH, OR THE EUROPEANS, AND THOSE OF THE SAVAGES.*

I KNOW not whether I am mistaken, but I would be willing to say that the organs of our senses resemble, in some respects, primary matter, which, having neither beauty nor deformity in itself, yet composes the most beautiful or the most ugly things, according to the forms given it by the Agents. The temperament of our senses,—whencesoever it comes, whether from our birth or from our habits,—gives to them inclination or aversion, love or hate, for the objects presented to them. From this source, as I believe, arises the great difference that exists between the senses of the Savages and those of the French, or of the Europeans; for you would say, in many instances, that what is sugar to the one people is wormwood to the other. Let us begin with the sense of smell.

There are found, in these regions of America, animals to which the French have given the name of musk-Rats, because in truth they resemble the rats of France,—except that they are much larger,—and smell of musk in the Spring. The French are very fond of this odor; the Savages dislike it as if it were a stench. They anoint themselves, and smear their heads and faces with oils and grease that smell to us like carrion. It is their musk, their orangeade, [279] and their benzoin. The rose, the pink, the clove, the nutmeg, and similar odors, which are agreeable to us, are insipid to them; and tobacco, which causes nausea to those unaccustomed to smell it, constitutes one of their chief delights.

Concerning the sense of hearing, although the Savages take much pleasure in singing, a concert of music sounds to them like a confusion of voices, and a roulade like a bird's twittering. I admit that the warbling of birds is not disagreeable to them; but their own songs, which are so heavy and dismal as to give us ideas of night, seem to them as beautiful as the blush of dawn. They sing amid dangers, in torments, and at the approach of death; while the French usually preserve a deep silence on all such occasions. Salt, which seasons all viands eaten in Europe, renders them bitter to the Savage taste. Their smoked meat, which to us is almost soot, is very savory to them. Intercommunication causes the palates of some Frenchmen to adapt themselves to smoked flesh, and those of some Savages to salted food.

* Chap. vii.

It is true that, up to the present moment, I have never seen a Savage that did not abhor Dutch cheese, radishes, spices, mustard, and similar condiments. I remember in this connection, the following incident. A Savage chanced to be at table with some French people when mustard was served, and his curiosity to taste of every dish, without knowing its nature, made him dip his spoon into this condiment. Taking a tolerably good dose, he thrust it into his mouth before any one told him how it was usually eaten. God knows whether he furnished merriment for all the company. It is a Savage's glory to be a hearty eater, as it is that of many [281] a European to be a lusty drinker; and this good fellow, wishing to show the strength of his courage, strove to keep his countenance. His tears, however, betrayed him, although he set his teeth and compressed his lips to the utmost; until at last the little maintenance of appearances and facial control that he possessed escaped him, and he was left highly astonished at the strength of that "yellow porridge," as he called it. Finally, he was instructed how mustard was to be eaten; but he never put the lesson into practice, being content with that first experience for the rest of his days. Sauces, condiments, dressings, which are the delight of epicures, would here make a little hell for the Savage's gullet.

Although they have a tenderer and more delicate skin than the French,—if one accept the evidence of the lancet and the hand of the Surgeon, who ascribes this delicacy to the oil and grease with which they anoint and rub themselves,—yet those good people have none of our Europeans' softness and delicacy. They find sleep sweeter upon the earth for a bed, with a pillow of wood, than do many upon down. It is a fact that habit causes the sense of touch to rebel against too great softness, finding its pleasure and satisfaction in things harder and rougher. I have known Fathers who could not take their sleep on a bed, because they had become accustomed to sleep like the Savages. If they were given, on returning from their Missions, a pallet or mattress, they were obliged, until they had regained their former habits, to pass a portion of the night upon the paved floor of the room, in order to sleep for a little while more at their ease. In short, [283] the Savages go almost half naked during the Winter, while the French dress as warmly as they can.

Concerning the sense of sight, it is quite certain that, in general, it is more perfect among the Savages than among the French, as is proved by experience nearly every day. If any object is to be descried, the French do not trust their own eyes so much as

those of the Savages. The latter all have black eyes, and smaller than other people's. I would readily believe that the superiority enjoyed by them, over us, in this particular, is due to their not drinking wine or eating salt, spices, or other things capable of drying up the humors of the eye and impairing its tone. However it may be regarding the excellence of their eyesight, it must be admitted that it often finds beauty where ours sees only ugliness. Those who say that the beauty of a face consists in the symmetry of its parts and in the whiteness and vermillion covering it, must retract one-half of their definition if they would not offend the Africans, the Americans, and many Asiatics. But let us take up the details of this subject.

In France, to make a face more beautiful, it is cleansed of oil and washed as carefully as possible. The Savages, on the contrary, anoint and grease it as much as they can, thinking it more pleasing the more shiny it is with their grease or oil. To make one's self hideous in Europe, one daubs himself with black, yellow, and blue; and that is the very thing that makes a Savage handsome and of very pleasing appearance. When one of them wishes to pay a visit or attend some feast or dance, he has his face painted in various colors by some woman or girl; for that is one of their arts, as it was of old among the Jews. [285] After he has been well-bedaubed, he is looked upon as a handsome man, whereas in Europe he would be taken for a demon.

In France, large eyes, and lips rather compressed than open, are beautiful. In Africa, small eyes, the blackest complexion, and hanging, recurved lips make a beautiful face. In Canadas, black eyes and a large face, after the style of the ancient Cæsars, bear off the prize for beauty and grace. In Europe the whitest teeth are the most beautiful. The Moors and Savages surpass us in this attraction, having teeth whiter than ivory. In some parts of Oriental India, those who eat the Betel-nut have red teeth; and this color constitutes a part of their glory.

In France, hair that is a little blond, well washed with soap and cleansed of oil, carefully arranged and curled, is the most beautiful. Negroes like it short, black, and very crisp. The Savages wish it long, stiff, black, and all lustrous with grease. A curly head is as ugly to them as it is beautiful in France. There is nothing as grotesque as a Savage's headdress. Instead of Cyprus powder, they sprinkle their well-greased hair with down, or the tiny feathers of birds, and with this fine adornment think themselves as comely as those who wear ribbons. Indeed, this down is as delicate as the web of a silkworm.

The hair is not dressed according to fashion in that country. Their fancy is their fashion. Some wear it erect on the head, pointing upward. There is a whole Nation called the cheveux relevez, because they like this mode of head-dress. Others shave the middle of the head, wearing hair only on the two sides, like [287] great mustaches. Some lay bare all one side, leaving the other wholly covered. Mustaches are worn in France on the sides of the face; but Savage women wear them at the back of the head, gathering up their hair into a little ball which rests on their shoulders. Judge now who has lost or who gained. Each thinks his own fashion the most beautiful. Ours often changes in France.

The beard is held to add grace and adornment to man, but this opinion is not everywhere received. In that new world, a beard is the greatest disfigurement that a face can have. The peoples of those countries call the Europeans "bearded," as a gross insult. Some time ago a Savage, looking into a Frenchman's face with most extraordinary attention and in profound silence, suddenly exclaimed, after considering him a long time, "Oh, the bearded man! Oh, how ugly he is!" They have such dread of this disfigurement that, if some hair is inclined to grow on their chins, they pluck it out immediately, to rid themselves of what is beautiful to us, but ugly to them.*

Ladies in Europe take pleasure in having their hair well dressed, and it is indecorous for them to appear bare-headed, and with hair flying in disorder. This is one of the charms of Canadian women; they commonly go bare-headed, and consider themselves very pretty when their hair has a bright gloss and is very stiff with grease. They wear it loose on each side, but gather it up behind into a little mass which they adorn with small beads of their porcelain.

In France, the head-dress distinguishes men from women. When the Savages cover their heads, any [289] head-dress is good in their eyes; a man would use a hood as readily as a woman, if he found that head-gear warm and a good fit for him. It is true that those who mingle with us most often are beginning to make a distinction in their head-dresses: the men choosing our

* "'I [De Quen, according to Rochmonteix] saw some young men of the Sagné here [at Tadoussac], who had never seen any Frenchmen; they were much astonished to hear me speak their own Language. They asked from what place I was; they were told that I was from Kebec, and was one of their relatives; but they could not believe it at all, for our beards put a difference, almost essential, so to speak, between a European and a Savage.'"—Le Jeune's *Relation*, 1640-41:—*Id.*, xxi, *doc.* xliv, p. 99.

hats or riding-caps, and the women our red woolen nightcaps; the longer they are and the more striking in color, the more beautiful they appear to them. But they are not so particular that a woman will not use a riding-cap, and a man a nightcap, in the very middle of the day. In Europe, if a boy should dress up like a girl, he would be a masquerader. In new France, a woman's dress is not improper for a man. The Ursuline Mothers having given a dress to a young girl who was leaving their seminary, the man who married her wore it afterward, with as much grace as did his wife; and, if the French laughed at him, he only laughed, taking their raillery for approval.

In France, not long ago, the lobe of the ear was pierced for hanging thereto a little trinket, and the smaller the hole the more dainty its appearance. In Canadas, both men and women have their ears pierced, the operation being performed upon children in the cradle. The larger the holes, the better; and they easily insert therein a stick of Spanish wax. Not only the lobe of the ear is pierced, but also the cartilage or rim, which the women are wont to hang with bits of shell, called porcelain.

In other parts of America, some Nations pierce the nose between the two nostrils, suspending therefrom some trinket or other; others set precious stones in their cheeks, and still others on their thick and recurved lips—all this to please their eyes and attain [291] the goal of beauty. Verily, man's eyes and judgment are weak. How can there be such pride and self-esteem in our minds, when they are so whimsical and limited?

In France, bracelets are worn on the wrist; but the Savages wear them not only there, but also above the elbow and even on the legs above the ankle. Why do not those parts deserve their vanities and trinkets as much as the others, since the natives commonly leave them uncovered? Diogenes, seeing a crown presented to one who had gained the prize in the race, took it and placed it on his feet, not on his head, wishing to honor the part of the body that had given him the victory.

Only women in France wear necklaces, but in Canadas this adornment is more common among men than among women. Instead of pearls and diamonds, they wear porcelain beads strung in various ways, like those of rosaries, and little cylinders or tubes of glass or shell-work. I have seen a Huron wear at his neck a boat-pulley, and another some keys that he had stolen. Anything unusual pleases them, provided it costs them nothing more than a theft.

We cut our nails; the Savages let theirs grow. If you accuse

them of uncouthness, you will be condemned by whole peoples of Oriental India, who foster the utmost possible growth of their nails as a mark of their nobility—wishing to indicate thereby that their fingers, encumbered by these natural superfluities, are not fitted for work.

In France, men and women have their clothes made rather tight-fitting, in order to impart a lighter appearance, the girls especially priding themselves [293] on their slenderness. In Canadas, every one dresses so as to look large, both men and women wearing robes which they gird in two places, below the navel and above the stomach, tucking up their ample robes and letting the fold hang down. Thus, they have a great sack, as it were, around the body, in which they stow away a thousand things. Here mothers put their children, to fondle them and keep them warm.

The longer a Lady's dress, the more graceful it is; but Savage women would make fun of a dress that came down much below the knees. Their work compels them to follow this fashion.

In Europe, the seam of stockings is behind the leg; and, if the stockings have back-stitches or any other ornamentation, they are on this seam and on the clocks. Among the Savages it is otherwise; the seam of stockings worn by men is between the legs, and here they fasten little ornaments—made of porcupine quills, stained scarlet, and in the form of fringe or of spangles—which meet when they walk, and make a pretty effect, not easily described. The women wear this ornamentation on the outer side of the leg.

In France, pattens and raised shoes are considered the most beautiful; but among those peoples the ugliest, because the most uncomfortable. The Savages' shoes are as flat as tennis-shoes, but much wider, especially in winter, when they stuff and line them amply to keep away the cold.

Shirts in Europe are worn next to the skin, under the other garments. The Savages wear them usually over their dress, to shield it from snow and rain, which are very readily shed by linen when it is [295] greasy, as their shirts are; for they do not know what it is to wash them.

The end of a shirt protruding from under the coat is an indecorous thing; but not so in Canadas. You will see Savages dressed in French attire, with worsted stockings and a cloak, but without any breeches; while before and behind are seen two large shirt-flaps hanging down below the cloak. This offends the

French, and makes them laugh, but would not cause a Savage to lose his gravity in the slightest degree. That fashion seems all the more tasteful in their eyes because they regard our breeches as an encumbrance, although they sometimes wear these as a bit of finery, or in fun.

The good old Gauls in times past hung their wallets in front; the French now put their purses in their pockets. The Savages wear their pocket, wallet, and purse behind the back, in the form of a pouch, which they hang about the neck by means of a leather thong, and in which they put their tobacco and the other little necessaries that they use most frequently. This pocket, or pouch, is generally seamless, and is made by the Huron women as artistically as a piece of needlework; the Algonquins often make it of a whole skin,—either an otter's, a fox's, a young bear's, a beaver's, or some other animal's,—so neatly stripped off that you would call it perfectly whole; for they remove neither the teeth, ears, claws, nor tail, but make an opening under the neck, through which they draw out the animal's body entire, and through which the Savages insert the hand into this pocket when it is well dried and cured.

[297] Politeness and propriety have taught us to carry handkerchiefs. In this matter the Savages charge us with filthiness —because, they say, we place what is unclean in a fine white piece of linen, and put it away in our pockets as something very precious, while they throw it upon the ground. Hence it happened that, when a Savage one day saw a Frenchman fold up his handkerchief after wiping his nose, he said to him laughingly, "If thou likest that filth, give me thy handkerchief and I will soon fill it." I do not profess to observe much order in this medley; it comes from my pen as the items occur to my mind.

The Romans and some Asiatics used to recline on little couches to take their meals, while their tables were crescent-shaped. Most Europeans now sit on raised seats, using round or square tables. The Savages eat from the ground, as do the Turks, and also many peoples of Asia. The world is full of variety and change, and one will never find unalterable permanence. If one were mounted on a tower high enough to survey at his ease all the Nations of the earth, he would find it very hard, amid such strange varieties and such a medley, to say who are wrong and who are right, who are fools and who are wise. Verily, God alone is constant; he alone is unchangeable; he

alone varies not, and to him we must hold fast, to avoid change and inconstancy.*

In France, food and drink are taken together. The Algonquins follow quite the contrary custom in their feasts, first eating what is served them, and then drinking, without touching food again.

[299] In France, the one who invites his friends sits at his table, and serves them from the viands that he has prepared. In that country, the host does not eat, and he sometimes causes another to pass to the guest the dishes of his feast.

In Europe, these dishes are placed on the table, to enable all the guests to help themselves freely from whatever they choose; but there, each one is given his dish and his portion. Joseph seems to have observed the same practice in entertaining his brothers in Egypt; and Samuel, when he invited Saul, apparently followed the custom now prevailing in those countries.

The French commonly talk much at table; the Savages very little, or not at all.**

* "I showed Them [the Iroquois] a Topographical view of the city and Environs of paris, with the portraits of the five principal personages in the Kingdom. They admired the skill of the Europeans in Representing persons to the life. One of them asked me whether, when those whose portraits I showed them died, their images did not also close their eyes. They could not gaze sufficiently at the vast Extent of paris. They lost themselves in counting the streets. They were surprised that houses should be built on stone bridges, under the arches of which passed boats, laden with all Sorts of articles necessary to life. They could not understand how, for the subsistence of so large and so populous a town, everything came to it from all sides in such abundance, by land and by water. The Louvre, the Bronze horse; the King's house, and those of the great; the general hospitals; the number of inhabitants; the rare animals Brought from various parts of the world, that are to be seen there; the superb Churches, in which 3 or 4,000 persons pray to God; the Cemeteries; the Colleges, where 5 or 600 persons lodge in the same house—these are great marvels in a country where people know almost nothing."—*Letter,* Lamberville to——, Onnontagué, Aug. 25, 1682, *Id.,* lxii, *doc.* cxlviii, pp. 57, 59.

** "If a Frenchman returns from the chase, he is hardly in the house before it is already known whether or not he has captured anything,—even if he has not, he cannot wait until the table is set for the meal, having the appetite of a hunter; if he returns from some journey, although he may be quite tired out, they do not wait till he has had rest before having him tell all the news he knows. Our Savages are far removed from this animation. Here is what I have very often seen among them. A Savage, returning from the chase, will sometimes throw outside the cabin what he has brought back with him; having entered, he does not say a word, neither does any one else address him. He sits down near the fire and undresses; his wife takes his leggings and shoes, wrings them out if they are wet, and puts them to dry; he throws a robe over his shoulders and warms himself, this all taking place in silence; if his wife has saved him anything to eat, she presents it to him on a bark plate without saying a word; he takes it and eats in silence. After having eaten, he smokes; and, when he has finished smoking, he begins to talk. If no one

It is a common proverb that the fish is often eaten for the sauce. This proverb is not accepted in that new world; for a Savage could not eat fish swimming in our sauces. The French do not commonly like eggs unless they are soft, but the Savages declare that soft eggs are still quite raw; therefore they have them boiled hard for eating.

The French have a loathing for eggs partly hatched, while the Savages eat with great relish the little bird still in the egg. Indeed, it is a great delicacy. I have partaken of a little bustard from a well-boiled egg; the flesh, when cleaned of the impure matter surrounding it, is very fine and of excellent flavor. As for eggs that are addled and incapable of hatching, they are regarded as putrid by every one, I think; yet I would not venture to assert it,—so different are the noses and palates of different people.

[301] Fat, taken alone, is nauseating to the French; but the Savages drink it warm and eat it cold. The scum of the Pot is in France thrown away as the refuse of the meat, while the Savages gulp it down as an excellent broth, especially in their time of scarcity.

We wash meat to cleanse it of blood and impurities; the Savages do not wash it, for fear of losing its blood and a part of its fat. We usually begin the dinner with soup, which is the last dish among the Savages, the broth of the pot serving them for drink. Bread is eaten here with the meat and other courses; if you give some to a Savage, he will make a separate course of it and very often eat it last. Yet they are gradually adapting themselves to our way.

has looked outside to see what he has brought back, he informs them that there are some Beavers or some Porcupines. This indifference astonished me at first; but they told me rightly that one ought not to weary a man who has more need of rest than of words. If any one comes from some other quarter, having entered the cabin he makes himself comfortable in the way I have just described. Knowing that he brings news, people come to see him and sit down near him; yet no one says a word to him,—for, as he came for the purpose of talking, it is for him to begin. After resting a while, he speaks without being questioned, or interrupted in any way. After he has related his news, the old men question him, and engage in conversation with him. I have seen two Savages arrive at our house, who came from the quarter where a young Savage who was with us had relatives; they were at leisure for a long time, and yet this young man never asked them how they were, nor what was going on in the place whence they came. I asked him the cause of this so great silence: 'It was for them to speak,' he said to me, 'for, as they are old, I did not dare question them.'"—Le Jeune's *Relation*, 1637:—*Id.*, xi, *doc.* xxix, pp. 211, 213.

In most parts of Europe, when any one makes a call he is invited to drink; among the Savages he is invited to eat.

In France, the butchers sell and deliver their meat with the bones, and it is served thus on the table. Among our Algonquins, the market-men and market-women—who are almost as numerous as the whole number of men and women—dress an animal so skillfully that most of the meat is left free from bones. They always boil the whole together, however; but the meat only is brought in at a feast, the bones being given to the host's domestics to pick. When they have been well sucked and gnawed, they are not thrown to the dogs, as in France; that would be very unwise, because, they say, the animals would become much harder to catch, being informed by their brothers and kindred that their [303] bones are given to the dogs. Therefore, they throw into the fire, or into the river, or else bury the bones of beavers, from fear lest the dogs may find them. In respect to animals that are devoid of intelligence, that is, such as let themselves be readily caught, their bones are held in contempt, and are thrown to the dogs. Those who are now instructed make fun of such superstitions and fancies.

When the Savages are not hunting or on a journey, their usual posture is to recline or sit on the ground. They cannot remain standing, maintaining that their legs become swollen immediately. Seats higher than the ground they dislike; the French, on the contrary, use chairs, benches, or stools, leaving the ground and litter to animals.

A good dancer in France does not move his arms much, and holds his body erect, moving his feet so nimbly that, you would say, he spurns the ground and wishes to stay in the air. The Savages, on the contrary, bend over in their dances, thrusting out their arms and moving them violently as if they were kneading bread, while they strike the ground with their feet so vigorously that one would say they are determined to make it tremble, or to bury themselves in it up to the neck.

People, on coming from town and taking off their shoes, put them down somewhere out of the way; the Savages hang them in the highest place in their cabins, to let them dry.

In France, children are carried on the arm, or clasped to the breast; in Canadas, the mothers bear them behind their backs. In France, they are kept [305] as well covered as possible; there they are most often as bare as your hand. The cradle, in France, is left at home; there the women carry it with their children;

it is composed merely of a cedar board, on which the poor little one is bound like a bundle.

In France, a Workman does not expect his pay until he completes his task; the Savages ask for it in advance.

In France, we are not very well pleased to see snow or hail fall; but it makes a Savage leap for joy.

Those who sail in European ships go below when it rains; the Savages, on the other hand, to escape the storm, land and invert their little vessel over themselves and their baggage.

When a Savage takes a tool to rough-hew some wood, or a knife to cut anything, he holds the handle and the blade in just the opposite way to that of a Frenchman; the one handles it pointing inward, the other pointing outward.

Europeans have no hesitation about telling their names and conditions, but you embarass a Savage by asking him his name; if you do ask him, he will say that he does not know, and will make a sign to some one else to tell it.

In France, when a father gives his daughter in marriage, he allows her a dowry. There, it is given to the girl's father.

In Europe, the children inherit from their parents; among the Hurons the nephews, sons of the father's sister, are their uncle's heirs; and the Savage's small belongings will be given to the friends of the [307] deceased, rather than to his children. This custom, which is not a bad one, being readily explained, is still observed in some parts of Oriental India.

In France, the man usually takes to his house the woman whom he marries; there, the man goes to the woman's house to dwell.

In France, if any one fall into a fit of anger, or harbor some evil purpose, or meditate some harm, he is reviled, threatened, and punished; there, they give him presents, to soothe his ill-humor, cure his mental ailment, and put good thoughts into his head again. This custom, in the sincerity of their actions, is not a bad one; for if he who is angry, or is devising some ill to resent an offense, touch this present, his anger and his evil purpose are immediately effaced from his mind.

In a large part of Europe, ceremonies and compliments are indulged in to such an excess as to drive out sincerity. There, quite on the contrary, sincerity is entirely naked; if its fruit were shaded with a few leaves, the tree would be more beautiful. But after all, it is better to live with frankness and enjoy truth, than

to feast on wind and smoke, under offers of service that are full of falsehood.*

Namque magis natura placet, fucum odimus omnes.

In Europe, we unclothe the dead as much as we can, leaving them only what is necessary to veil them and hide them from our eyes. The Savages, however, give them all that they can, anointing and attiring them as if for their wedding, and burying them with all their favorite belongings.

The French are stretched lengthwise in their graves, while the Savages, in burying their [309] dead, make them take in the grave the position which they held in their mothers' wombs. In some parts of France, the dead are placed with their heads turned toward the East; the Savages make them face the West. I have seen new Christians, in burying a dead person, prepare the grave so that the face might look back toward the Church Altar—and that from a spirit of devotion.

[*Id., doc.* xcviii, vol. xliv, pp. 133-317.]

* "It would be a very novel thing in France if one of the audience assembled to hear a sermon were to stop the preacher in the middle of the discourse,—either to talk with him, or to ask him for the explanation of some point of his doctrine. This happens here every day without any impropriety. . . .

"When one says something which they greatly approve, they show it sometimes in the very midst of the preaching. *Ho-ho,* they say, or *mi hi,* 'that is good'; or, again, *mi ke tiang,* 'we will do that.'

"There are some who will say to the Preacher, 'My father, do not go so fast; speak more slowly.' If the Father does not correctly use some word of their language, they will suggest to him the right word that he should use, and no one finds this strange. . . . But observe, if you please, that it is only the chief persons of the audience who assume authority in speaking."—Le Jeune's *Relation,* 1640:—*Id.,* xviii, *doc.* xli, pp. 151, 153.

XXXI

[29] Letters Sent from New France to Rev. Father Jacques Renault, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, in the Province of New France.

By Rev. Father Hierosme Lallemant, *Superior of the Missions of the Same Society in this new World.*

[1659]

[There is no formal *Relation* for the year 1659; but early in the following year appeared from the Cramoisy press a thin volume, containing three (unsigned) letters from Quebec, forwarded by Jerome Lalemant, the superior, which gave a brief outline of affairs in the Canada mission for the past year. . . .

In the third letter (dated Oct. 16, 1659), is an account of the mission in Acadia. Three priests are laboring there; one of these, Jacques Frémin, has wintered with the savages, among whom he has gained several converts. Among these is a captive belonging to an Eskimo tribe, of which people and their customs some description is given. . . .—*Id.*, xlv, pp. 9, 10.]

[59] THIRD LETTER.

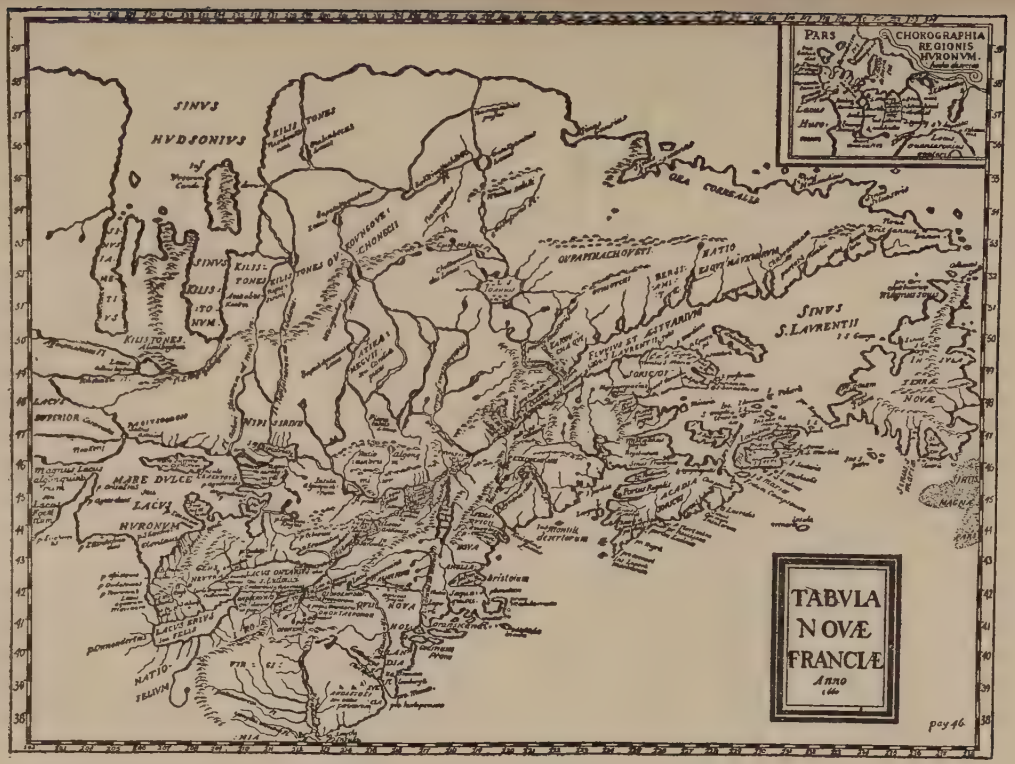
OF THE ACADIAN MISSION.

MY REVEREND FATHER:

Here is a third Letter that I write to Your Reverence, to inform you of what has occurred in the Mission of Acadia, where three of our Fathers are laboring for the conversion of the Savages on that coast, and for the salvation of the French who are settled there.

Acadia is that part of New France which borders the sea, extending from New England to Gaspé, where the entrance to the great river St. Lawrence properly begins. All that country, which is fully three hundred leagues in extent, bears but one name, having but one language.

The English have usurped all the Eastern coast from Canceau to New England, and have left to the French that which extends toward the North; the principal points of the latter are



NEW FRANCE IN 1660, BY FRANCISCUS CREUXIUS, S.J.

From his *Historia Canadensis*, Paris, 1664

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. XLVI.*]

called Miscou, Rigibouctou, and Cap Breton. The district of Miscou is the most populous and the best disposed, and contains most Christians. It comprises the Savages of Gaspé, of Miramichy, and of Nepigigouit. Rigibouctou is a beautiful river and important for its trade with the Savages of the river St. John.[1]

Cap Breton is one of the first Islands which one meets on coming from France. For its size, it is fairly well peopled with Savages. Monsieur Denis is in command of the principal settlement [61] which the French have in those quarters. Such is the country which our Fathers have cultivated since the year 1629, and in which Fathers André Richard, Martin Lionne, and Jacques Fremin are at present laboring.

The last named has had for his portion the coast of Rigibouctou, where he has wintered among the Savages. With them he has suffered, besides the scurvy, famine caused by the deficiency of snows, which are the Savages' riches; for the Moose, Caribous, and other animals are caught in them as in a snare, when they are deep enough. . . .

[65] Two years ago, the Savages of these coasts were at war with the Esquimaux. These latter are a nation dwelling at the extreme Northeastern end of New France, at about 52 degrees of latitude and 330 of longitude. It is wonderful how these Savage mariners navigate so far in little shallops, crossing vast seas without compass, and often without sight of the Sun, trusting to instinct for their guidance. [67] But in this respect the Esquimaux arouse even greater wonder. They sometimes make the same transit, not in shallops, but in small canoes, whose structure and speed are indeed astonishing. They are not made of bark, like those of the Algonkins, but of skins of seals, which animals abound in their country. These canoes are covered over with those same skins. An opening is left at the top which gives admittance to the one who is to navigate, who is always alone in this gondola. Seated and ensconced in the hold of this little leather boat, he gathers about him the skin which covers him, and fastens and binds it so well that the water cannot enter. Lodged in this pouch, he paddles on each side alternately with a single paddle, which has a blade at each end. He does this so skillfully, however, and causes his boat to move so lightly, that he outstrips the shallops, which move by sail. Moreover, if this canoe happens to capsize, there is nothing to fear, for, as it is light and filled with air enclosed within, along with half the body

of the boatman, it easily rights itself, and restores its pilot safe and sound above the water, provided he be well fastened to his little craft. Nature joined to necessity furnishes great inventions. These good people further use sealskins to build their houses, and to make clothes for themselves; for, after thoroughly dressing these skins, they wear them as coverings for their bodies, making robes from them in the same fashion for both men and women. They live chiefly on caribous, which are a kind of deer, on otters, on seals, and on cod; they have but few beavers and moose. During the Winter they live underground, in great caves, where they are so warm [69] that, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, they have no need of fire, except for cooking. The snows there are very deep. They are so hardened by the cold that they bear one as firmly as ice, and, to walk over them, one needs no snowshoes. The iron which they find near the stages of the codfishers serves them to make them arrow-heads, knives, cleavers, and other tools, which they themselves skillfully devise, without forge or hammers. They are of small stature, somewhat olive-colored, quite well-formed, thick-set, and exceedingly strong.[1]

Some time ago, our Savages were waging war against these peoples. Having surprised and massacred some of them, they spared the lives of the others, whom they took as captives into their own country,—not to burn them, for that is not their custom, but to hold them in servitude, or to cleave their heads upon entering their villages in token of triumph. . . .

[*Id., doc.* C, vol. xlv, pp. 28-77.]

XXXII

[79] Journal of the Jesuit Fathers in the years 1659 and 1660.

[In this volume we give the *Journal des Jésuites* for the two years 1659-60. It is written by De Quen until September, 1659; thereafter by Jerome Lalemant. . . .

Early in April [1659], Oneida ambassadors come to Quebec, to secure the release of the Iroquois prisoners there, and to invite the Jesuits to return to Onondaga. Some of the captives are released, but the envoys are rebuked for the perfidy hitherto shown toward the French, and the Jesuits will not go back until there is some prospect of safety for them. On the seventeenth of May, Le Moyne goes on an embassy to the Mohawks, accompanied by the prisoners of that tribe released by the governor, two Algonkin envoys, and a Frenchman. . . .—*Id.*, xlv, pp. 10, 11.]

[81] APRIL

The names of the Ambassadors are Soen'res, Ionnoïwara, and Otarannhont. Envoys of the annieronon Iroquois.

3. 3 Oneioutes arrived at quebec, to discuss matters with Monsieur the governor, and to deliver their people from prison.

5. The aforesaid 3 ambassadors held a council at the fort. One of them spoke, and gave 24 presents—namely 22 to the french, 1 to the Alguonquins, and 1 to the hurons. The object of these presents was to deliver the Agnieronon And Oneiout prisoners: otherwise, there would be no peace.

1st: He accused himself of having too [83] long delayed doing his duty—that is, to give satisfaction for the murder of 3 frenchmen, committed at montreal. He said: "I come to tear away the hatchet from those who were killed at Montreal."

2nd, 3rd, and 4th: "I throw a grave-cloth on the dead man." He gave 3 presents for this, one for each dead person.

Presents of the annieronons.

5th: "I cast those dead men very deep into the ground, in order to stifle all feelings of revenge."

6th: He reminded the french and the alguonquins of the word that they had given to send Ambassadors to Agnee; and told them to do so as soon as possible, for the peace depended upon that.

7th: "I set up the may-tree, the symbol of peace."

8th: "I strengthen the same symbol, so that the wind may not overthrow it."

9th: "I kindle a fire in the shade of that tree, to assemble the french, the alguonquins, and the hurons in council, so that they may deliberate respecting the means of obtaining a suitable peace."

10th: "I give a beverage made from an excellent white root, with which diseases of all kinds are cured in my country." *

11th: "Onontio, I prepare thy mind for a lasting peace. Cause the soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of war."

12th: "I replace the sun; we will walk hereafter in full daylight; the clouds and darkness shall be completely dispelled."

[85] 13th: "The Agnieronons await Ondesonk and the Alguonquins: here is something to assure them that they have nothing to Fear."

14th: "The Onontageronon reminds thee that you had clasped each other by the arm; that you had bound yourselves with iron bonds. It is thou, frenchmen, who hast broken the Bond by departing from my country without my knowledge, and by abandoning thy dwelling."

15th: "The onontageronon takes thee once more by the arm, and renews friendship with thee more strongly than Ever."

16th: "The Onontageronon says to thee, 'I give thee back thy house of Ganentaha; thy lodgings are still standing. An elder resides there to Preserve them. Put thy canoe into the water, and go to take possession of what belongs to thee.'"

* "The Iroquois—who take pride in leading home prisoners alive and full of strength, to endure the strain of torture to which they destine them—turned Physicians in the case of this wounded man, and, with cruel compassion, dressed his wound and bled him with an assiduity only too charitable to him. They probed the wound full through his body, and, finding where the ball had stopped, made an incision there and removed it, with admirable skill. After this successful operation, it is incredible what pains and care they took of this poor patient. Some would cleanse the wound and infuse into it the juice of roots, either boiled or chewed, which is a sovereign remedy with them; others would bandage it, and acquit themselves with such delicacy in handling it that they seemed to fear giving him the least pain in the world."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1663-64:—*Id.*, xlix, *doc.* cxv, p. 121.

17th: "What brings me here particularly is to withdraw the prisoners of Agne."

18th: "Deliver them all up to me; other wise the minds of our Elders will not be satisfied."

19th: "I also ask thee to free those from my country whom thou detainest in prison."

20th: "Deliver them all to me. Separate them not: all or none."

21st: "The three nations of agnee, of oneout, and of onontage await this: otherwise thou openest not thy heart to them."

22nd: "Open thy eyes and thy ears, frenchmen; see how our people have given thee back thy prisoners all together without [87] doing it two separate times. Imitate them, to show that thou desirest peace as much as we do."

23rd: To the Alguonquins, "Alguonquins, Fear not to go on an embassy. Let not the want of presents hinder you. Your presence, and not your gifts, will Show that you wish for peace."

24th: "Hurons," said the ambassador who spoke, "cease to hoot at Iroquois Strangers who may Come on an embassy, or to trade in your country." By this he meant that they were to receive them kindly.

6. At night, one of the ambassadors privately gave a present of a handsome Collar to father Chaumonot, to beg him to press matters, that an answer might be given as soon as possible to the requests that they had made to Onontio, and that they might not be long detained. . . .

18. At 9 o'clock in the evening, a canoe with 3 Alguonquins arrived at quebec from 3 Rivers. It brought the News that 14 agnieronons had taken prisoners Mitewemeg and his sister, both Alguonquins, on lake St. pierre, near the Richelieu river, called the river of the Iroquois; but that tegarihogen, the ambassador of the Iroquois, who was then hunting in those islands, had Brought back Mitwemeg and his sister to three Rivers.

As the Algonquins whose arrival was [89] awaited to answer the Onneioutronons delayed too long in coming, Onnontio gave a present of a coat

to each of the 3 Ambassadors, to assure Them that They were delayed for no other object than to give Them some Algonquin to take with them on an Embassy as soon as Noel should return.

April 26. On the 26th, Noel, the Algonquin, returned from his hunt; and 2 days afterward a conference was held with the Onneioutronon Ambassadors.

28. The Ambassadors were answered by 7 collars, as thanks for their 24 presents, until such a time as ondesonk should make A full answer in Their country.

Presents at Quebek. The answer to the first 5 presents was as follows: "If thou hadst acknowledged thy fault sooner, we would not have had so many misunderstandings, The Fathers would still be at Kannentâ, and thy people would not have been imprisoned. At last I am pleased that thou dost acknowledge It."

To the next 5 the answer was, that The french and the Algonquins would go on an embassy.

To the 3 following the answer was, that it would be desirable that The Iroquois young men should obey the Elders as The french obey Onnontio.

To the next 3, given in the name of Sagochiendage'te, the answer was: "If Otrewa'ti and his eight Comrades had not fled, I would have gone back with them to Onnontage."

To the 2 presents given in the name of The [91] Anniege'ronnon, the answer was: "The fetters broken by Tegarihogen have been reforged by your insolent young men, in killing us and our allies."

To the 3 following the answer was, that it was bad grace on his part to ask that all The captives be given up, inasmuch as he did not bring back The little frenchmen for whom we had so often asked: but that we gave Him back three,—namely, 2 Onneiouts, and One man from Annienge,—and besides that we handed over Gatogwann to Father Le Moyne so that he might take him back with The Algonquin.

The answer to the last present was, that our eyes were sufficiently open to see that The voice of Their Elders was not strengthened enough by col-

lars of porcelain beads; but that in future It must be strengthened by men whom each side should give to reside with The other.

April 30. The Onneioutronnon Ambassadors start for 3 Rivers with 4 of Their people,—namely, Te gannonchiogen and Sagon'nenrawagon, of Onneiout; Gatogwann and Soiehwaskwa, of Annienge. The Reverend Father superior and Father Drouillet accompany Them there with a number of Algonquins; the latter are going to give their message to The Ambassador who is to go on Their behalf to the Iroquois country.

Presents that Father Le Moyne is to give the Onneiouts in Their country:

Presents to oneoiut. 1st: "We knew not that Garontagwan had [93] of his own accord delivered our 3 frenchmen to the Onnontageronnons and Annienge'ronnons. We supposed that The Onnontage'ronnons would have withdrawn Them by dint of presents," etc. "Wherefore be not astonished that The young men of three Rivers have ill-treated thy people. And yet that displeases me; I draw out The hatchet from Their heads."

2nd: "I throw a Shroud over the dead bodies."

3rd: "I place a plaster on The wounded."

4th: "I bury all evil reports deep down in the earth."

5th: "I set up The may-tree once more."

6th: "I put roots to It."

7th: "I give thee a beverage."

8th: "I calm thy mind, and those of all thy Young men."

9th: "I replace the sun."

10th: "I cause its rays to be diffused for thee, that thou mayst sit where they shine."

11th: "I unite in one all The thoughts of your 5 Nations, so that You may have but one speech."

12th: "I rekindle The council fire."

13th: "I replace a mat to sit on near that fire."

14th: "I reassemble The council upon that mat."

15th: "I give thee back 2 of thy nephews."

16th: "Onnontio takes care of the 2 Onneiouts who have remained at Kebec." *Vide* 17th.

18th: "Onnontio asks only for peace. [95] You see very well that trouble comes only from you. We are Never The first to begin.

17th: "Give me back my nephew Charles Picard, whom thou hast so often promised me, in order that He may be instructed once more: When he has been well instructed again, he will go back to see thee."

19th: "Onnontio desires peace, that The Fathers may Freely go everywhere to preach The faith."

20th: "We are assured of a Paradise for the good, and of a hell for The Wicked."

21st: "I open thine ears to the voice of God."

22nd: "I protest that it is thy own fault if thou art damned. I am quite ready to return as soon as thou hast calmed The troubles."

MAY . . .

Father Le Moine.

7. 2 alguonquins, Father Le Moine, and Jean de Noyon started from three Rivers on an embassy to Agnie, with Tigarihogen, 4 prisoners freed at quebec, and 3 ambassadors from oneiout. . . .

[99] JULY

3. At ten o'clock at night, Father le Moine arrived at quebec from Agnie with The alguonquin eiitawikiik And 4 Agnieronons, who came [101] to get la grande Cuiller and other hostages.

4 Councils.

4 councils were held, at which the following was said:

1st: "The iroquois thanks onontio for having preserved the life of his people."

2nd: "He wipes away the tears of onontio for the recent capture of three frenchmen by the Onontageronons."

3rd: "He clears his throat and stops his sobbing with The hope that he holds out to him that he will soon enable him to see again the french who have been captured."

Onontio speaks and says,—

1st: "I thank thee for having Preserved the life of my ambassadors."

2nd: "I wipe away thy tears for the loss of thy people who were killed last winter, in the war against The nation of fire And other nations."

3rd: "I arrest thy sobbing for the same cause."

2nd Council.

Father le moine relates at length what he has done, and renders an Account of his embassy to Agnie.

3rd Council.

Its object was to decide whether all the prisoners or only a portion of them should be given up, or whether all should be retained. The conclusion was to send back the two Agnieronons,—namely le grande Cuillier And his Companion,—and to detain the two Onneiouts Until the two frenchmen taken by the Onontageronons should have been sent back.

[103] 4th Council.

1st: The Iroquois who brought back father le Moine are told that their people will be given up to them and that the two others will be detained.

2nd: He tells them that The alguonquin ambassador acted contrary to his orders, for he did not include the tadousac savages in the treaty of peace; that he wishes them to be included in it.

3rd: He tells them that it is The alguonquin and the huron with him who give up la grande Cuilliere.

4th: He warns them that they must come openly to visit, and Not in Secret; by the usual Roads, and not through the woods.

Afterwards The Iroquois speaks, saying:

1st: "Onontio, I thank thee that thou surrenderest my people."

2nd: "Alguonquins And hurons, I thank you that you have contributed to that Surrender."

3rd: "Onontio, I beg that my son the oneiout, who still remains with thee, be not kept in such Close confinement."

4th: "I assure thee that in future the noise of my hatchet shall no longer be heard in this quarter; that the earth shall no longer be stained with blood," etc. "I will carry war elsewhere."

5th: "Alguonquins And hurons, I invite you to come without fear to trade in our Villages."

6th: "Onontio, I Thank thee that thou [105] hast given life to the Iroquoised alguonquin captured in war."

7th: "I beg thee to find means to enable us to return quickly to our own country."

Father le moine.

On the 8th, the Iroquois left here for their country with father le Moine, who remained at 3 Rivers. Monsieur St. denis also started for Tadousac in a small bark.

16. A Canoe arrived from three Rivers and informed us that la Grande Cuillier had set out with his Companion; also, that Antoine des Rosiers had escaped from the hands of the Onontageronons in the vicinity of lake Ontario, and had arrived at three Rivers.

12 canoes arrive from the poissons blancs.

19. A canoe arrived at 9 o'clock at night from 3 Rivers and Montreal, bringing news that 12 canoes had come down from the poissons blancs with a good supply of furs, and that preparations were being made to go to the Outawak.

Father fremin.

22. Father fremin arrived from 3 Rivers in toupin's shallop.

AUGUST

1. A Canoe arrived from three Rivers, bringing news that 33 canoes had come from inland, partly attikameg and piskatang,—among others, 6 canoes of the nation of the Sault, misisager.[1] These six canoes of the sault came down by inland routes, and met therein The poissons blancs: they were 5 months on their journey. They ask for some frenchmen to escort them on their return. . . .

[*Id., doc.* ci, vol. xlv., pp. 78-167.]

XXXIII

[181] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS, in the countries of New France, from the Summer of the year 1659 to the Summer of the year 1660.

[Lalemant sketches the history, character, and political condition of the Iroquois tribes. They had been, in the past, defeated and crushed by both the Algonkins and the Andastes; but, of late, have in turn almost annihilated those tribes. This present supremacy is due to the firearms furnished to them by the Dutch; this advantage and their own fierce courage have enabled them, though comparatively few in numbers, to "hold dominion for five hundred leagues around." Lalemant estimates the number of warriors in the five Iroquois tribes at 2,200. Even these are not all of pure Iroquois stock; of such, there are only some "1,200 in all the five Nations, since these are, for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered." . . .

A chapter is devoted to an account of the Algonkin tribes, who have fled westward from the Iroquois. This is taken from a narrative by one of the Fathers (probably Druillettes), who had recently met, far up the Saguenay, a converted Indian, who has spent the last two years in wandering through the region of Lake Superior and Hudson Bay, and describes to the Father what he has seen there. The fugitive Algonkins have fled to those shores for refuge. The mines of that region are described. Indian reports of a western sea lead to some curious speculations regarding the short water-route to China and Japan which was then a general article of belief. The principal tribes around Hudson Bay are mentioned, also the fauna of that region. Not only do the people of that desolate land find abundant provision of meat in the flesh of the deer that abound there, but they use the antlers of the stags for fuel.

This account is supplemented by information obtained from Radisson and Groseilliers, who have just returned from another long voyage to the West. They encountered, in Northeastern Illinois, the fugitive remnant of the Tobacco tribe, who have there taken refuge from the Iroquois. . . .—*Id.*, xlv, pp. 15, 16, 17.]

[203] OF THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY OF THE IROQUOIS, AND OF THEIR CRUELTIES.*

WHAT a Poet has said of fortune,—that her most customary game is to break scepters, abase crowned heads, and, in rolling her wheel, raise some to the throne by the same movement whereby she casts others down, *Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax*,—and what History teaches us of the

* Chap. ii.

overthrow of States, of the downfall of Republics, and of the revolutions that have so often changed the face of the Empires of the Greeks, Persians, Romans, and other nations, may be applied here, *si parva licet componere magnis*.

This blind and fickle dame does not refrain from taking her diversion in Savages' cabins and amid forests, as well as in King's palaces and in the midst of great Monarchies. She can play her game everywhere, and everywhere she deals her blows, which in truth are more remarkable when they fall on gold and scarlet than when they strike only States of wood and destroy only towns of bark. But, after all, she causes equal vexation to both classes.

Of the five tribes constituting the entire Iroquois nation, that which we call the Agnieronnons has been so many times at both the top and the bottom of the wheel, within less than sixty years, that we find in history few examples of similar revolutions. Insolent in disposition, and truly warlike, they have [205] had to fight with all their neighbors,—with the Abnaquiois, who are Eastward of them; on the south, with the Andastogehronnons, a people inhabiting the shores of Virginia; with the Hurons on the West; and with all the Algonkin Nations scattered throughout the North. We cannot go very far back in our researches in their past history, as they have no Libraries other than the memory of their old men; and perhaps we should find nothing worthy of publication. What we learn then from these living books is that, toward the end of the last century, the Agnieronnons were reduced so low by the Algonkins that there seemed to be scarcely any more of them left on the earth. Nevertheless, this scanty remnant, like a noble germ, so increased in a few years as to reduce the Algonquins in turn to the same condition as its own. But this condition did not last long; for the Andastogehronnons waged such energetic warfare against them during ten years that they were overthrown for the second time and their nation rendered almost extinct, or at least so humiliated that the mere name Algonkin made them tremble, and his shadow seemed to pursue them to their very firesides.

That was at the time when the Dutch took possession of these regions and conceived a fondness for the beavers of the natives, some thirty years ago; and in order to secure them in greater number they furnished those people with firearms, with which it was easy for them to conquer their conquerors, whom they put to rout, and filled with terror at the mere sound of their

guns. And that is what has rendered them formidable everywhere, and victorious over all the Nations with whom they have been at [207] war; it has also put into their heads that idea of sovereign sway to which they aspire, mere barbarians although they are, with an ambition so lofty that they think and say that their own destruction cannot occur without bringing in its train the downfall of the whole earth.

But what is more astonishing is, that they actually hold dominion for five hundred leagues around, although their numbers are very small; for, of the five Nations constituting the Iroquois, the Agnieronnons do not exceed five hundred men able to bear arms, who occupy three or four wretched Villages.

The Onneioutheronnons have not a hundred warriors; the Onnontagehronnons and Oiogoenhronnons have three hundred each, and the Sonontwaehronons, who are the farthest removed from us and the most populous, have not more than a thousand combatants. If any one should compute the number of pure-blooded Iroquois, he would have difficulty in finding more than twelve hundred of them in all the five Nations, since these are, for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered,—as the Hurons; the Tionnontatehronnons, otherwise called the Tobacco Nation; the Atiwendaronk, called the Neutrals when they were still independent; the Riquehronnons, who are the Cat Nation; the Ontwagannhas, or fire Nation; the Trakwaehronnons, and others,—who, utter Foreigners although they are, form without doubt the largest and best part of the Iroquois.

It is therefore a marvel that so few people work such great havoc and render themselves so redoubtable to so large a number of tribes, who, on all sides, bow before this conqueror.

[209] It is true, they have performed some valiant deeds, and have, on certain occasions, distinguished themselves as highly as could be expected from the bravest warriors of Europe. Savages although they are, they still understand warfare very well; but it is usually that of the Parthians, who gave the Romans of old so much trouble, fighting them just as the Savages fight us. The Agnieronnons especially have always excelled in this kind of warfare, and sometimes even in that which demands courage only. They defeated two thousand men of the Cat Nation in the latter's own intrenchments; and, although they were only seven hundred in number, they nevertheless climbed the enemy's palisade, employing against it a counter-palisade which they

used, in place of shields and ladders, to scale the fortress, receiving the hail of shot that fell on them from every direction. It is said of them that, while there are no Soldiers more furious than they when they form an army, so there are none more cowardly when they are only in small bands, whose glory it is to break a number of heads and carry off the scalps. Yet they have not failed to demonstrate, on several occasions, that the courage of individuals went even to the point of rashness,—as when one of them passed the night at the entrance to a Huron village, hiding in a dunghill; thence he suddenly emerged at dawn of the following day, like a man risen from the dead, and hurled himself upon the first comer, taking flight again after breaking his head in this most unexpected manner. Two others showed themselves still braver. Under cover of the darkness, they stealthily approached a sentry post, where careful watch was being kept after the manner [211] of the Savages, which is to sing at the top of one's voice all night long. When they had allowed the sentry to shout for a considerable time, one of the two nimbly mounted the sentry post, and delivered a blow with his hatchet upon the first man whom he encountered; then, throwing the other to the ground, he took his leisure to kill him and remove the scalp from his head, as the noblest trophy of his victory. Last year, an Agnieronnon went all alone to war against Tadoussac; he accomplished a journey of two or three hundred leagues, making his way alone by sea and land, to find an Algonkin who was his enemy and whom he killed at last with his own hand, almost in the very midst of the French and of a large body of Savages. It is true, he lost his life in the act; but he lost it in defying them and in making his retreat as if he were walking for pleasure,—a haughtiness that caused his death.

But these traits of bravery are not found in all the Iroquois; knavery is much more common with them than courage, and their cruelty far exceeds their knavery; and it may be said that, if the Iroquois have any power, it is only because they are either knavish or cruel. All the treaties that we have made with them are proofs of their perfidy; for they have never kept a single one of the promises they have so often and so solemnly sworn to us. And as for cruelty, I would make this paper blush, and my listeners would shudder, if I related the horrible treatment inflicted by the Agnieronnons upon some of their captives. This has indeed been mentioned in the other relations; but what we have recently learned is so strange that all that has been said on

the subject is nothing. I pass over these matters, [213] not only because my pen has no ink black enough to describe them, but much more from a fear of inspiring horror by recounting certain cruelties never heard of in past ages.

It is only a neat trick with them to make a cut around the thumb of a captive, near the first joint; and then, twisting it, to pull it off by main strength, together with the sinew which usually breaks near the elbow or near the shoulder, so great is the violence employed. The thumb, thus removed with its sinew, is hung to the sufferer's ear like an ear-pendant, or attached to his neck in place of a carcanet. Then they will do the same with a second and a third finger, while, to replace the fingers that have been pulled off, they force into the wounds splinters of hard wood, which cause pains quite different from the foregoing, although excessive, and very soon produce a great inflammation and a huge swelling of the entire hand and even of the whole arm. Even if this first game were all, is it not with reason that the French of this country have so long asked the destruction of so cruel an enemy? since, after all, five or six hundred men are unable to withstand a courageous undertaking, if it be executed in such manner as the glory of God and the compassion due to them demand. The Iroquois have the disposition of women; there are none more courageous when no resistance is offered them, and none more cowardly when they encounter opposition. They deride the French, because they have never seen them wage war in their country; and the French have never done so because they have never made the attempt, hitherto believing the roads more difficult to pass than they really are. With our [215] present knowledge of these barbarians,—having seen, when we were in their midst, how alarm was everywhere felt when they beheld themselves attacked in their own country,—it may be said with full assurance that, if an army of five hundred Frenchmen should arrive unexpectedly, it could say, *Veni, vidi, vici.*

I have stated that there are only five or six hundred men to destroy; for it is beyond doubt that, if the Agnieronnons were defeated by the French, the other Iroquois Nations would be glad to compromise with us, and give us their children as hostages of their good faith. Then those fair missions would be revived at Onnontagué, at Oiogoen, and in all the other remaining Iroquois Nations, among whom we have already sown the first seeds of the faith. These have been so well received by the common people that we may not, without distrusting the divine

Providence, despair of one day reaping therefrom very abundant fruits. Moreover, the great door would be open for so many old and new missions toward the tribes of the North, and toward those newly discovered ones of the West, all of whom we embrace under the general name of Algonquins. But it is a subject of too wide a scope and demands a separate Chapter.

[217] OF THE CONDITION OF THE ALGONQUIN COUNTRY AND OF SOME NEW DISCOVERIES.*

I CANNOT more clearly describe the condition of the Nations of the Algonkin tongue than by giving the simple account of what one of our Fathers has learned about them,—who has been, this year, on the Saguenay River of Tadoussac,—as Providence gave him opportunities for this during that journey.

As those Nations are very widely extended over five or six hundred leagues of forest, facing toward the North, he divides them into three groups,—those extending toward the East, those dwelling in the uttermost parts of the West, and those of the North, lying between the two others. Of those of the East he says nothing that has not been given in the preceding Relations: of the two other groups he speaks as follows:

"On the thirtieth of July of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty, ascending the Saguené to the distance of thirty-two leagues from Tadoussac, I encountered eighty Savages; and among them was one named Awatanik, a man of importance because he was a Captain in rank, and much more so because he had received holy baptism ten years before in the country of the Nipisiriniens. The glorious Archangel, whose name he bears, seems to have taken pleasure in leading this man, as if by the [219] hand, and conducting him here to us, to show us the way which will take us to the North sea—where various Algonquin Nations have sought a retreat, fleeing from the Iroquois, who also prevents us from going in search of them by the ordinary route of the great River. I will give an account of the various routes, and some incidents of his journey.

"He started, in the month of June, of the year one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight, from the lake of the Ouinipegouek, which is strictly only a large bay in lake Huron. It is called by others, 'the lake of the stinkards,' not because it is salt like

* Chap. iii.

the water of the Sea,—which the Savages call Ouinipeg, or 'stinking water',—but because it is surrounded by sulphurous soil, whence issue several springs which convey into this lake the impurities absorbed by their waters in the places of their origin.[1]

"He passed the remainder of that summer and the following winter near the lake which we call Superior, from its position above that of the Hurons, into which it empties by a waterfall that has also given it its name; and, as our traveler halted there for some time, let us pause a while with him to note the peculiarities of the place.

"This lake, which is more than eighty leagues long by forty wide in certain places, is studded with Islands picturesquely distributed along its shores. The whole length of its coast is lined with Algonkin Nations, fear of the Iroquois having forced them to seek there an asylum. It is also enriched in its entire circumference with mines of lead in a nearly pure state: with copper of such excellence that pieces as large as one's fist are found, all refined: and with [221] great rocks, having whole veins of turquoise. The people even strive to make us believe that its waters are swollen by various streams which roll along with the sand grains of gold in abundance—the refuse, so to speak, of the neighboring mines. What inclines us to believe this is that, when the foundations of saint Joseph's Chapel were dug on the shore of lake Huron,—which is nothing but the discharge of lake Superior,—the workmen found a vein, as large as one's arm, of these grains of gold, the sand that was mixed with the vein being so little in quantity as to be almost imperceptible in comparison with the rest.[2] But the workmen, who knew that there were mines of copper in those regions, being persuaded that it was from a brass mine (in ignorance that brass is a composition), filled in the foundations which they had dug, without knowing that they were sealing up a treasure there.

"But there are riches of another nature. The Savages dwelling about that end of the lake which is farthest distant from us, have given us entirely new light, which will not be displeasing to the curious, touching the route to Japan and China, for which so much search has been made. For we learn from these peoples that they find the Sea on three sides, toward the South, toward the West, and toward the North: so that, if this is so, it is a strong argument and a very certain indication that these three Seas, being thus contiguous, form in reality but one Sea, which is that of China. For,—that of the South, which is the Pacific

sea and is well enough known, being connected with the North sea, which is equally well known, by a third Sea, the one about which we are in doubt,—there remains nothing [223] more to be desired than the passage into this great sea, at once a Western and an Eastern sea.

"Now we know that, proceeding Southward for about three hundred leagues from the end of lake Superior, of which I have just spoken, we come to the bay of St. Esprit,[1] which lies on the thirtieth degree of latitude and the two hundred and eightieth of longitude, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida: and in a Southwesterly direction from the same extremity of lake Superior, it is about two hundred leagues to another lake, which empties into the Vermilion sea on the coast of new Grenada, in the great South Sea. It is from one of these two coasts that the Savages who live some sixty leagues to the West of our lake Superior obtain European goods, and they even say that they have seen some Europeans there.

"Moreover, from this same lake Superior, following a River toward the North, we arrive, after eight or ten days' journey, at Hudson Bay, in fifty-five degrees of latitude. From this place, in a Northwesterly direction, it is about forty leagues by land to Button Bay, where lies port Melson,[2] on the fifty-seventh degree of latitude and the two hundred and seventieth of longitude; the distance thence to Japan is to be reckoned at only one thousand four hundred and twenty leagues, there being only seventy-one degrees of a great circle intervening. These two Seas, then, of the South and of the North, being known, there remains only that of the West, which joins them, to make only one from the three: and it is the fresh knowledge that we have gained from a Nation which, being situated at about the forty-seventh degree of latitude and the two hundred [225] and seventy-third of longitude, assures us that ten days' journey Westward lies the Sea, which can be no other than the one we are looking for,—it is this knowledge that makes us believe that the whole of North America, being thus surrounded by the sea on the East, South, West, and North, must be separated from Groeslande [Greenland] by some strait, of which a good part has already been discovered; and that it only remains now to push on some degrees farther, to enter nothing less than the Japan sea. In order to make the passage of Hudson strait, this is to be attempted only in the months of August and September; for, during these months only, the passage is less blocked with ice.

"But enough of this for the present. If the Iroquois permit, we shall be fully able to go and enlighten ourselves more clearly concerning this discovery, which, being known to us only through the medium of Savages, does not give us all the information we might desire. Let us follow our guide, who, after wintering in the place I have just described, left it in the following Spring. Advancing by short stages because of his family, who accompanied him, after covering about a hundred leagues' distance, he arrived at the great bay of the North, along which he found various Algonkin Nations who have settled on the shores of that sea.

"This bay is Hudson bay, of which we have just been speaking.* In the middle of it our Savage saw a large Island which takes its name from the white Bears inhabiting it. These are water rather than land animals, since they leave the sea but rarely, and generally live on fish, whereas black Bears feed usually only on flesh, and do not leave [227] the land. The white Bear's greatest dainty,—excepting the Bustards, on which they make war as skillfully as do the most expert men,—are the little Whales, which they are constantly hunting, but not without danger of falling into the jaws of the large Whales. These, from natural antipathy, devour in turn those animals by which their own young are devoured. If, as sometimes happens, these white Bears, coming together toward Springtime, are borne out into the open sea on some block of ice that has become detached from the shore, about the month of June, it is then a fine sight to see these new Argonauts voyaging at the mercy of winds and storms, and contending for their lives against the hunger that assails them on those floating icebergs, or against the Whales that wait to devour them when hunger shall force them to leap into the water and fish for sea-wolves or sea-dogs. They often pass whole months in this perilous seafaring, until at length, by a stroke of good luck, their vessel is wrecked by running aground somewhere; for then these animals leap ashore, utterly famished, and

* "We have long known that we have the North Sea behind us, its shores occupied by hosts of Savages entirely unacquainted with Europeans; that this sea is contiguous with that of China, to which it only remains to find an entrance; and that in those regions lies that famous bay, seventy leagues wide by two hundred and sixty long, which was first discovered by Husson [Hudson], who gave it his name, but won no glory from it other than that of having first opened a way which ends in unknown Empires. Upon this bay are found, at certain seasons of the year, many surrounding Nations embraced under the general name of Kilistinons."—*Relation*, 1660-61:—*Id.*, xlvi, *doc.* cvii, p. 249.

make ample amends for the fast they have endured, devouring everything in their path, and sparing neither man nor beast to satisfy their ravenous hunger.

"But let us return to our Pilgrim. On his way, he met with various Nations whose names have already been recorded. He noticed especially the Kilistinons, who are divided among nine different residences, some of a thousand, others of fifteen hundred, men; they are settled in large villages, where they leave their wives and children while they chase the Moose and hunt the Beaver. The [229] skin of the latter is of so little value to them since the Iroquois has prevented its sale, that they broil the Beavers over the fire, as is done with Swine in France, to render them eatable the more quickly. After visiting these tribes, our man betook himself to the Pitchibourenik, a people dwelling at the entrance to the Bay, whither the Hurons and Nipisiriniens formerly were wont to go for trade; and whence they procured a great abundance of Beavers in exchange for hatchets, cleavers, knives, and other like commodities, which they carried thither. During a certain part of the year, the abundance of Deer is still greater in these regions than that of Beavers; indeed, it is so enormous that they provision themselves therewith for a year—either by smoking the flesh, which is their most usual method, or by letting it freeze. For toward those Northern regions nothing decays or becomes tainted during the greater part of the year; and, indeed, a little further Northward human bodies lose none of their beauty for a long time after death, being as rosy and as intact thirty years after their decease as during their lifetime. And so it is said in those countries that the dead are in good health, but the living fall ill. Icebergs are seen there, some of twenty-two brasses, others of three hundred or three hundred and sixty feet. These become detached from the shore, and break sometimes with such violence that, on falling into the sea, they arouse by this downfall, storms that have put vessels in danger of being sunk; they, possibly, caused the destruction of the one whose wreck the Savages have seen on their coast.

"What excites my especial admiration in this unfortunate land is to see how Providence fails its [231] creatures in nothing, supplying the defects of some by aid of others, in a way one would never imagine. When one views the shores of this sea almost destitute of trees,—whether from the severity of the cold, which prevents their growth, or because the rocks with which these regions are almost entirely covered cannot provide nourishment

for large forests,—who would not think it contrary to God's will that these lands should be inhabited by man, since they are so destitute of the conveniences of human life? Nevertheless, Nations are found peopling these rocks and occupying this soil which is most sterile and most hard-favored by nature. But how can people live there without fire, when the cold is so intense? God has provided for that; he gives them their store of wood every year, and uses the stags as beasts of burden to carry it to them. This fuel consists of the wood or horns of the stags themselves. You may believe what you choose; but we are assured that these peoples have no better fire than that which they make with the wood of these great animals, which must be in prodigious numbers to supply with their antlers the branches of oaks and other trees suitable for burning.

"But let us not leave our Guide, who is coasting along the entire Bay. It does not fare ill with him, for he declares that he has no lack of game, large and small; and that a man in his company killed one of those white Bears of which we made mention. We did not learn from him whether its flesh is as good as that of the wild Geese, Swans, and Ducks that are found in the same region in the month of May, as well as countless numbers of little tufted birds and swallows, and likewise martins, white [233] hares, and black foxes. If powder for hunting runs short, one can resort to fishing for trout and salmon, which those Savages well know how to catch, not with lines, but with the harpoon simply.

"After our Algonkin had visited all the Nations surrounding the Bay, and had laden himself with various presents sent by those peoples to the French and Algonkins of these regions,—to attract them to their Bay, in order that they might all fortify themselves there against the Iroquois,—he left the seacoast to proceed inland and seek a road to Tadoussac, through vast forests which were unknown to him. As he was advancing through the woods, without compass and without taking altitude, he learned of the three Rivers, one of which leads straight to our village of three Rivers. This route he would not take, although it is much shorter and surer, but, at the same time, much more exposed to the Iroquois. The two other Rivers flow into lake St. Jean, whence the river Saguené takes its rise. He chose the more remote of these two Rivers as the safer one,—the other being not very far from the country where three Nations were overthrown by the Iroquois, two or three years ago, and compelled

to seek a refuge with other more distant ones. The names of these latter are the Kepatawangachik, the Outabitibek, and the Ouakwiechiwek.

"Finally, he reached a spot thirty-two leagues from Tadoussac, where he entertained me with an account of his adventures and travels, and began to tell me in advance the condition to which the Iroquois had reduced the Algonkin Nations toward lake Superior and the lake of the Ouinipeg. But scarcely had I returned to Quebec when I found two Frenchmen [235] there who had but just arrived from those upper countries, with three hundred Algonkins, in sixty canoes loaded with furs. Following is an account of what they saw with their own eyes;[1] it will give us a view of the condition of the Algonkins of the West, as we have until now mentioned those of the North.

"They passed the winter on the shores of lake Superior, and were fortunate enough to baptize there two hundred little children of the Algonkin Nation with whom they first made their abode. These children were the victims of disease and famine; and forty went straight to Heaven, dying soon after Baptism.

"During their winter season, our two Frenchmen made divers excursions to the surrounding tribes. Among other things, they saw, six days' journey beyond the lake toward the Southwest, a tribe composed of the remnants of the Hurons of the Tobacco Nation, who have been compelled by the Iroquois to forsake their native land, and bury themselves so deep in the forests that they cannot be found by their enemies. These poor people—fleeing and pushing their way over mountains and rocks, through these vast unknown forests—fortunately encountered a beautiful River, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great Nation of the Alimiwec, which gave them a very kind reception. This Nation comprises sixty Villages—which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of people who fill all those Western regions.

"Let us return to our two Frenchmen. Continu- [237] ing their circuit, they were much surprised, on visiting the Nadwechiwec, to see women disfigured by having the ends of their noses cut off down to the cartilage; in that part of the face, then, they resemble death's heads. Moreover, they have a round portion of the skin on the top of their heads torn away. Making inquiry as to the cause of this ill treatment, they learned, to their

admiration, that it is the law of the country which condemns to this punishment all women guilty of adultery, in order that they may bear, graven on their faces, the penalty and shame of their sin. . . . Our Frenchmen visited the forty Villages of which this Nation is composed, in five of which there are reckoned as many as five thousand men. But we must take leave of these people, —without much ceremony, however,—and enter the territories of another [239] Nation, which is warlike and which with its bows and arrows has rendered itself as redoubtable among the upper Algonkins as the Iroquois among the lower; and so it bears the name of Poualak, which means 'Warriors.'

"As wood is scanty in supply and small in size in their country, nature has taught them to make fire with coal from the earth and to cover their cabins with skins. Some of the more ingenious make themselves buildings of loam, very nearly as the swallows build their nests; and they would sleep not less comfortably under these skins and this mud than do the great ones of the earth under their golden canopies, if they did not fear the Iroquois, who come in search of them from a distance of five and six leagues.". . .

[*Id., doc.* cii, vol. xlv, pp. 169-261; vol. xlvi, pp. 21-123.]

XXXIV

[139] Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS, in the country of New France, from the Summer of the year 1661 to the Summer of the year 1662.

[The *Relation* of 1661-62 is sent to France by Jerome Lalemant. . . . He proceeds to recount the wars which the Iroquois are waging against many tribes, even at a distance of four hundred leagues, and describes some of the peculiar features of the Southern regions which they have invaded. Among these are reeds as tall as oaks, in the trunks of which live large bears, which feed upon the pith; Indian corn with "ears two feet long, and grains as large as Muscatel grapes"; serpents of prodigious size, but harmless; and native tribes who poison springs, and even rivers. There are even vague accounts of the Mississippi and the Spaniards; for the vengeful Iroquois have undertaken to carry war almost to the shores of the Mexican Gulf. Others of their band are ranging the entire Northwest, even to the Missouri River; and the savages of Necouba—visited, the preceding year, by Jesuits for the first time—are cut off by these prowling marauders, who are now planning to devastate the entire region of Hudson Bay. . . .

A supplementary chapter—compiled, apparently by Le Jeune, from a letter by Richard—describes hostilities waged by the Micmacs of Gaspé against some Montagnais north of the St. Lawrence. . . .—*Id.*, xlvii, pp. 12, 13, 16.]

DIVERS IROQUOIS WARS.*

ONE of the Ancients has well said that Fortune is ambitious, seeking only noble prey; and that her designs are much oftener against stately Edifices than against rustic Cabins which, by their lowliness, are defended against this Meteor's fury, while the peaks of lofty mountains receive all its blows.

Perhaps we were so humbled last year and reduced to so lowly a state as not to be hit by the thunderbolts of the Iroquois, who have turned their arms elsewhere, and are haughty enough to disdain the conquests to which they are accustomed.** They are going in pursuit of others, three and four hundred leagues from

* Chap. i.

** "But, before concluding, let us . . . make the following reflections.

"First, of two thousand Iroquois, or thereabout, which is their total number, we see fifteen or sixteen hundred laying down their arms, either permanently or at least for a time. Meanwhile, we have on our hands only four or five hundred, who themselves have to deal with three different Nations,—the

here, leaving no corner of these vast forests which they do not fill with terror and bloodshed.

Some have directed their course Eastward, toward new England, there to fight the Abnaquiois, Savages of docile nature, and very susceptible to all good influences,—as is testified by one of our Fathers, [141] who has several times gained access to them by frightful roads and ways beset with famine, and with precipices that must be passed. They dwell on the banks of a River called Kenebeki, and cultivate a country so delightful, according to their account, that they maintain, following their Legendary tradition, that the son of him who made all things, choosing to become a Savage, found no land more beautiful than theirs wherein to sojourn. Into that peaceful and delightful region a band of armed Agnieeronnons is about to carry disturbance, in order to avenge an insult offered to thirty of their number who, wishing to exact a sort of tribute from those people, were themselves all slain by them, with a single exception. This man, after having his upper lip cut off and losing half his scalp, was sent back in that plight to carry the tidings of what had befallen his Compatriots, being ordered to tell his country-men that a like ignominy was in store for them if they undertook a similar act of molestation.

Those arrogant people, more accustomed to impose laws than to obey them, straightway took the field, purposing to devote two years, before their return, to the avenging of this insult.

We learned recently that they had already made a good beginning, by surprising an entire village when all its inhabitants were intoxicated with liquor, sold to them by the Dutch; thus, by a wise choice of their time, they captured the village, which was nothing but a great Pot-house full of drunken men. They made blood flow in the Cabins as freely as wine had flowed there before: and then burned the women and children, and all whom the sword had spared, only one old man meeting with mercy, because he [143] was not drunk at the time and had, shortly before, gone on an Embassy to the Agnieronnons' country, to treat for peace with them. At first he was well received at Agnié, and, although a captive, was regarded as a man worthy of veneration because of his age and temperance. After remaining some time

Abnaquiois, the Mahingans, and the so-called 'people of the East,'[1] against whom they resume hostilities afresh, being so haughty that they do not think us worthy of reckoning in the number of their foes."—*Relation*, 1660-61:—*Id.*, xlvii, *doc.* cvii, pp. 105, 107.

"All the Iroquois Together are not more than 2,000 men bearing arms."—*Letter*, Bruyas to ——, January 21, 1668:—*Id.*, li, *doc.* cxxii, p. 139.

in Agnié, he was unfortunately met by five or six drunken Iroquois who seized him and bound him without delay to a stake, where they made him suffer all the cruelties that barbarism added to drunkenness can devise; he, however, bore them with a tranquil countenance, never letting a tear fall from his eyes, or a word of complaint escape from his lips. What a misfortune for this poor man, to perish through the intoxication of four or five rascals, after escaping from that of an entire village! That, then, is the war in the East which is occupying a part of the Iroquois.

Others are pushing their way farther down toward the South, without well knowing against whom they bear a grudge, seeking, they know not whom, and declaring war before they have any enemies. Proceeding more than two hundred leagues through the Forests, without compass and yet unerringly, they finally reach the sea near the Virginia coast, as we suppose. They find a country where snow is unknown and everything is always green, except the Beavers, which are white. The men there dress like women, and the women like men, especially in regard to headdress. Bears, wild Boars, Leopards, and Lions inhabit those wildernesses much more than man; while Turkeys and fowls fly in flocks, as Starlings do in France, and the cock's crow is heard in the woods just as in our [145] villages. There are whole forests of trees very similar to palms. These are, our Iroquois say, reeds, in thickness and height equal to oak-trees; they are pithy and have knots at intervals; and they bear leaves three feet long, a foot wide, and two or three inches thick. These leaves are, moreover, round, and as straight as a sword, and serve as a body-guard or support to the trunk which is, of itself, weak and flabby, but is girt about as with a rampart armed with cutlasses. Our warriors found by chance one of these Trees prostrate, and, upon approaching it, discovered in its hollow three large Bears, which were enjoying spacious lodgings, and had grown fat on the pith of this Tree, which served them for food and shelter at the same time. Thus they leave their house only after they have eaten it.[1]

Proceeding rather Westerly than Southerly, another band of Iroquois is going four hundred leagues from here in pursuit of a Nation whose only offense consists in its not being Iroquois. It is called Ontôagannha, signifying "the place where people cannot speak"—because of the corrupt Algonquin in use there.[2] Furthermore, if we believe our Iroquois who have returned thence, and the Slaves whom they have brought thence, it is a

country which has none of the severity of our winters, but enjoys a climate that is always temperate—a continual Spring and Autumn, as it were. The soil there is so fertile that one could almost say of it, within bounds, what the Israelite discoverers said of the Promised land: for, to mention the Indian corn only, it puts forth a stalk of such extraordinary thickness and height that one would take it for a tree, while it bears ears two feet long with grains that resemble in size our large [147] Muscatel grapes. No Moose or Beavers are seen there, as they live only in cold countries; but, to make up for this, Deer, Buffalo, wild Hogs, and another species of large animal wholly unknown to us, inhabit those beautiful forests, which are like so many Orchards, consisting almost wholly of fruit-trees. In their branches live very peacefully birds of all colors and of every note, especially little Paroquets, which are so numerous that we have seen some of our Iroquois return from those countries with scarfs and belts which they had made from these birds by a process of interweaving. One finds there also a kind of Serpent of prodigious size and two brasses in length; but these are harmless Snakes, their venom not being hurtful or their sting injurious. The people are not so inoffensive as the snakes, for they make use of a poison with which they understand perfectly the art of infecting springs, and even whole rivers; and they do it with such skill that the water loses nothing of its fair appearance, although it be tainted throughout. Their Villages are situated along a beautiful river which serves to carry the people down to the great Lake (for so they call the Sea), where they trade with Europeans who pray as we do, and use Rosaries, as well as Bells for calling to Prayers. According to the description given us, we judge them to be Spaniards. That Sea is doubtless either the Bay of St. Esprit in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of Florida, or else the Vermilion Sea, on the coast of new Granada, in the great South Sea.[1] Be that as it may, against these peoples the Onnontagheronnon Iroquois have turned their arms, to appease (as they say) the souls of those of their number who were killed there eight or nine years ago. Those [149] souls will find no resting-place in the other world until they have been atoned for, as it were, by fires of burnt captives,—a cruel expiation, begun last winter with some poor women and children at the breast, who fell victims to the flames, and to the cruelty of those too pitiless Barbarians.

Another Iroquois expedition is beginning a two years' war against the so-called Ox Nation;[2] another is turning its course

against the Tobacco Nation, in the direction of the Nezpercés; and still another, starting out to discover, as it were, a new country, penetrated so far into the unknown forests that the men perished there of hunger.

The rest were more successful in the new undertaking executed by them, this past winter, against our Savages of the North. These are the people whom two of our Fathers visited last year by remote paths from Tadoussac, when they repaired to Necouba, very seasonably for many Neophytes, some of whom were instructed anew in the mysteries of our Religion, while the others made their peace with God. All these poor Neophytes were able later to recognize the care which Providence had for their salvation by sending them Missionaries under circumstances truly wonderful. For never before had either Iroquois or Frenchman set foot in their country, nor had mention been made of Necouba, either at Agné or at Kebec; and, behold, in the same year men came thither from both places.* It was, however, the will of that gentle Providence that our Fathers should arrive there first, to rescue from the fires of Hell those who, although they knew it not, would soon be cast into the fires of the Iroquois. . . .

* "During the past winter, a Nipissirinien Captain entertained us with a . . . description of a general fair that was to be held there [on Hudson Bay], in the following Summer, to which our Savages of Kébec and Tadoussac were invited. That was a fine opportunity for us to go in person and gain information which we had hitherto obtained only through the reports, seldom trustworthy, of the Savages. . . .

"To this end, accordingly, Fathers Gabriel Druillettes and Claude Dablon, with the greater part of our Savages, started from here in the month of May last, . . .

"Let us see what the Fathers write on the subject from Nekouba, the place where they arrived two months after their departure hence. . . .

" 'Furthermore, Nekouba is a place noted for a Market that is held there every year, to which all the Savages from the surrounding country resort for the purpose of conducting their petty traffic. I will describe the reception given us by sixty people who were awaiting us here, and who proceeded to receive us after the native fashion. They began with songs and shouts of joy, wherewith they made all the banks reëcho, and thus, in their simplicity, showed us more unmistakably the delight they felt at our coming, than they would have done by highly elaborate concerts and royal bands of music. The harangues were then delivered; and, as we were still in our Canoes, ready to land, the Orator, who spoke for all, took his stand on a stump that chanced very conveniently to be at the water's edge. There he offered us the first greeting, addressing us at some length,—and with gestures, as if he had been in a gilded Chair,—until the noise of the muskets, with which we were saluted in a general fusillade, drowned his voice and formed his peroration. This miniature thunder ceasing, the songs were redoubled for the opening of the dance, which was executed by old people and children mingled indiscriminately, but observing such perfect time that their performance would have won approbation in France.' "—*Relation*, 1660-61 :—*Id.*, xlvi, *doc.* cvii, pp. 251, 253, 275, 277.

[221] CONCERNING CERTAIN MURDERS COMMITTED BY THE SAVAGES OF GASPÉ AMONG THE SAVAGES KNOWN AS THE PAPINACHIOUETKHI.*

ON entering the great Gulf of Saint Lawrence on the way to Kebec, one encounters three places, toward the South, whither French Vessels go in quest of Codfish. These Harbors or ports are very near one another, and bear the names of Isle Percée, Bonaventure, and Gaspé. . . . Father Richard gives us the following account of an expedition undertaken by certain Savages whom we called the Savages of Gaspé, because they come and camp with considerable frequency near the Bay or Port bearing that name. "These Barbarians having assembled during the winter of last year, 1661, some of them proposed in their Councils to go and wage war against the Esquimaux. These are people hostile to Europeans, and dwell on the shores of the Gulf toward the North and at no distance from the great Island of Newfoundland, which is situated at the mouth of the great river and Gulf of Saint Lawrence. Ascending still higher, on the same banks, one comes to the Papinachiouekhi, next to the Bersiamites, and then to Tadoussac.[1] The last two [223] Nations, as well as some others allied to them, are good, simple people, fond of peace, who receive our Fathers from Kebec with great affection when the latter visit their country as Missionaries. But let us return to our Savages of Gaspé.

"When, therefore, some proposed in their Councils and feasts a hostile expedition, they were listened to by one party and opposed by another. But when the Bravoes and Ruffians ridiculed those peacefully inclined, about thirty young men raised their hatchets, in sign of their advocacy of war.

"That moved me deeply," continues Father Richard, "because their war is nothing but a manhunt, quite often undertaken merely to fulfill some dreams which come to them in their sleep, and make them believe that their departed relatives will not rest in peace unless some human beings are sacrificed to them. After passing the whole winter with this purpose in view, they repaired in the Spring to the banks of a River called Bacadensis, which empties into the Gulf. I was with them," proceeds the Father, "and testified to them the grief I felt at so thoughtless an undertaking, strongly suspecting that they would attack and kill the first persons they met beyond the Gulf, without heeding whether

* Chap. vii.

they were friends or enemies. They spurned my counsels and embarked amid ceremonies that were truly grotesque and superstitious.

"While they were at their feasting, and in Council, two Shallops were prepared for them. These Shallops they buy of the French who frequent their shores for the sake of fishing, and they handle them as skillfully as our most courageous and active Sailors of France. They made a little Bridge of wood to [225] enable them to embark dry-shod in these Shallops, which were held for them ready-launched. That done, and the feast concluded, our warriors issued from a large Cabin, well armed after their fashion, singing, dancing, and then running quickly to their Shallops. Those who embarked last immediately threw into the water the pieces of wood constituting their Bridges, and taking the oars in hand with incredible celerity, were clear of the bank in a moment. Had any one fallen into the water or wetted himself in embarking, or had the Shallop run aground or been delayed in the least degree, such an ill omen would have brought them to an instant halt and made them change their plans. When one is without the torch of the Faith, he easily mistakes darkness for light, night for day, and madness and folly for wisdom.

"While these Argonauts were plying their oars on the River Bacadensis, behold, two Canoes issued as if from an ambuscade and started directly toward them to attack them, plunder them, and prevent their expedition. They were filled with young women, very active and well dressed, who came to convey an idea and present a picture of the battle these warriors were to fight with their enemies. They passed and repassed, turning and executing a thousand caracoles around these Shallops, trying to board them for the purpose of pillaging them, or, at least, of carrying off some little plunder. Bravely attacked, bravely defended. The men repulsed them, discharging their muskets frequently, rather to make a noise than to harm them.

"At length the young women withdrew, thoroughly tired, and without succeeding in plundering [227] a single article. They returned to the bank where the other women, who were waiting for them, received them with shouting and hooting, as if they had been vanquished enemies, pouncing upon them, stripping them of their new robes and of their ornaments, and giving them some old rags instead. One of these Amazons was ridiculed and mocked because she had not put on her handsome robe and fine attire, having strongly suspected that she would be robbed of them. These women are very willing to be thus despoiled for

the sake of furnishing a happy omen of the victory which they desire for their relatives and friends.

"But let us follow our Warriors. They had not proceeded far in the Gulf when one of them called a halt. 'I have just now recalled,' said he, 'an order given us by one of my relatives when dying. You know that the commands of the dying are important, and that, the deceased having been a man of influence among us, his wishes must be executed. Now, as they are opposed to the undertaking in which I have inconsiderately joined, from a lapse of memory, I am obliged to turn back, and abandon all thought of warfare.' Those who had engaged in this expedition simply from a fear of their comrades' opinion, told the speaker that they would accompany him, as being relatives or friends of the Deceased. Accordingly, the Band was divided in halves, one of the two shallops heading toward the land and returning to the shore, the other, manned by fifteen Hunters, proceeding forward.

"They at length reached the Island of Anticosti, where the Gulf begins, as it were, to change into a river. Leaving it to cross to the mainland on [229] the North, they perceived a Canoe issuing from another Island, coming from a hunting expedition. The wind favoring them, they gave chase with sail and oars; and, without inquiring its Nationality, overwhelmed it with a discharge from their arquebuses. It was enough that it contained human beings: that was the prey and game they were seeking. This Canoe bore a man and a woman, a girl and a little boy. At the first volley the man, woman, and girl were killed, and the little boy wounded. Immediately the enemy pounced upon the slain, cut the skin around their heads, removing their scalps, and took the little boy into their boat, wounded as he was: and their war and hunt were accomplished. The wind changing, they turned their Shallop and came back to their own country, full of pride over so successful an issue. Monarchs who direct the movements of great armies indeed ridicule these poor Barbarians, who are as proud in their victory over four people as are Princes after slaying ten thousand. And the Angels have reason to mock at both, for both take pride in curtailing men's lives which are already so short. But let us witness the triumph of our haughty Conquerors.

"As their departure had been accompanied with superstition, so their return was full of folly and cruelty. Approaching their country's shores, they uttered a loud cry in sign of their victory. Upon hearing the shout, "says the Father who furnished these

Notes, "I immediately concluded that they had not been so far as their enemy's country, which was too distant for a journey of so short duration. I judged that they might perhaps have met with some Savages allied to those of Tadoussac, who might well [231] resent their action some day. As a matter of fact, I was told that they had killed some Papinachioueki, good friends to the French and to the latter's allies.

"At the noise and outcry made by these Warriors, all left their Cabins, the French who were then in the vicinity hastening to the spot with the rest. I determined not to appear, in order to show the indignation I felt at so cowardly a deed. When they were yet at a considerable distance from their proposed landing-place, they indulged in a bit of cruel barbarism toward their poor little prisoner, throwing him into the water, wounded as he was in various places. At the same time they threw in the scalps they had taken, surrendering to plunder all the spoils they had captured from their pretended foes. Forthwith most of the Savages, both men and women, plunged in and swam, the women straight toward the floating scalps, and the men toward the little boy, who was drowning. The women, after seizing the scalps, wished to snatch the little prisoner from the men, and the poor child found himself pulled and torn about like a victim fallen into the clutches of wolves or lions: but finally, after much altercation, he was adjudged and given to the Captain's wife. She, wishing to show that she had courage as well as her husband, and that she could witness human bloodshed without shrinking and without weakness, drew a large knife from her bosom and plunged it with inhuman cruelty into the arm of that child,—half-dead as he already was, both from the wounds received in the encounter, and from the cruelty with which he had been treated in the water. Yet he was forced to sing as he beheld his own blood, which drew from him neither tear nor [233] cry. The training which parents give their children to display courage in such circumstances, and the noise and din made by those Barbarians, cause such a stupefaction of their prisoners' senses that even the youngest are not wanting in the manifestation of fortitude. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cviii, vol. xlvii, pp. 125-243.]

XXXV

[167] Three Letters of Father Thierey Beschefer.[1]

1666-67

[Father Thierry Beschefer, who came to Canada, in 1665, writes three letters to relatives and friends. The first (dated October 1, 1666) mentions the war with the Iroquois, which has prevented Beschefer from going to them as a missionary. He praises the climate and soil of Canada, and is well content to remain there.

A letter written three days later describes the ceremony by which he receives from the Hurons the name of Ondessonk, as successor of Jogues and Le Moyne. He hopes to go next year on a mission to the upper Iroquois tribes. Marquette has come to Canada, and will go to Three Rivers to study the Algonkin tongue. . . .

We have but part of the third letter, which is dated August 25, 1667. "At the present moment we have peace with the Iroquois," and a mission has been already begun among them. Allouez comes down to Quebec, and obtains a priest and five other companions to return with him to Lake Superior. But the ungrateful Ottawas refuse to take into their canoes any one except the two Fathers; and, even at that, they have to depart without any of their baggage except a little food. . . .—*Id.*, I, pp. 12, 13.]

QUÉBEC, 1st of october, 1666

FOR about 3 months I have been on the point of starting on an embassy to the Iroquois and to New Holland, which has been occupied by the English for 2 years. This journey was somewhat perilous, according to report, and the issue gave ample proof of it: 1st, because it was found, a few Days after our departure from Kébec, that the Iroquois of a nation other than that to which we were going, who had remained as hostages for our safety, were secretly making a canoe ready, in order to escape. 2nd, as we were about to leave three rivers, 30 leagues from here, we received news that bands belonging to the very nation who had asked us for peace through the Ambassadors of the Oneiout nation, had quite recently killed or taken prisoners seven persons, both officers and volunteers, who were out hunting, among whom was a relative of Monsieur de Tracy. He wrote me that I was not to go farther, and directed me to conduct in safety to Kebec the Iroquois whom we had caused to be arrested. . . .

Since then we have waged war against them. In [169] truth, those barbarians are good soldiers; and the french, who despised them when they first came here, have changed their minds since they saw them last winter in a hot skirmish; the winter, too, was more severe and protracted than it had been for 30 years. The snow lay 4 feet deep. . . .*

[171] I live here the most contented man in the world, and I would be very sorry to be in France. I hope that next summer we shall go to the Iroquois, if Monsieur de Tracy's expedition be successful. We shall have news in a few Days, and I will let you know by the last ships.

[Endorsed: "Letter of Father Thiery Beschefer to his family and to Father Antoine Chesne, S. J."]

[Endorsed: "ONDESONK—his savage name."]

KÉBEC, 4th of october,

I have changed my language and my name, and at present I am called Ondessonk—which means "a bird of prey." Such is the name that the Hurons have given me, and which was borne by Father Isaac Jogues, who was killed by the Iroquois, after having been cruelly tortured by them. Pray God that he may make me inherit his virtues, as I have his name. My baptism took place on the feast of St. Francis Xavier, after I had myself baptized 2 savages. And as all names among the savages are drawn from the bottom of the kettle, it was necessary, before getting mine, to have a great feast—that is to give a dinner to nearly 80 persons. This dinner consists in providing a dish of excellent sagamité for all who are present. They sang, they danced; in a word, they observed all the ceremonies of the savages. From that time I studied the language of the Hurons, in order to go next year, as I hope, on a mission to the upper Iro-

* "Our Troops, halting at each of these [Agniehronnon] villages, which they found empty of men but full of corn and provisions, only long enough to take necessary refreshment, were hopeful of meeting with a stout resistance in the last one, which they prepared to attack in regular form, since the Barbarians showed clearly enough by the great fire they were making there and by the fortifications they had constructed, their determination to offer there a vigorous resistance. But our men were again disappointed in their hope; for scarcely had the enemy seen the advance-guard approaching, when they promptly took flight into the woods, whither the night prevented our forces from pursuing them. It was evident enough—from the triple palisade, twenty feet high, with which their place was surrounded; from the four bastions flanking it; from their prodigious hoard of provisions; and from the abundant supply of water they had provided, in bark receptacles, for extinguishing the fire when it should be necessary—that their first resolve had been quite different from that which the fear of our arms had made them suddenly adopt. There were found only

quois, if those below, against whom we have gone to war, are defeated.[1] Moreover, you must know that Canada is not as savage as has been imagined; and that, in the french settlements, we find almost the same [173] comforts as in Europe, while the tables of persons who have money to spend on them are as good as in France. Time only is needed to make New France similar to old France.

The rosaries that you sent me are small. The savages like them as large and as black as possible. They prefer above all others those made of black horn.

Father Marquette[2] and Master Elie have arrived safely, after a somewhat protracted voyage—which, however, has been prosperous for them and for all the 8 ships that have come to us from France. Not a single one of these fell into the hands of the English or of the Turks, although several were pursued.

Father Marquette will leave in 8 days for Three Rivers where he will study algonquin. Master Elye will teach 3 or 4 classes. We have philosophy, and 7 students who have sustained theses. From that you may judge that Kébec is a place of some importance. . . .

[175] The relation will inform you of the success of our war. We will know it only in 3 weeks. I was on my way to the Iroquois, but the murder of some frenchmen compelled us to return.

[Endorsed: "The same."]

KÉBEC, the 25th of august, 1667.

At the present moment, we are at peace with the Iroquois. Father Pierron is already among them, with Fathers Frémin and Bruyas.[3] Three others are to follow them, as soon as the upper [177] nations will come to get them; these are expected every

some persons who had been prevented by their great age from leaving the village, two days before, with all the women and children; and also the mutilated bodies of two or three Savages of another nation, whom these people had, with their wonted rage, half burned over a slow fire. So our people were forced to content themselves, after erecting the Cross, saying Mass, and chanting the *Te Deum* on that spot, with setting fire to the palisades and cabins, and consuming the entire supply of Indian corn, beans, and other produce of the country, which was found there. Then they turned back to the other villages, and wrought the same havoc there, as well as in all the outlying fields. As a result, those familiar with these Barbarians' mode of life have not a doubt that almost as many will die of hunger as would have perished by the weapons of our soldiers, had they dared await the latter's approach; and that all who remain will be forced by fear to accept such conditions of peace, and observe such a demeanor, as would have been secured from them with greater difficulty by more sanguinary victories."—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1665-66:—*Id.*, I, *doc.* cxviii, pp. 143, 145.

day. The number would be greater, if we had more workmen fit for service. One of our Fathers, who had been with the Outawats for 2 years (Your Reverence will find his journey in the relation), arrived a short time ago to ask for assistance. He was given a Father and a brother, with 4 men, to establish a home, so that they can subsist among those tribes, who lead a miserable existence, for they have no game in their country. They live entirely on fish, and sometimes pass 4 or 5 months without other food than a species of moss that grows on the rocks,* and the bark of trees that has been pounded. He will derive no benefit from the assistance that has been given him. The Outawats, to whom every kindness had been shown, would not take any of his packages or any of his people in their canoes. The brother, who had embarked in a canoe belonging to some savage of another tribe, was compelled to return after 2 Days' absence. We are very anxious about the Fathers, for one of them was compelled to embark without any provisions, even without altar-bread and without wine wherewith to say mass; while the other had only enough provisions for 8 days, although the journey is one of 500 leagues. Truly may they be called the children of Providence.

Next spring another attempt will be made to reach the North sea notwithstanding the great difficulties that have already been experienced. . . .

[179] [Endorsed: "Extract from a letter of Father Thiery Beschefer, who for a year has been troubled with a flow of bile, which has prevented him from going to the Iroquois country."]

[*Id., doc.* cxix, vol. I, pp. 166-179.]

* "'These rocks [in the country of the Nipissings] were of great service to me, for they are not so sterile as might be imagined. but possess the means of preventing a poor soul from starving. They are covered with a kind of plant, which resembles the scum on a marsh that has been dried up by the Sun's heat. Some call it "moss," although it is not at all in the form of moss; others style it "rock tripe"; for myself, I would rather use the name "rock mushrooms." There are two kinds: the small variety is easy to cook, and is much better than the large, which does not cook tender, and is always a little bitter. To make a broth of the first, it is only necessary to boil it; and then, being left near the fire, and occasionally stirred with a stick, it is made to resemble black glue. One must close his eyes on first tasting it, and take care lest his lips stick together.'" [1]—André, *Relation*, 1670-71:—*Id.*, lv, *doc.* cxxvii, pp. 149, 151.

XXXVI

[237] Relation of what occurred in New France in the years 1666 and 1667.

[Allouez has returned from his two years' mission among the Ottawas; he has traveled nearly 2,000 leagues in the wilderness of the great Northwest, and endured many hardships; "but he has also had the consolation of bearing the torch of the Faith to more than twenty different infidel Nations." The journal of his wanderings is given; it includes many interesting "descriptions of the places and Lakes that he passed, the customs and superstitions of the peoples visited," etc. He confers upon Lake Superior the name of Tracy. The savages dwelling on its shores often possess large nuggets of pure copper, which they regard with superstitious reverence, "and cherish as household gods." The lake is a resort for many tribes, North, South, and West; they obtain there food from the fisheries, and carry on trade with one another. . . .—*Id.*, 1, p. 17.]

[249] RELATION OF THE MISSION OF SAINT ESPRIT, AMONG THE OUTAOUACS, ON LAKE TRACY, FORMERLY CALLED LAKE SUPERIOR.*

JOURNAL OF FATHER CLAUDE ALLOUEZ'S VOYAGE INTO THE OUTAOUAC COUNTRY

TWO years ago, and more, Father Claude Allouez [1] set out for that great and arduous Mission, in behalf of which he has journeyed, in all his travels, nearly two thousand leagues through these vast forests,—enduring hunger, nakedness, shipwreck, weariness by day and night, and the persecutions of the Idolators; but he has also had the consolation of bearing the torch of the Faith to more than twenty infidel Nations.

We cannot gain a better knowledge of the fruits of his labors than from the Journal which he was called upon to prepare.

The narrative will be diversified by the description of the places and Lakes that he passed, the customs and superstitions of the peoples visited, and by various incidents of an unusual nature and worthy of relation. He begins as follows:

"On the eighth of August, in the year 1665, I embarked at three Rivers with six Frenchmen, in company with more than

* Chap. ii.

four hundred Savages of various nations, who, after transacting the little trading for which they had come, were returning to their own country.

[251] "The Devil offered all conceivable opposition to our journey, making use of the false prejudice held by these Savages, that Baptism causes their children to die. One of their chief men declared to me, in arrogant and menacing terms, his intention, and that of his people, to abandon me on some desert Island if I ventured to follow them farther. We had then proceeded as far as the rapids of the river des prairies, where the breaking of the Canoe that bore me made me apprehensive of the threatened disaster. We promptly set about repairing our little Vessel; and, although the Savages did not trouble themselves either to aid us or to wait for us, we were so expeditious as to join them near the long Sault, two or three days after we started. . . .

[259] "We endured these hardships for nearly two weeks; and after passing the Nipissirinien Lake,* as we were descending a little River, we heard cries of lamentation and death-songs. Approaching the spot whence came these outcries, we saw eight young Savages of the Outaouacs, frightfully burned by a direful accident, a spark having by inadvertence fallen into a keg of powder. Four among them were completely scorched, and in danger of dying. I comforted them and prepared them for Baptism, which I would have conferred had I had time to see them sufficiently fitted for it; for, despite this disaster, we had to keep on our way, in order to reach the entrance to the Lake of the Hurons, which was the rendezvous of all these travelers.

[261] "They arrived there on the twenty-fourth of this month,

* "In addition to The care that The Fathers take of the Missilimakinak savages, They also from time to time, as I have said, make Journeys among other Tribes, who have not yet the advantage of having Missionaries among them. Father henry Nouvel, before going to take charge of the christians of the bay des puans, whither He proceeded a short time ago, made a voyage on Lake huron on which He navigated more than two hundred Leagues, to visit various petty algonquin tribes dwelling on the Shores of that Lake, to Instruct them and to administer to them the Sacraments. He found at Maskounagoüng four tribes of Nipisseriniens, and the achirigouans, who were celebrating the feast of the dead. This is a Ceremony in which, after bringing the bones of all their kindred who have died within 7 or 8 years, for the purpose of burying them all together, They engage in dances and feasts. They deliver their speeches no longer to the sun, as They formerly did, but to God."—*Letter*, Beschefer to the provincial of France, Oct. 21, 1683:—*Id.*, lxii, *doc.* cliii, pp. 201, 203.

"The day had hardly begun to dawn when a party from the Nepistingue Tribe proceeded to the funeral ceremony of their brother who had been killed on the spot in the action of the preceding night, and had died in the errors of paganism. These obsequies were celebrated with all savage pomp and splendor.

to the number of a hundred Canoes; and then they applied themselves to the healing of these poor burned men, using on them all their superstitious remedies.

"I was made well aware of this on the following night by the singing of certain Jugglers, which filled the air, and by a thousand other ridiculous ceremonies employed by them. Others offered a sort of sacrifice to the Sun, to effect the cure of these patients; for, sitting in a circle, ten or twelve in number, as if to hold a council, on the point of a rocky Islet, they lighted a little fire, with the smoke of which they sent up into the air confused cries, which ended with a speech addressed to the Sun by the oldest and most influential man among them. . . .

[263] "Toward the beginning of September, after coasting along the shores of the Lake of the Hurons, we reached the Sault; for such is the name given to a half-league of rapids that are encountered in a beautiful river which unites two great Lakes—that of the Hurons, and Lake Superior.

"This River is pleasing, not only on account of the Islands intercepting its course and the great bays bordering it, but because of the fishing and hunting, which are excellent there. We sought a resting-place for the night on one of these Islands, where our Savages thought they would find provision for [265] supper upon their arrival; for, as soon as they landed, they put the kettle on the fire, expecting to see the Canoe laden with fish the moment the net was cast into the water. But God chose to punish their presumption, and deferred giving any food to the starving men until the following day.

The body had been adorned with all the ornaments—or, rather, overloaded with all the finery—that the most whimsical vanity could use on occasions sad enough in themselves; porcelain necklaces, silver bracelets, ear and nose rings, magnificent garments,—everything had been lavished on him; they had borrowed the aid of paint and vermilion in order to make the paleness of death disappear under these brilliant colors, and give the countenance an air of life that it did not possess. None of the decorations of a military Savage had been forgotten; a gorget, tied with a flame-colored ribbon, hung carelessly over his breast; the gun resting on his arm, and the war-club in his girdle; the calumet in the mouth, the lance in the hand; at his side the kettle, filled. In this lifelike and warlike attitude they had seated him on an eminence covered with grass, which served as a bed of state. The Savages, ranged in a circle around the body, maintained for a few moments a gloomy silence, which somewhat resembled grief. The Orator broke this by pronouncing the funeral Oration for the dead; then followed chants and dances, accompanied with the sound of tambourines set around with little bells. In all this appeared an indescribable sadness, sufficiently in accordance with a mournful ceremony. At last, the funeral rites were finished by interring the dead man, with whom they took good care to bury an abundant supply of provisions, fearing doubtless that for want of food he might die a second time."—*Letter from Father* * * *, *Missionary to the Abnakis,* Oct. 21, 1757:—*Id.,* lxx, *doc.* ccxxvi, pp. 149, 151.

"On the second of September, then, after clearing this Sault, —which is not a waterfall, but merely a very swift current impeded by numerous rocks,—we entered Lake Superior, which will henceforth bear Monsieur de Tracy's name, in recognition of indebtedness to him on the part of the people of those regions.

"The form of this Lake is nearly that of a bow, the Southern shore being much curved, and the Northern nearly straight. Fish are abundant there, and of excellent quality; while the water is so clear and pure that objects at the bottom can be seen to the depth of six brasses.

"The Savages revere this Lake as a Divinity, and offer it sacrifices, whether on account of its size,—for its length is two hundred leagues, and its greatest width eighty,—or because of its goodness in furnishing fish for the sustenance of all these tribes, in default of game, which is scarce in the neighborhood.

"One often finds at the bottom of the water pieces of pure copper, of ten and twenty livres' weight. I have several times seen such pieces in the Savages' hands; and, since they are superstitious, they keep them as so many divinities, or as presents which the gods dwelling beneath the water have given them, and on which their welfare is to depend. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper, [267] wrapped up, among their most precious possessions. Some have kept them for more than fifty years; others have had them in their families from time immemorial, and cherish them as household gods.

"For some time, there had been seen a sort of great rock, all of copper, the point of which projected from the water; this gave passers-by the opportunity to go and cut off pieces from it. When, however, I passed that spot, nothing more was seen of it; and I think that the storms—which here are very frequent, and like those at Sea—have covered the rock with sand. Our Savages tried to persuade me that it was a divinity, who had disappeared for some reason which they do not state.[1]

"This Lake is, furthermore, the resort of twelve or fifteen distinct nations—coming, some from the North, others from the South, and still others from the West; and they all betake themselves either to the best parts of the shore for fishing, or to the Islands, which are scattered in great numbers all over the Lake. These peoples' motive in repairing hither is partly to obtain food by fishing, and partly to transact their petty trading with one another, when they meet. . . ."

[285] OF THE FALSE GODS AND SOME SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOMS OF THE SAVAGES OF THAT COUNTRY.*

FOLLOWING is what Father Allouez relates concerning the customs of the Outaouacs and other peoples, which he has studied very carefully,—not trusting the accounts given him by others, but having been himself an eye-witness and observer of everything described in this manuscript.

"There is here," he says, "a false and abominable religion, resembling in many respects the beliefs of some of the ancient Pagans. The Savages of these regions recognize no sovereign master of Heaven and Earth, but believe there are many spirits —some of whom are beneficent, as the Sun, the Moon, the Lake, Rivers, and Woods; others malevolent, as the adder, the dragon, cold, and storms. And, in general, whatever seems to them either helpful or hurtful, they call a Manitou, and pay it the worship and veneration which we render only to the true God.**

"These divinities they invoke whenever they go out hunting, fishing, to war, or on a journey—offering them sacrifices, with ceremonies appropriate only for Sacrificial priests.

"One of the leading old men of the Village discharges the function of Priest, beginning with a carefully-prepared harangue addressed to the Sun—if the eat-all feast, which bears a certain resemblance [287] to a holocaust, is held in its honor. He declares in a loud voice that he pays his thanks to that Luminary for having lighted him so that he could successfully kill some animal or other,—praying and exhorting it by this feast to continue its kind care of his family. During this invocation, all the Guests eat, even to the last morsel; after which a man appointed for the purpose takes a cake of tobacco, breaks it in two, and throws it into the fire. Every one cries aloud while

* Chap. v.

** "There is observed in those regions [of the Ottawas] a kind of idolatry which is rather unusual. They have a grotesque image of black bronze, one foot in height, which was found in the country, and to which they give a beard like a European's, although the Savages themselves are beardless. There are certain fixed days for honoring this statue with feasts, games, dances, and even with prayers, which are addressed to it with divers ceremonies. Among them is one which, although ridiculous in itself, is yet remarkable in that it embraces a kind of sacrifice. All the men, one after another, approach the statue and, in order to pay it homage with their tobacco, offer it their pipes, that it may smoke; but, as the idol cannot avail itself of the offer, they smoke in its stead, blowing into its face the tobacco-smoke which they have in their mouths,—which may be regarded as a mode of offering incense, and performing sacrifice."—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1664-65:—*Id.*, xlix, *doc.* cxvii, pp. 241, 243.

the tobacco burns and the smoke rises aloft; and with these outcries the whole sacrifice ends.

"I have seen," continues the Father, "an Idol set up in the middle of a Village; and to it, among other presents, ten dogs were offered in sacrifice, in order to prevail on this false god to send elsewhere the disease that was depopulating the Village. Every one went daily to make his offerings to this Idol, according to his needs.

"Besides these public sacrifices, they have some that are private and domestic; for often in their cabins they throw tobacco into the fire, with a kind of outward offering which they make to their false gods.*

"During storms and tempests, they sacrifice a dog, throwing it into the Lake. 'That is to appease thee,' they say to the latter; 'keep quiet.' At perilous places in the Rivers, they propitiate the eddies and rapids by offering them presents; and so persuaded are they that they honor their pretended divinities by this external worship, that those among them who are converted and baptized observe the same ceremonies toward the true God, until they are disabused.

[289] "As, moreover, these people are of gross nature, they recognize no purely spiritual divinity, believing that the Sun is a man and the Moon his wife; that snow and ice are also a man, who goes away in the spring and comes back in the winter; that the evil spirit is in adders, dragons, and other monsters; that the crow, the kite, and some other birds are genii, and speak just as we do; and that there are even people among them who understand the language of birds, as some understand a little that of the French.

"They believe, moreover, that the souls of the Departed govern the fishes in the Lake; and thus, from the earliest times, they have held the immortality, and even the metempsychosis, of the souls of dead fishes, believing that they pass into other fishes' bodies. Therefore they never throw their bones into the

*"'*There exists in this country* [of the Ottawas] *a species of idolatry; for, besides the head of the wild ox, with its horns, which they keep in their cabins to invoke, they possess bearskins, stripped from the head and not cut open in the middle. They leave on them the head, the eyes, and the snout, which they usually paint green. The head is raised on a pole in the middle of their cabin, the remainder of the skin hanging along the pole to the ground. They invoke it in their sickness, wars, and other necessities. This spring, it pleased God to direct me to the cabin of a Kikaboua captain,—where, having noticed one of these idols, I undeceived him so thoroughly that he promised me, as soon as his son should come, to make of this bearskin a dress for his children.'"—* Allouez, *Relation*, 1675:—*Id.*, lix, *doc.* cxxxix, pp. 223, 225.

fire, for fear that they may offend these souls, so that they will cease to come into their nets.[1]

"They hold in very special veneration a certain fabulous animal which they have never seen except in dreams, and which they call Missibizi, acknowledging it to be a great genius, and offering it sacrifices in order to obtain good sturgeon-fishing.[2]

"They say also that the little nuggets of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the Lake, or in the Rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth.

"I have learned," says the Father who has brought to light all these follies, "that the Iliniouek, the Outagami, and other Savages toward the South, hold that there is a great and excellent genius, master of all the rest, who made Heaven and Earth: and who [291] dwells, they say, in the East, toward the country of the French.

"The fountain-head of their Religion is libertinism; and all these various sacrifices end ordinarily in debauches, indecent dances, and shameful acts of concubinage. All the devotion of the men is directed toward securing many wives, and changing them whenever they choose; that of the women, toward leaving their husbands; and that of the girls, toward a life of profligacy.

"They endure a great deal on account of these ridiculous deities; for they fast in their honor, for the purpose of learning the issue of some affair. I have," says the Father, "seen with compassion men who had some scheme of war or hunting pass a whole week, taking scarcely anything. They show such fixity of purpose that they will not desist until they have seen in a dream what they desire,—either a herd of moose, or a band of Iroquois put to flight, or something similar,—no very difficult thing for an empty brain, utterly exhausted with hunger, and thinking all day of nothing else.

"Let us say something about the art of Medicine in vogue in this country. Their science consists in ascertaining the cause of the ailment, and applying the remedies.

"They deem the most common cause of illness to come from failure to give a feast after some successful fishing or hunting excursion; for then the Sun, who takes pleasure in feasts, is angry with the one who has been delinquent in his duty, and makes him ill.

"Besides this general cause of sickness, there are special ones, in the shape of certain little spirits, [293] malevolent in their nature, who thrust themselves of their own accord, or are sent

by some enemy, into the parts of the body that are most diseased. Thus, when any one has an aching head, or arm, or stomach, they say that a Manitou has entered this part of the body, and will not cease its torments until it has been drawn or driven out.

"The most common remedy, accordingly, is to summon the Juggler, who comes attended by some old men, with whom he holds a sort of consultation on the patient's ailment. After this, he falls upon the diseased part, applies his mouth to it, and, by sucking, pretends to extract something from it, as a little stone, or a bit of string, or something else, which he has concealed in his mouth beforehand, and which he displays, saying: 'There is the Manitou; now thou art cured, and it only remains to give a feast.'

"The Devil, bent on tormenting those poor blinded creatures even in this world, has suggested to them another remedy, in which they place great confidence. It consists in grasping the patient under the arms, and making him walk barefoot over the live embers in the cabin; or, if he is so ill that he cannot walk, he is carried by four or five persons, and made to pass slowly over all the fires, a treatment which often enough results in this, that the greater suffering thereby produced cures, or induces unconsciousness of, the lesser pain which they strive to cure.

"After all, the commonest remedy, as it is the most profitable for the Physician, is the holding of a feast to the Sun, which is done in the belief that this luminary, which takes pleasure in liberal actions, [295] being appeased by a magnificent repast will regard the patient with favor, and restore him to health. . . ."

[21] OF THE MISSION TO THE OUTAOUACS, KISKAKOUMAC, AND OUTAOUASINAGOUC.*

"I GROUP these three nations together because they have the same tongue, the Algonquin,[1] and form collectively one village, which corresponds to that of the Tionnontateheronnons,** among whom we are dwelling.

* Chap. viii.

** "'The Tionnontateheronnons of the present day are the same people who were formerly called the Hurons of the tobacco nation. They, like the rest, were forced to leave their country to escape from the Hyroquois, and to retire to the head of this great Lake, where distance and scarcity of game furnish them an asylum against their foes.'"—Allouez's Journal; *Relation*, 1666-67:—*Id.*, I, *doc.* cxxi, p. 307.

"The Outaouacs claim that the great river belongs to them, and that no nation can launch a boat on it without their consent. Therefore all who go to trade with the French, although of widely different nations, bear the general name of Outaouacs, under whose auspices they make the journey.

"The old home of the Outaouacs was a district on the Lake of the Hurons, whence the fear of the Iroquois had driven them, and whither all their longings are directed as to their native land.

"These peoples have very little inclination to receive the faith, since they are extremely addicted to Idolatry, superstitions, legends, polygamy, unstable marriages, and every sort of licentiousness, which makes them renounce all natural shame. . . ."

[27] OF THE MISSION TO THE POUTEOUATAMIOUEC.*

"THE Pouteouatami are a people speaking the Algonquin tongue, but in a dialect much harder to understand than that of the Outaouacs. Their country lies along the Lake of the Ilimouek —a large Lake which had not before come to our knowledge, adjoining the Lake of the Hurons, and that of the Stinkards, in a Southeasterly direction. These people are warlike, and they engage in Hunting and Fishing. Their country is excellently adapted to raising Indian corn, and they have Fields covered with it, to which they are glad to have recourse, to avoid the famine that is only too common in these regions. They are extremely idolatrous, clinging to their ridiculous legends, and are addicted to Polygamy. We have seen them all here, to the number of three hundred men bearing arms. Of all the people with whom I have mingled in these regions, they are the most docile, and the best disposed toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more modest than those of the other Nations. They observe among themselves a certain sort of civility, and also show it toward strangers—which is rare among our Barbarians. Once when I went to see one of their elders, his eyes fell upon my shoes, which were made after the French fashion; and curiosity moved him to ask leave to take them, in order to examine them easily. Upon returning them [29] to me, he would not permit me to put them on myself, but obliged me to allow him to perform that service,—even insisting on fastening the thongs, and showing the same marks of respect that servants do their

* Chap. ix.

Masters upon rendering them this service. Kneeling at my feet, he said to me, 'It is in this way that we treat those whom we honor.'

"On another occasion when I went to see him, he arose from his seat to yield it to me, with the same formalities that politeness demands of gentlefolk. . . .

"During the same Winter I received into the Church five Adults, of whom the first was an aged man about a hundred years old, who was regarded by the Savages as a sort of divinity. He was wont to fast twenty days at a time, and had visions of God—that is, according to these people, of the Maker of the Earth. Nevertheless, he fell ill; and he was attended in his sickness by two of his daughters, who showed an assiduity and love above the capacity of Savages. Among other services rendered him by them was that of repeating to him, in the [31] evening, the instructions which they had heard during the day in our Chapel. God was pleased to make use of their piety for their Father's conversion; for, when I visited him, I found him versed in our mysteries, and, the Holy Ghost operating in his heart through the ministry of his daughters, he passionately asked to be made a Christian. I granted his request by Baptizing him—a ceremony which I did not think it advisable to defer, seeing that he was in danger of death. Thenceforth, he would not allow in his presence any Juggler's ceremonies for his cure; he would have no conversation, except on the saving of his soul; and once, when I was urging upon him frequent prayer to God, 'Know, my brother,' said he, 'that I am continually throwing tobacco into the fire, and saying, "Thou maker of Heaven and Earth, I would honor thee." I contented myself with making him understand that it was not necessary to honor God in that way, but merely to speak to him with the heart and the mouth. Then, the time having come when the Savages ask the fulfillment of their desires in a ceremony much resembling the Bacchanalia or Carnival, our good old man caused search to be made in all the Cabins for a piece of blue cloth,[1] declaring his wish therefor because it was the color of Heaven, 'to which,' said he, 'I would keep my heart and thoughts ever directed. . . .'

[33] "I must not omit here a rather strange circumstance: on the day after his death his relatives, contrary to all usage of this country, burned his body and reduced it entirely to ashes. The cause of this is found in a legend which passes here for truth.

"It is held beyond dispute that this old man's father was a Hare,—an animal which runs over the snow in winter,—and that

thus the snow, the Hare, and the old man are of the same village,—that is, are relatives. It is further said that the Hare told his wife that he disapproved of their children's remaining in the depths of the earth, as that did not befit their condition—they being relatives of the snow, whose country is above, toward the Sky; and, if it ever occurred that they were put into the ground after their death, he would pray the snow, his relative, in order to punish the people for this offense, to fall in such quantities and so long that there should be no Spring. And, to confirm this story, it is added that three years ago the brother of our good old man died, in the beginning of the winter: and, after he had been buried in the usual manner, snow fell to such an extent, and the winter was so long, that people despaired of seeing the spring in its season. Meanwhile, all were dying of hunger, and no remedy could be found for this general suffer- [35] ing. The elders assembled, and held many councils, but all in vain; the snow still continued. Then some one of the company said he remembered the threats which we have related. Straightway they went and disinterred the dead man, and burned him; when immediately the snow ceased, and spring followed." . . .[1]

[43] OF THE MISSION TO THE OUSAKIOUEK AND OUTAGAMIOUEK.*

"I NEXT add these two nations because they are mingled with and allied to the preceding, and have, besides, the same language, the Algonquin,—although differing greatly in various Idioms, a fact which makes it very difficult to understand them. Nevertheless, after some labor on my part, they understand me now, and I understand them, sufficiently for their instruction.

"The country of the Outagami lies Southward toward the Lake of the Ilimouek. They are a populous tribe, of about a thousand men bearing arms, and given to hunting and warfare. They have fields of Indian corn, and live in a country offering excellent facilities for the hunting of the Wildcat, Stag, wild Ox, and Beaver. Canoes they do not use, but commonly make their journeys by land, bearing their packages and their game on their shoulders. These people are as much addicted to idolatry as the other nations. One day, on entering the Cabin of an

* Chap. x.

Outagamy, I found his parents dangerously ill; and when I told him that bleeding would cure them, the poor man took some powdered tobacco and sprinkled it completely over my gown, saying to me; 'Thou art a spirit; come now, restore these sick people to health; I offer thee this tobacco in sacrifice.' 'What art thou doing, my brother?' [45] said I; 'I am nothing, but he who made all things is the master of our lives, while I am but his servant.' 'Well, then,' he rejoined, scattering some tobacco on the ground, and raising his eyes on high, 'to thee, then, who madest Heaven and earth I offer this tobacco. Give these sick persons health.'

"These people are not very far removed from the recognition of the Creator of the world; for it is they who told me what I have already related,—namely, that they acknowledge in their country a great spirit, the maker of Heaven and earth, who dwells toward the country of the French. It is said of them and of the Ousaki that, when they find a man alone and at a disadvantage, they kill him, especially if he is a Frenchman; for they cannot endure the beards of the latter people. Cruelty of that kind makes them less docile, and less inclined to receive the Gospel, than are the Pouteouatami. . . .

"As for the Ousaki, they above all others can be called Savages. They are very numerous, but wandering and scattered in the forests, without any fixed abode. I have seen nearly two hundred of them, to all of whom I have published the faith, and have baptized eighteen of their children, to whom the sacred waters were salutary for both soul and body."

[47] OF THE MISSION TO THE ILIMOUEC OR ALIMOUEK.*

"The Ilimouec speak Algonquin, but a very different dialect from those of all the other tribes. I understand them only slightly, because I have talked with them only a very little. They do not live in these regions, their country being more than sixty leagues hence toward the South, beyond a great river—which, as well as I can conjecture, empties into the Sea somewhere near Virginia. These people are hunters and warriors, using bows and arrows, rarely muskets, and never canoes. They used to be a populous nation, divided into ten large Villages;

* Chap. xi.

but now they are reduced to two, continual wars with the Nadouessi on one side and the Iroquois on the other having well-nigh exterminated them.

"They acknowledge many spirits to whom they offer sacrifice. They practice a kind of dance, quite peculiar to themselves, which they call 'the dance of the tobacco-pipe.' It is executed thus: they prepare a great pipe, which they deck with plumes, and put in the middle of the room, with a sort of veneration. One of the company rises, begins to dance, and then yields his place to another, and this one to a third; and thus they dance in succession, one after another, and not together. One would take this dance for a pantomime ballet; and it is executed to the beating of a drum. The performer [49] makes war in rhythmic time, preparing his arms, attiring himself, running, discovering the foe, raising the cry, slaying the enemy, removing his scalp, and returning home with a song of victory,—and all with an astonishing exactness, promptitude and agility. After they have all danced, one after the other, around the pipe, it is taken and offered to the chief man in the whole assembly, for him to smoke; then to another, and so in succession to all. This ceremony resembles in its significance the French custom of drinking, several out of the same glass; but, in addition, the pipe is left in the keeping of the most honored man, as a sacred trust, and a sure pledge of the peace and union that will ever subsist among them as long as it shall remain in that person's hands.

"Of all the spirits to whom they offer sacrifice, they honor with a very special worship one who is preëminent above the others, as they maintain, because he is the maker of all things. Such a passionate desire have they to see him that they keep long fasts to that end, hoping that by this means God will be induced to appear to them in their sleep; and if they chance to see him, they deem themselves happy, and assured of a long life. . . .

[51] "I find all those with whom I have mingled affable and humane; and it is said that whenever they meet a stranger, they give a cry of joy, caress him, and show him every possible evidence of affection. I have baptized but one child of this nation. The seeds of the faith which I have sown in their souls will bear fruit when it pleases the master of the vine to gather it. Their country is warm, and they raise two crops of Indian corn a year. There are rattlesnakes there, which cause many deaths among them, as they do not know the antidote. They hold medicines in high esteem, offering sacrifice to them as to great spirits.

They have no forests in their country, but vast prairies instead, where oxen, cows, deer, bears, and other animals feed in great numbers."

[53] OF THE MISSION TO THE NADOUESIOUEK.*

"THESE are people dwelling to the West of this place, toward the great river named Messipi.[1] They are forty or fifty leagues from this place, in a country of prairies, rich in all kinds of game. They cultivate fields, sowing therein not Indian corn, but only tobacco; while Providence has furnished them a kind of marsh rye which they go and harvest toward the close of Summer in certain small Lakes that are covered with it. So well do they know how to prepare it that it is highly appetizing and very nutritious. They gave me some when I was at the head of Lake Tracy, where I saw them. They do not use muskets, but only bows and arrows, with which they shoot very skillfully. Their Cabins are not covered with bark, but with Deerskins, carefully dressed, and sewed together with such skill that the cold does not enter. These people are, above all the rest, savage and wild,—appearing abashed and as motionless as statues in our presence. Yet they are warlike, and have conducted hostilities against all their neighbors, by whom they are held in extreme fear.** They speak a language that is utterly foreign, the Savages here not understanding it at all. Therefore I have been obliged to address them through an interpreter, who, being an infidel, did not accomplish what I might well have wished. . . . [55] They are well-nigh at the end of the earth, so they say. Farther toward the setting Sun there are nations named Karezi, —beyond whom, they maintain, the earth is cut off, and nothing is to be seen but a great Lake whose waters are ill-smelling, for so they designate the Sea.

"Toward the Northwest there is a nation which eats meat uncooked, being content to hold it in the hand and expose it to

* Chap. xii.

** "The nadouessi, a nation exceedingly numerous and warlike, were the common enemies of all the savages Included under the name of outaouac, or upper algonquines. They even pushed forward their arms vigorously toward the north; and, making war on the Kilistinons who dwell there, rendered themselves everywhere terrible by their daring, their numbers, and their skill in Battle,—in which they use, among other weapons, Knives of stone. Of these, they always carry two, one attached to the girdle, the other suspended by the hair."—*Relation*, 1673-74:—*Id.*, lviii, *doc.* cxxxiii, p. 257.

the fire, while beyond these people lies the North Sea. On this side are the Kilistinons, whose rivers empty into Hutston's Bay. We have, besides, some knowledge of the Savages inhabiting the regions of the South, as far as the Sea; so that only a little territory and few people are left to whom the Gospel has not been proclaimed—if we credit the reports often given us by the Savages."

[57] OF THE MISSION TO THE KILISTINOUC.*

"THE Kilistinouc have their usual abode on the shores of the North Sea, and their canoes ply along a River emptying into a great Bay, which we think is, in all probability, the one designated on the Map by the name of Hutson. For those whom I have seen from that country have told me that they had known of a Ship; and one of their old men declared to me that he had himself seen, at the mouth of the River of the Assinipoualac, some people allied to the Kilistinouc, whose country is still farther Northward.

"He told me further that he had also seen a House which the Europeans had built on the mainland, out of boards and pieces of wood; and that they held Books in their hands, like the one he saw me holding when he told me this.** He made mention of another nation, adjoining the Assinipoualac, who eat human beings, and live wholly on raw flesh; but these people, in turn, are eaten by Bears of frightful size, all red, and with prodigiously long claws. It is deemed highly probable that they are Lions.

"Concerning the Kilistinouc, they appear to me extremely docile, and show a kindness uncommon among these Barbarians. They are much more nomadic than any of the other nations, having no fixed abode, no fields, no villages; and living wholly on game and a small quantity of oats which they [59] gather in marshy places. They pay idolatrous worship to the Sun, to which they are wont to offer sacrifice by fastening a dog to the top of a pole and leaving it thus suspended until it rots.

"They speak nearly the same tongue as do the people formerly

* Chap. xiii.

** "When I told them that we had a book which contained the words and teachings of God, they were very anxious to know how we could have gotten this book,—some of them believing that it had been let down from the Sky at the end of a rope, and that we had found it thus suspended in the air."—Le Jeune's *Relation*, 1637;—*Id.*, vol. xi, *doc.* xxix, p. 209.

called Poissons-blancs, and as the Savages of Tadoussac. By the grace of God I understand them, and they me, sufficiently for their instruction. They had never heard of the Faith, and this novelty, together with their docility of temperament, made them very attentive to me. . . .

[*Id.*, *doc.* cxxi, vol. l, pp. 221-311; vol. li, pp. 19-115.]

XXXVII

[119] Letter from Reverend Father Jacques Bruyas.

[Jacques Bruyas, who has been sent as a missionary to the Oneidas, writes a letter (dated January 21, 1668) from the chief village of that tribe. He begins by some mention of the country and its natural products. The people themselves are "altogether barbarous—that is to say, cruel, secret, cunning, and inclined to blood and Carnage." Besides this, they are so licentious and drunken, and so swayed by their dreams, that the faith meets here unusual obstacles. Brandy is supplied to them by the Dutch; it renders them demons. . . .

Bruyas, not understanding the Iroquois tongue, except the little that he has learned in a few months' stay among these people, can do but little in preaching to them the faith. . . . The life he leads "among these barbarians is one continual martyrdom; and the fires of the Iroquois would be easier to bear than the trials one endures among them." . . .—*Id.*, li, pp. 12, 13.]

From The mission of St. Francis Xavier among the Iroquois, this 21st of January, 1668.

My Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

It is to satisfy your Reverence's desire, and to secure your prayers to God for me, that I write to you, rather than because I have anything important to say. The relations of Canada have already told so much about the Iroquois that all I can write in the future will be only trite repetitions of what has Been Explained at length by our fathers who knew them before I did. Nevertheless, these repetitions will perhaps not be unpleasing to you, and you will be very glad to be confirmed, by my own Experience, in all that they have said; and with this idea I Send you a brief abstract of what I have been able to observe, in the short time that I have spent here, touching the customs, the character, and the way of living of the Iroquois, and the progress of our religion in these Infidel lands.* It is unnecessary to repeat

*"Arriving within three-quarters of a league of the Falls by which Lake St. Sacrement empties, we all halted at this spot, without knowing why, until we saw our Savages at the water-side gathering up flints, which were almost all cut into shape. We did not at that time reflect upon this, but have since then learned the meaning of the mystery; for our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place, to pay homage to a race of invisible men who

here, what your Reverence must Know, that the Iroquois are divided into five nations, namely, the Tsonnontwannehronnons, oiogwehronnons, onnontagehronnons, onneiouteronnons, and ganniegehronnons. These last two are called Lower, to distinguish them from the other three, who are called upper Iroquois—both because they are less north- [121] erly, and because they inhabit very hilly districts; but they are all United and have the same Enemies. We have a mission among the Lower Iroquois. I will say nothing of the success of that at agniege, where there are two Jesuits, since the relation will Inform your Reverence concerning it. . . . I will only speak of onneiout, distant about thirty leagues from ganniége, and I will say:

1st, that it is situated on the 44th parallel of latitude, upon an Eminence, whence one could see a great deal of the country if the woods which Environ It were cleared away. There is no river or lake, excepting at five leagues' distance from the town, where there is a lake 12 leagues long and two wide, which furnishes fish to nearly all the Iroquois. This place is fairly pleasant, although it has none of the features which give beauty to our country homes. If one were to take the trouble to plant some vines and trees, they would yield as well as they do in France; but the savage is too fond of wandering to be made to cultivate them. Nevertheless, apple, plum, and chestnut trees are seen here; but all these fruits are of little importance, and do not have the same taste as those of France,—except the walnuts and chestnuts, which I find in no wise different in taste from our own. There are also vines, which bear tolerably good grapes, from which our fathers formerly made wine for the mass. I believe that, if they were pruned two years in succession, the grapes would be as good as those of France. The mulberries and [123] strawberries are so abundant that the ground is all covered with Them; both are dried, in order to

dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers-by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones. These watermen travel in canoes, as do the Iroquois; and, when their great Captain proceeds to throw himself into the water to enter his Palace, he makes so loud a noise that he fills with fear the minds of those who have no knowledge of this great Spirit and of these little men. At the recital of this fable, which our Iroquois told us in all seriousness, we asked them if they did not also give some tobacco to the great spirit of Heaven, and to those who dwell with him. The answer was that they do not need any, as do people on the earth. The occasion of this ridiculous story is the fact that the Lake is, in reality, often agitated by very frightful tempests, which cause fearful waves, . . . and when the wind comes from the direction of the Lake, it drives on this beach a quantity of stones

season the sagamité when there is no fish. I have named all that is rare in this country. Those who inhabit It are no more attractive. The onneiouts have hitherto had the reputation of being the most cruel of all the Iroquois, and, In fact, They have Never spoken of peace until within the last two years; it is they who have always made war against the algonquins and the hurons. Two-thirds of this village is composed of these two nations, who have become Iroquois in temper and Inclination. The nature of the onneiouts is altogether barbarous,—that is to say, cruel, secret, cunning, and inclined to blood and Carnage. The Youth are reared and nourished in war, and would Never choose peace if the old men, who have some influence over them, did not compel them to it. If they have no Enemies, they make these anew; and the passion for killing men is so great that they willingly go 300 Leagues and more to Remove one scalp. What disposition this is for The Gospel, which speaks only of peace, and whose Spirit is only sweetness and gentleness! But there are indeed other Hindrances and greater obstacles to the faith. Among many, I have noticed three which prevail over all the others, and which are common to all the Iroquois.

Drunkenness, dreams, And Impurity. They are Drunkards only since they have associated with the french and dutch. The former cannot furnish them Brandy,—on Account both of the prohibitions of our governors, and of the war which they have Hitherto waged against us,—but the flemish give them as much of It as they can carry. They have [125] such a mania to get possession of this baneful drink that they do not complain of going 200 leagues, to Bring three or four pots of it into their own country; and the worst is that, when they have drunk it, they are demons. Last Summer, four onneiouts were killed by their comrades, while Drunken; yet this accident did not make the others any wiser. Some time ago, while I was in the chapel,

which are hard, and capable of striking fire."—Journey of three Jesuit Fathers [Frémin, Pierron, and Bruyas] to the Lower Iroquois: *Relation*, 1667-68:—*Id.*, li, *doc.* cxxiv, pp. 181, 183.

"He [Barnabé Otsinonannhont, a Huron chief] was in the middle of a great lake in a small bark canoe, in company with some Infidels. A storm surprised them; the Sky was full of thunder and lightnings; and the water presented as many precipices as they saw waves before them. After having in vain exhausted both their skill and their strength in resisting the tempest, they began to despair; they invoked a certain Demon named Iannaoa, who, they say, once cast himself into this lake in his despair, and causes all these storms when he wishes to revenge himself upon men; and he calms them after men have paid him some homage. In his honor they throw tobacco into the water, which in these countries is a kind of sacrifice."—Lalemant's Huron *Relation*, 1643-44, *Id.*, xxvi, *doc.* liii, pp. 309-311.

a Drunken man presented himself at the door, and asked where the black gown was. "I will kill him," said he; "he is a demon, who forbids us to have several wives"; but, when he saw the door closed, he went home, shouting like a madman. This is not the only time that they have sought to kill me, but God always preserved me,—to give me, as I hope, a more glorious death after I shall have done penance for my sins during some years. Although they often become Intoxicated with the intention of killing those to whom they bear ill will, yet all is then forgiven, and you have no other satisfaction than this: "What wouldst thou have me do? I had no sense; I was Drunk." Thus they atone for a man's death. There is among Them neither prison nor gibbet; each one lives according to his fancy; and I am surprised that, in so great Impunity, they are not Daily cutting each other's throats.*

The dream is an evil still more dangerous. As it is the oldest, it is very hard to cure. It is the divinity of the savages, for which they have no less respect than we have for the most holy things. All that they dream must be carried out; otherwise, one draws upon himself the hatred of all the dreamer's relatives, and exposes himself to feel the effects of their anger. This is what often causes hardship to a [127] poor missionary, who cannot be sure of a moment of his life; but they derive this advantage from it, that they are obliged to be upon their guard, and to live as if they were to die at any moment. If I Understood more of their language than I do, I could Inform Your Reverence more at length of the nature of their dreams. This will be reserved for next year; I shall content myself, this year, with Writing to you, what I have seen, and not what I have Heard.

Finally, Impurity triumphs so Insolently among all our savages, that they even glory in a crime which makes the more modest blush. Polygamy, Introduced among Them so many centuries ago, is one of the greatest obstacles in their way to christian purity. When they are told that there are men, and even women, In France who Never marry, it appears so Extraordinary to them that they can hardly Believe it. Neverthe-

* "'Drunkenness—caused by the liquor which the infidels bring hither from the Dutch, carrying it more than eighty leagues by land—has been more general than ever, having spread even to the women; and these debauches continue for twelve or fifteen days after the coming of each band of traders. During all this time, no food is prepared or fire lighted in the Cabins, which remain deserted day and night,—all the rest of the people taking flight, and hiding in the fields and woods.'"—Garnier, from Sonnontouan; *Relation*, 1670-71:—*Id.*, lv, *doc.* cxxvii, p. 85.

less, in so great and universal corruption, I have found one good neophyte, who has, during the three years since he was married, kept his conjugal faith to his wife, although he has not had any Children. I believe that he is The only one. There is as great ease in breaking marriages as in making them,—the husband leaving his wife, and the wife her husband, at pleasure. They observe in their marriages the law of Jews, who *suscitabant semen fratris sui.* As to other degrees of relationship, They observe them fairly well. This is, in my opinion, the greatest sin, not only of the Iroquois, but of all the savages, and the one on account of which I am expecting to sustain some severe Battles. You can see, my Reverend Father, what Prevents the faith from triumphing in this country; it is these three great Enemies [129] of Jesus Christ, of whom St. John speaks—*concupicentia carnis, concupicentia oculorum, et superbia vitæ.* The demon is The creator of the dream; Drunkenness may pass for the world, for among these People to be Drunk is to be valiant; And do not the disorders arising from Impurity Express perfectly the third Enemy of mankind? I have not observed any other vices in our Iroquois. They do not know what Cursing is. I have Never seen them become angry, even On occasions when our frenchmen would have uttered a hundred oaths. Their lives might be Innocent enough if they Were christians. As they only live from Day to Day, they do not desire much; and all their wishes end in having something to eat. It is a savage's supreme good to have fresh meat; he then considers himself the happiest person in the world; and the women do hardly anything else, all The winter, but go and get the flesh of the deer or of the moose that the men have killed, sometimes Fifty leagues away from the village. I am often asked if they eat the meat of moose, bear, etc., in paradise. And I Answer them that, if they Desire to eat it, their desires will be satisfied. This answer serves me in many other instances, when they ask Impertinent questions, as did one who wished to know if they went to war in Heaven, if they killed men there, if they Took off their scalps. "Without these things," said he, "I will not believe." He was Satisfied when he was told, "If thou wishest to go To war, thou wilt go; and God wilt grant thee all that thou shalt wish." Judge from this of the Minds of the savages. For my part, I compare them to our peasants in France, and I do not think that they are [131] more intelligent,—except some, who in truth surprise me by their answers. . . .

[137] No fires are to be feared so long as the peace continues; all that is to be apprehended is to be beaten to death by some hot-head. But I venture to say that the life which one leads in Company with these barbarians is a continual martyrdom, and that the fires of the Iroquois would be easier to bear than the trials one Endures among Them. One must expect to have all his senses martyred daily; the sight, by the smoke of the cabins —I have almost lost my eyes from it; the hearing, by their Annoying yells and wearisome visits; the smell, by the stench that is incessantly Exhaled by the oiled and greased hair of both women and men; feeling, by a cold as severe as at Kebec; and, Finally, taste, by the unsavory and insipid food of the Savages, of which it is enough to say that the daintiest and most delicate of it would be refused by the dogs in France. If the sagamité Be without seasoning, it is without taste; if it be seasoned, this is done, a great part of the year, with rotten fish, the mere odor of which at first turns one's stomach. You can see how the senses are pampered here. I say nothing of the contempt that must be Endured; of the frequent raillery to which a person Exposes himself, when he speaks incorrectly; of the trouble and chagrin occasioned by the Study of a very difficult language,— above all, to persons advanced in age. There is a great difference between meditating upon the canada mission in one's oratory, and finding oneself Exercising the duties of a canadian missionary. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxxii, vol. li, pp. 118-143.]

XXXVIII

[33] Relation of what occurred in New France in the years 1669 and 1670.

[A large part of this *Relation* is devoted to the Iroquois missions—among these, especially, that to the Mohawks. Pierron, in charge of that mission, describes its condition and progress. . . .

An account of the Cayuga mission is furnished by Carheil. . . .

A letter from Frémin reviews the year's work among the Senecas. . . .

The remainder of this year's *Relation* is occupied by the report of the Ottawa mission, made by Dablon to his Quebec superior. He mentions its three centers of work—at Sault Ste. Marie, Chequamegon, and Green Bay, and gives a separate account of each; of its topography, resources, and inhabitants, and of the state of each mission.

Sault Ste. Marie is a resort for nineteen different tribes, most of whom come hither to fish during the summer. Some of these come from the region of Hudson Bay: and intercourse with them has led the missionaries to plan a journey to that distant land,—partly to open the way for missionary work among those peoples, partly to discover a land route to the great and still mysterious "North Sea," and perhaps also the Japan Sea. They have, moreover, heard of the Mississippi River, and of the Illinois tribes who live near it; they are also planning to visit those savages. . . .

Chequamegon Bay is a resort for all the tribes of the Northwest; at this point they carry on both fishing and mutual commerce. . . . The Illinois tribes desire instruction, and Marquette is already planning to visit them next year. A letter from him to the superior at Quebec (Le Mercier) follows Dablon's report. . . .

Following this document is another letter, from Allouez to Le Mercier. He recounts his labors during the past season (November, 1669, to May, 1670, inclusive), among the tribes along the west shore of Green Bay, and on the Fox River. . . .—*Id.*, liii, p. 12, liv, pp. 10, 12, 13, 14.]

[137] OF THE MISSION OF THE MARTYRS IN THE COUNTRY OF AGNIÉ, OR OF THE LOWER IROQUOIS.*

§1. OF THE WAR OF THE AGNIÉS WITH THE NATION OF THE LOUPS.

FATHER Jean Pierron, who has charge of this Mission, has himself written what follows:

"One of the most important things I have to write about is the attack on Gandaouagué, which is one of our best Villages, and situated nearest to the enemy's country. On the eighteenth

* Part II, chap. v.

of August, 1669, three hundred of the Nation of the Loups—who live along the Sea, toward Baston, in new England—presented themselves at daybreak before the Palisade, and began to make so furious a discharge of musketry that the balls, piercing both the stockade and the cabins, soon awakened men, women, and children, almost all of whom were, at the time, sound asleep. The men at once took gun and hatchet in hand; and, while they defended the palisade, the women began, some to make bullets, and others to arm themselves with knives and defensive weapons, in view of an irruption.

"Four Iroquois were killed at the outset, in the heat of the combat; and two were wounded, one of whom died a very short time afterward. The neighboring Village, alarmed, took flight in all directions, and carried to Tionnontoguen, distant four leagues from those first two Forts, the news that the [139] whole country was lost, that Gandaouagué was besieged by an army of Loups, that all the young men had already fallen, and that perhaps Gandagaro, which is the neighboring Fort, was at present in desperate straits.

"When this news had spread through all the district, at eight o'clock in the morning our Warriors, without becoming disconcerted, dressed themselves promptly in all the most precious things they had, according to the custom observed by them on these occasions; and all, without any other chief to command them than their own courage, advanced on the enemy with force.

"I was among the first to march, in order to see whether, amid all the carnage that was going on at the palisade of the Village, where so many infidel souls were being lost, I could not save some one of them.

"At our arrival, we heard only mournful outcries over the death of the bravest of this Village. The enemy had already retreated, after about two hours of very obstinate fighting on both sides. There was only a single warrior of the Nation of the Loups left on the place, and I saw that a Barbarian, having cut off his hands and feet, skinned him and separated the flesh from the bones, in order to make from it a detestable repast.

"All our warriors, arriving and finding the enemy no longer there, promptly had cornmeal prepared, that they might pursue him in his retreat. The provisions being ready, they immediately embarked in Canoes on our river, which is very swift; and, as they followed the current of the stream, they made very good progress. But, night overtaking them on their march, they had some of their people [141] go forward to search for the enemy,

and discover, without any noise, the place where he lay encamped. When these scouts had reached this spot, they wished, in order better to observe its situation, to approach very close to it; but they could not do this so quietly that one of the Loups, who were posted tolerably near them, did not hear a noise, and cry out, according to their custom, *Koué, Koué*—(the Savage equivalent of 'Who goes there?'). However, as there was no answer, and as he could discover nothing, he did not think it best to give the alarm.*

"When the spies had returned, and had made their report on the situation of the enemy, it was resolved not to attack him in his redout, where he seemed too strongly intrenched; but to lay an ambuscade for him, on the route that it was thought he must take.

"To execute this plan, the Iroquois made a wide detour, and went to lay their ambuscade in a place that was precipitous—a very advantageous spot, from which all the road leading toward the Dutch was commanded. In the morning, the Loups broke camp; and, as they were marching in single file, according to the custom of the Savages, twelve of their number became involved unawares in the ambuscade. A shower of balls, with which they saw themselves all at once received, immediately put to flight those whom chance had spared. Frightful yells at once arose on all sides in the forest, and the Loups, having rallied on the same spot where they had encamped, were hotly pursued thither by the Iroquois,—who, upon overtaking them there, made a furious assault upon them. At first the Loups made a vigorous resistance; but, the cowardice of some of their number forcing them to yield to the [143] fury of the Iroquois, ten from out the entire band intrenched themselves in the earth, in order to defend themselves to the last. This new intrenchment caused our Agniés terrible vexation; but, as they are a tireless and valiant people, they lost neither courage nor the hope of dislodging them.

* "The Hiroquois, not seeing him [a fleeing Algonkin] clearly, and supposing perhaps that it was some troop of their own warriors which was newly arriving in that quarter, gave forty shouts, drawing forty times these vowel sounds from the pit of their chests, *hee*. 'It is enough,' said that Algonquin; 'I wanted nothing more; I know what I desired,—they certainly hold forty of our people prisoners."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1647:—*Id.*, xxx, *doc.* lxiii, p. 285.

"Approaching a little pond, he [a Huron] saw a quantity of game rise up in great confusion; he suspected, indeed, that it was beaten up by some hunters. Having slipped into the rushes, he heard some cries or songs of birds, which were answering one another; fear seized him, for it is the custom of the Hiroquois and other Savages to call one another by the cries of screech-owls during the night, and by the warbling of other birds during the day."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1647:—*Id.*, xxxii, *doc.* lxiii, p. 31.

And, in order to do it with less danger, they made use of an old tree that they found there, which they carried before them, to shield themselves,—which they could do, going up only one by one to the place where the enemy had fortified himself. Nevertheless, that maneuver was of no use to them,—for, in spite of this device, the Loups ceased not to keep up an active fire on them from all sides, and to kill and wound a great many of our people; and the combat would assuredly have been much more disastrous to them, had not night overtaken them, and put an end to it. Our Savages had, in the beginning, taken four women of the enemy, out of twenty-four who had come on this expedition; and afterward six men, in the heat of the combat.

"On the following morning, when they returned to the charge, they found that the enemy had taken flight in the night and had left them masters of the battle-field. The victors, following the custom of the Savages, cut off the heads of those of the Loups who had been left on the place, in order to remove the scalps from them; and then they took care to bury those of their own people that had died in the battle.

"It was said that there were nearly a hundred Warriors, on the side of the enemy, that perished—by being either slain in the engagement, or drowned in the flight. Yet I found it difficult to believe that [145] their number was so great, because the Iroquois brought back only nineteen scalps from that defeat.

"A short time ago, I learned, from some Loups who had been in this combat, that they had lost only fifty men; and the Iroquois nearly forty, counting those that the Loups killed,—on their march before the siege of the Iroquois Village, in the siege, and in the fight that occurred some days later. Nevertheless the Iroquois hold that they lost only thirteen on the battle-field. . . .

[147] "We set out two days after the battle, in company with a great number, both of those that had been in the fight and of persons who had come to see them. The victors carried the scalps, finely painted, on the ends of poles made to bear these trophies. The Slaves, divided into several bands, sang as they marched; and, as I perceived that one of the captive women had a sick child, which she carried at her breast, I thought I would do well to baptize it, seeing it in danger of dying. . . .

[155] "These wars weaken the Agnieronnon terribly; and even his victories, which always cost him bloodshed, contribute not a little to exhaust him. On the contrary, I learn that our French Colonies are becoming stronger every day by reason of the great number of families that are settling there, and the aid sent over

every year from France. So, from the knowledge I have of the two countries, I can say with truth that that old and redoubtable enemy is no longer so greatly to be feared by our French people as he was; that, on the contrary, he now fears our Arms, and has only respect for those whom he despised before—which is a marvelous advantage for his conversion. . . ."

[53] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT JOSEPH AT GOIOGOUEN.*

THIS Mission is a fourth Iroquois Nation, of which Father de Carrheil has charge. . . .

This Nation has only three Villages—Goiogouen, to which we have given the name of Saint Joseph, Patron of the whole Mission; Kiohero, which we call Saint Estienne; and Onnontare, which is called the Village of Saint René.[1] Following is what the Father says of it: ** . . .

[65] "I have strenuously opposed their superstitions, and especially the Divinity of Dreams, which is the source of all their errors, and the soul, as it were, of their Religion; and while contending against it, I have in the meantime learned two things.

"The first is, that it is not, properly speaking, the Dream that they worship as the Master of their lives, but a certain one of the Spirits called by them Agatkonchoria,—who, as they think, sometimes speak to them in sleep, and command them to obey their dreams exactly. The principal of these Spirits is Taronhiaouagon, whom they acknowledge as a Divinity, and obey as the great Master of their lives; and, when they speak of dreams as of a God, they mean nothing else than that it is by this means

* Part II, chap. viii.

** "The Father [Carheil] used at first in his instructions only the Huron language, which the Iroquois all understand, when it is well spoken. He has since composed a discourse on Baptism in the Oiogouen language, using in its composition only simple roots and the study of the Iroquois that he had made during his journey; for he felt assured by experience that, if by means of roots and the various speeches he heard, he could collect a number of words sufficient to express the different actions, he would know the language.

"Besides the Village of Oiogouen, which is the Seat of his Mission, he has two others—one four leagues from there, and the other almost six leagues away. These last two are situated on a river which, coming from the direction of the Andastogué, flows down, at the distance of four leagues from Onnontagué, and empties into the Ontario. The great quantity of rushes in this river has given the name of Thiohero to the Village that is next to Oiogouen.[2] The people that compose the bulk of these three great villages are partly Oiogouens, partly Hurons, and partly Andastogué prisoners of war."—*Relation*, 1668-69:—*Id.*, lii, *doc.* cxxv, p. 179.

that they gain knowledge of the will of God, and of what is needful for the preservation of their lives, and [67] that the doing of what they have seen in dreams is a means which contributes to the establishment of their health and of their good fortune. Sometimes, too, they give this same name of 'Master of their lives' to the subject of their dream,—for example, to a bearskin or deerskin, and to other like objects that they have seen in their sleep, because they regard them as remedies to which God has attached the good fortune of a long life. And, in fact, they take marvelous pains to preserve these things, with this in view; and, when they are ill, they cover themselves with these, or put them near at hand, as a defense against the attacks of the disease.

"The second thing that I have discovered, while contending against the obedience that they render to their dreams, is that, as they are unable to conceive the manner in which the soul works during sleep, when it represents distant and absent objects to them, they become persuaded that it leaves the body when the latter is asleep, and itself goes in quest of these objects, during the dream, to the places where they see them,—returning into its body toward the end of the night, when all the dreams are dissipated.*

"To refute errors so gross, I was accustomed to put to them three kinds of questions. 1. I asked them whether the body of one who was dreaming was dead or alive. 'It is alive,' they would tell me. 'Is it then its soul that makes it live,' I would reply to them; 'for, if it had left the body, the latter would be dead; and so it is not true that the soul quits the body during sleep.'

"2. 'Tell me,' I would say to them, 'is it with the eyes that we see the things which are represented to us in our dreams,—as, for example, an [69] enemy who will come and attack me, a friend whom I shall meet on my way, or a stag that I shall pursue in hunting?' 'It cannot be with the eyes that we see then,' they would say to me; 'for during sleep our eyes are closed and covered with darkness, and see nothing.' 'Then it is

* "As to Their belief in and hope of Paradise, they [the Iroquois] nearly all say that they have come from there, and that they will return thither. Those among them who have the best Knowledge of Their fables and superstitions, Believe in metempsychosis. They think that Their souls have come down from the sky; that they will return thither when they are separated from their bodies; and that, after remaining there for some time, they will be reproduced in Their own family by Their descendants."—Milet, *Relation*, 1672-73:—lvii, *doc.* cxxx, pp. 117, 119.

our soul,' I returned, 'which makes us see at such times what we see in our dreams; and consequently it must be present with us and must be in our body when we are sleeping, just as our eyes are in our heads and in their ordinary places when, by their means, we see the objects that present themselves to us during the day.'

"3. My third question was this: 'If the soul leave the body during sleep, whither does it go? Does it go to war in the enemy's country? Does it go out hunting in the forests? What does it do during its absence? Have you ever found, at waking, either a scalp of one of your enemies which your soul has put in your hands, after bringing it to you from that war; or a bear on your mat, which it has killed for you in that hunting expedition, during your sleep? I often see myself at the same time in France, beyond the sea, and here among you. Is my soul at the same time both here and in France?'

"They had no answers to these questions and were left convicted of their errors.

"It is not so easy to make them understand the way in which Dreams are formed, and how the images of what we perceive through the senses are impressed upon our imaginations, and are represented to our minds during sleep. I have, however, tried to explain these things to them in a manner that should be fairly intelligible, by comparing [71] the soul, when it recalls past and distant events out of sleep, with itself when it represents these things to itself in sleep. 'You well know,' I said to them, 'that our souls remember, during the day, what has happened for a long time previously, and in places far distant from us. Is it not true that at this moment they represent the country of the Andastogués, and that of the Outaouaks, or Quebec and Montreal, to those of you who have been there, as if you were there now? Your souls have not left your bodies to go to those places, for you are still alive; nor have they crossed the great River for this purpose, or made any journey whatever. The same thing occurs during the dreams of night. But still,' I said to them, 'why should the representation of objects which takes place in our souls during sleep be the Master of our lives, rather than the image of the same objects which is depicted in the same soul out of sleep? For what is called a remembrance during the day, is named a dream during the night.'

"I used to ask them whether the children that are still in their mothers' wombs had not some one who was the Master of their lives. 'Yes,' they would say. 'Now it is not possible that that

should be Dreams,' said I to them, 'for they cannot yet have any. In fact, of what should they dream? Of knives, hatchets, javelins, and like objects? They have never seen any. Dreams, then, are not the Masters of their lives before their birth, nor even for a long time after they are come into the world, since they pass several years before having any. They must, therefore, have another Master of their lives, and some other God than Dreams, during all that time. But when they begin to dream for the first [73] time, their dreaming cannot so order matters that he who was previously the Master of their lives ceases to be so; they would not know how to degrade him or take from him that quality and that power which he had over them before they had any dreams. He continues, then, to be what he was before; and thus he is their Master before their birth, and when they do not yet dream; he is their Master after their birth, and when they dream; he is equally so in the time of their youth and in that of their old age; and, finally, until their deaths, and even after death. Know also that this Master, whose power is immovable and eternal, is the God whom we worship, who rewards us or punishes us according to our deserts. He is not the dream,—which often, as you learn by experience every day, demands from you naught but unreasonable things, and has deceived you a hundred times in your lives.' These Barbarians show that they are capable of listening to reason, and of entering its light in all its purity; for some of the more enlightened ones acknowledge that they were convinced by what I said to them, and that they were recovering from the vain worship of their dreams.

[73] "The ideas of all these tribes prompt them to the pursuit of nothing but hunting and warfare. Among them are seen only parties of twenty, thirty, or fifty men,—of a hundred, and sometimes of two hundred; rarely do they go to the number of a thousand in a single band. These bands are divided, to go some in quest of men, and others of beasts; they make war more like highwaymen than like soldiers; and their expeditions are made rather by means of surprises than by regular battles. They [75] rest all their glory in coming home accompanied by captives,—men, women, and children,—or loaded with the scalps of those whom they have killed in combat. . . ."

[79] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT MICHEL AT TSONNONTOUEN.*

FATHER FREMIN, superior of the Iroquois Missions, has taken for his share the especial charge of this Mission of saint Michel, which has four Villages, one of which he has entrusted to Father Garnier, his companion, reserving for himself the management of the three others. We shall learn the condition of this Mission from the letters which he has written about them to the Reverend Father le Mercier, superior of the Missions of New France.

LETTER FROM FATHER FREMIN

Our Iroquois Missions made, during the past year, 1669, very considerable progress. We began the preaching of the Gospel there at Tsonnontouen, where there are more people than in the four other Lower Iroquois Nations.

When I arrived here, toward the end of the year 1668, I was very well received; but a kind of contagion, supervening at the same time, ravaged the whole country to such an extent that my entire occupation was to visit the cabins constantly, for the purpose of instructing and baptizing the sick who were at the point of death. . . . [81] But as I was alone, and as I could not be in several places at the same time, more than a hundred and fifty died in places very far distant from here, where they were engaged, some in fishing, and others in hunting.

So pressing a necessity obliged me to ask for aid, and to beg Father Garnier,[1] who was at Onnontagué, to come and help me as soon as possible; but, when he arrived, the distemper had already ceased. Accordingly, . . . Father Garnier took charge of the Village named Gandachiragou. There, in a short time, he built a Chapel, which is very convenient, and to which people come from all directions for instruction.

As for me, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1669, I entered the Village named Gandougaraé, where I was received with all the marks of public joy. For a long time I had been expected there with impatience.

This Village is composed of the remnants of three different Nations which were formerly overthrown by the Iroquois, obliged to surrender at the discretion of the conqueror, and to come and settle in his country. The first Nation is called Onnontioga, the second the Neutrals, and the third the Hurons.[2] The first

* Part II, chap. ix.

two have seen scarcely any Europeans, nor have they heard of the true God. As for the third, it is a sort of conglomerate of several Villages of the Hurons, all of whom were instructed in the Faith, and a number baptized by our Fathers, [83] before that flourishing Nation was overthrown by the arms of the Iroquois.* . . .

[97] As for a long time there has not been here a more abundant crop of nuts than that of the present year, the joy of this whole people is so great that one sees everywhere only games, dances, and feasts which often reach the point of debauchery, although for seasoning they have nothing but oil. But what has afforded me extreme consolation is that, amid all these disorders, there have been only two Christians who were so lax as to allow themselves to yield to the solicitations of the Jugglers, who urged them to have a certain superstitious feast held, in which all those who dance throw warm ashes on the sick person, believing this to be a sovereign remedy for his ailment.

The Iroquois have, properly speaking, only a single Divinity—the dream. To it they render their submission, and follow all its orders with the utmost exactness. The Tsonnontouens are more attached to this superstition than any of the others; their Religion in this respect becomes even a matter of scruple; whatever it be that they think they have done in their dreams, they

*"The fifth present [of the Hurons to Tracy, governor-general of New France] accompanied a clause of importance; for he said that the element of greatest strength among the Iroquois was not the Iroquois themselves, but that their might resided in the large number of captives,—French, Huron, Algonquin, and those from other Nations,—who formed more than two-thirds of the Iroquois Nation, and were compelled by the latter to bear arms against us."—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1664-65:—*Id.*, xlix, *doc.* cxvii, p. 233.

"The Iroquois have three classes of captives. The first are those who, having willingly submitted to the yoke of the conquerors and elected to remain among them, have become heads of families after the deaths of their Masters, or have married. Although they lead a tolerably easy life, they are looked upon as slaves, and have no voice, either active or passive, in the public Councils. The second class are those who have fallen into slavery after having been the richest and the most esteemed in their own villages, and who receive no other reward from their Masters, in exchange for their ceaseless labor and sweat, than food and shelter. But the fate of the third class is much more deplorable; it consists chiefly of young women or girls, who, because they have not yet found a husband among the Iroquois, are constantly exposed to the danger of losing their honors or their lives through the brutal lechery or cruelty of their Masters or Mistresses. Every moment is one of dread for them; their rest is never free from anxiety and danger; the only punishment for even their slightest faults is death; and their most harmless and most holy actions may be considered as faults. When a Barbarian has split the head of his slave with a hatchet, they say: 'It is a dead dog; there is nothing to be done but to cast it upon the dunghill.'"—*Relation*, 1656-57:—*Id.*, xliii, *doc.* xcvi, pp. 293, 295.

believe themselves absolutely obliged to execute at the earliest moment. The other nations content themselves with observing those of their dreams which are the most important; but this people, which has the reputation of living more religiously than its neighbors, would think itself guilty of a great crime if it failed in its observance of a single dream. The people think only of that, they talk about nothing else, and all their cabins are filled with their dreams. They spare no pains, no industry, to show their attachment thereto, and their folly in this particular goes to such an excess as would be hard to imagine. [99] He who has dreamed during the night that he was bathing, runs immediately, as soon as he rises, all naked, to several cabins, in each of which he has a kettleful of water thrown over his body, however cold the weather may be. Another who has dreamed that he was taken prisoner and burned alive, has himself bound and burned like a captive on the next day, being persuaded that by thus satisfying his dream, this fidelity will avert from him the pain and infamy of captivity and death,—which, according to what he has learned from his Divinity, he is otherwise bound to suffer among his enemies. Some have been known to go as far as Quebec, traveling a hundred and fifty leagues, for the sake of getting a dog, that they had dreamed of buying there. From this it is easy to judge in what peril we are every day, among people who will murder us in cold blood if they have dreamed of doing so; and how slight needs to be an offense that a Barbarian has received from some one, to enable his heated imagination to represent to him in a dream that he takes revenge on the offender. We have to regard ourselves here as victims who are every moment being led to torture, and are made to die a hundred times by the ever-present image of death—wherein, in truth, we deem ourselves happy, since we are so near to martyrdom.

By an inclination natural to their sex, the infidel women are the most Religious in observing their dreams, and in following that Idol's orders. It is true the worship paid to it by this people might pass rather for a superstition than for a full-fledged Idolatry, because they do not worship their dream or offer it any sacrifice. They believe, from a sure and [101] infallible experience, that, when they have dreamed something, and have failed to perform it, there always befalls them a misfortune which was mysteriously expressed in the dream. I have even noted that the majority of these Barbarians put themselves to very little trouble to obey their dreams when they are in

health; but the moment they have the least ailment, they are convinced there is no more sovereign cure for it and for the saving of their lives, than to perform all that they have dreamed. The Jugglers—who are, as it were, the Priests of their Divinity—contribute not a little toward keeping them in this superstition; for as they are always summoned to explain the Dreams, and as they know admirably how to turn them to their own profit, they live and grow rich on the credulity of these poor people, who spare nothing—above all, when they are sick—to carry out what the Juggler has told them the dream orders them to do. . . .

[125] Relation of the Missions to the Outaouaks.

[127] OF THE MISSIONS OF THE UPPER ALGONQUINS, COMMONLY CALLED THE OUTAOUAKS, AND, IN PARTICULAR, OF THE MISSION OF SAINTE MARIE DU SAULT.*

The Superior of these Missions is Father Dablon,[1] who sent this Relation to Quebec to the Reverend Father François le Mercier, Superior-General.

WE call these People the Upper Algonquins, to distinguish them from the Lower Algonquins, who are found lower down, around Tadoussac and Quebec.

They are commonly given the name Outaouaks, because, of more than thirty different Nations that are found in these Countries, the first to come down to our French Settlements were the Outaouaks, whose name afterward remained with all the others.

As we have a great number of different Peoples to cultivate in a great extent of territory, we have divided them all into three general Missions, which comprise many special ones, according to the diversity of Languages and Peoples, all having connection with these three Missions.

The first, which forms a center for the rest, is called Sainte Marie du Sault, situated at the foot of the Rapids which receive their waters from Lake Tracy, or Superior, and discharge into the Lake of the Hurons.

The second Mission, which is the farthest distant, [129] is that of saint Esprit, toward the extremity of the said Lake Superior, in a place called by the Savages Chagaouamigong point.

The third bears the name of St. François Xavier, at the far end of the Bay called des Puans, which is separated only by a tongue of land from Lake Superior.

In speaking of these Missions separately, we shall take occasion to say something of the peculiarities and curious things to be found in the places where they are situated.

* Part III, chap. x.

OF THE NATURE AND SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SAULT, AND OF THE NATIONS WHICH ARE ACCUSTOMED TO REPAIR THITHER.

What is commonly called the Sault is not properly a Sault, or a very high waterfall, but a very violent current of waters from Lake Superior,—which, finding themselves checked by a great number of rocks that dispute their passage, form a dangerous cascade of half a league in width, all these waters descending and plunging headlong together, as if by a flight of stairs, over the rocks which bar the whole river.

It is three leagues below Lake Superior, and twelve leagues above the Lake of the Hurons, this entire extent making a beautiful river, cut up by many Islands, which divide it and increase its width in some places so that the eye cannot reach across. It flows very gently through almost its entire course, being difficult of passage only at the Sault.

It is at the foot of these rapids, and even amid these boiling waters, that extensive fishing is carried on, from Spring until Winter, of a kind of fish found [131] usually only in Lake Superior and Lake Huron. It is called in the native language *Atticameg,* and in ours "whitefish," because in truth it is very white; and it is most excellent, so that it furnishes food, almost by itself, to the greater part of all these peoples.

Dexterity and strength are needed for this kind of fishing; for one must stand upright in a bark Canoe, and there, among the whirlpools, with muscles tense, thrust deep into the water a rod, at the end of which is fastened a net made in the form of a pocket, into which the fish are made to enter. One must look for them as they glide between the Rocks, pursue them when they are seen; and, when they have been made to enter the net, raise them with a sudden strong pull into the canoe. This is repeated over and over again, six or seven large fish being taken each time, until a load of them is obtained.

Not all persons are fitted for this fishing; and sometimes those are found who, by the exertion they are forced to make, overturn the Canoe, for want of possessing sufficient skill and experience.

This convenience of having fish in such quantities that one has only to go and draw them out of the water, attracts the surrounding Nations to the spot during the Summer. These people, being wanderers, without fields and without corn, and living for the most part only by fishing, find here the means to satisfy their

wants; and at the same time we embrace the opportunity to instruct them and train them in Christianity during their sojourn in this place.

Therefore we have been obliged to establish here a permanent Mission, which we call sainte Marie du Sault, which is the center for the others, and we are here surrounded by different Nations, of which the [133] following are those which sustain relations to the place, repairing hither to live on its fish.

The principal and native Inhabitants of this district are those who call themselves *Pahouitingwach Irini,* and whom the French call *Saulteurs,* because it is they who live at the Sault as in their own Country, the others being there only as borrowers. They comprise only a hundred and fifty souls, but have united themselves with three other Nations which number more than five hundred and fifty persons, to whom they have, as it were, made a cession of the rights of their native Country; and so these live here permanently, except the time when they are out hunting. Next come those who are called the Nouquet, who extend toward the South of Lake Superior, whence they take their origin; and the Outchibous, together with the Marameg, toward the North of the same Lake, which region they regard as their own proper Country.

Besides these four Nations there are seven others dependent on this Mission. The people called Achiligouiane, the Amicoures, and the Mississague fish here, and hunt on the Islands and in the regions round about Lake Huron; they number more than four hundred souls.[1]

Two other Nations, to the number of five hundred souls,—entirely nomadic, and with no fixed abode,—go toward the lands of the North to hunt during the Winter, and return hither to fish during the Summer.

There remain six other Nations, who are either people from the North Sea, as the Guilistinous [*i.e.* Kilistinons] and the Ovenibigonc [*i.e.* Ouinipegouc], or wanderers in the regions around that same North Sea,—the greater part of them having been driven [135] out of their Country by famine, and repairing hither from time to time to enjoy the abundance of fish here.

Two reasons, among others, have led us to form the resolution to make a journey as far as the region of that North Sea. The first is, to see in what way we can apply ourselves to the conversion of those tribes,—despite the great obstacles that confront us, owing to their manner of life, wandering constantly as

they do in the depths of the woods, and assembling only rarely for some Market or Festival, according to their custom.

The second motive for this journey is to discover at last that North Sea of which so much has already been said, and which has not yet been found by land.

The incentives to this discovery are: first, to find out, by a comparison of the Latitude and Longitude of this place with that of the Sea, whether that Sea is the Bay to which Hutson penetrated in the year 1612, or some other; and then to ascertain what part of the North Sea is nearest to us. Secondly, to learn whether communication can be had from Quebec all the way to this Sea by following all the Northern Shores, just as was attempted some years ago. This depends on the situation of that Bay, which we here have at our backs, toward the North; for, if it is found to be Hutson's Bay, or another one farther Westward, easy Communication cannot be hoped for, since it would be necessary to double a point extending to more than sixty-three degrees of latitude. Thirdly, to verify the quite probable conjectures that have been entertained for a long time, that a passage could be made by this route to the Japan Sea; for what has been noted in some of the preceding [137] Relations concerning this matter has been confirmed more and more by the report of the Savages, and the information that we have elicited from them. This is to the effect that, at some days' journey from the Mission of saint François Xavier, which is at the Bay des Puans, is found a great River, more than a league in width. This, coming from the regions of the North, flows toward the South,—and to such a distance that the Savages who have navigated it, in going to seek for enemies to fight with, after a good many days' journey have not found its mouth, which can be only toward the Sea of Florida or that of California. Mention will be made hereafter of a very considerable Nation living in the direction of that River, and of the journey we hope to make thither this year, to carry the Faith there, and, at the same time, gain a knowledge of those new Countries. Besides, we are also assured by the report of many other Savages, whose depositions agree very well, that at two hundred leagues from the Mission of saint Esprit among the Outaouaks, toward the West, is the Western Sea, to which one descends by another great River which is reached by an eight days' journey from the said Mission, and which goes and comes far inland—for so the Savages designate the ebb and flow of the Sea; and one of them declares that he has seen there four sailing Vessels. . . .

[139] OF THE STATE OF CHRISTIANITY AT THE MISSION OF SAINTE MARIE DU SAULT.

THE nomadic life led by the greater part of the Savages of these Countries lengthens the process of their conversion, and leaves them only a very little time for receiving the instruction that we give them. . . .

The assiduity shown by them, joined to their docility, would have already much increased the size of that Church, if the Devil did not hold them, as if enchained, by the most detestable of all the customs existing among the Savages. This has already been touched upon in the preceding Relation, and we shall discover more and more its pernicious effects.

It consists in each one's making for himself, in his early years, a God which he reverences then [141] for the rest of his days, with superstitions and ridiculous veneration. It is this which they believe to be the sole author of their good fortune in all their enterprises of war, fishing, and hunting; and so they wear its ineffaceable hieroglyphic,—marking on their skin, as with the graver, the representation of the Divinities that they have chosen.

Now this is the way in which they create the Divinity. When a child has reached the age of ten or twelve years, his father gives him a lesson, imparting to him the necessary instructions for finding out what will be his God henceforth.

First, he has him fast for several days, in order that, with his head empty, he may the more easily dream during his sleep; for it is then that this fanciful God is bound to reveal himself to him, so that the sole object of their ingenuity and all their exertions is to see in their sleep something extraordinary, which then takes for them the place of a Divinity.

Accordingly, when morning has come, the father questions his son, very seriously and with great secrecy, on all that has occurred during the night. If nothing has appeared to him, the fast must be begun again, and followed up until finally something is formed in the empty brain that represents to him either the Sun, or Thunder, or something else about which he has often been talked to; and, immediately upon awaking, he tells the good news to his father, who confirms the image in his thoughts. Consequently, after he has been brought up from infancy in this belief and has continued all his life to honor this God of his imagination with divers sacrifices and many feasts which are held in his honor, it is [143] almost impossible to free his mind

of this cursed superstition when he has grown old in it, or even passed some years.[1]

At first we believed that it was only the young boys who were brought up in these stupid notions; but we have since learned that the little girls also are made to fast for the same purpose; and we find no persons more attached to these silly customs, or more obstinate in clinging to this error, than the old women, who will not even lend an ear to our instructions. . . .

[149] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT ESPRIT AT CHAGAOUAMIGONG POINT IN LAKE TRACY OR SUPERIOR. OF THE PECULIARITIES AND RARITIES THAT ARE FOUND IN LAKE SUPERIOR; AND, FIRST, OF THE DIFFERENT FISHERIES IN WHICH IT ABOUNDS.*

This Lake has almost the form of a bent Bow, more than a hundred and eighty leagues long; the South side serves as its string, and the arrow seems to be a great Tongue of land projecting more than eighty leagues into the width of the Lake, starting from this same South side, at about its middle. . . .

[151] At the point of saint Esprit, Chagaouamigong,** where the Outaouaks and the Hurons live, there are caught at all times of the year great numbers of Whitefish, Trout, and Herring. This manna begins in November, and lasts until the ice comes; and, the colder the weather becomes, the more fish one catches. These Herring are found in every part of the Lake on the South side, from Spring down to the end of the month of August; and a full list of all its [153] fisheries would require a complete enumeration of all the coves and all the Rivers of this Lake.

It is thus that Providence has provided for these poor peoples, who, in default of hunting and of corn, live for the most part only on fish.

* Part III, chap. xi.

** "It [Chagouamigong Bay] is a beautiful Bay, at the head of which is situated the great Village of the Savages, who there cultivate fields of Indian corn and lead a settled life. They number eight hundred men bearing arms, but are gathered together from seven different nations, living in peace, mingled with one another."—Allouez's Journal; *Relation*, 1666-67:—*Id.*, I, *doc.* cxxi, p. 273.

OF THE COPPER MINES WHICH ARE FOUND IN LAKE SUPERIOR

Hitherto it had been thought that these Mines were found only in one or two Islands; but, since we have made more exact inquiries on the subject, we have learned from the Savages some secrets which they did not wish to reveal. It has been necessary to use artifice to elicit this information, and to distinguish the true from the false.

Still we do not vouch for the truth of all that we are about to relate, upon their simple deposition, until we are able to speak with more assurance after having gone in person to the places referred to; and this we hope to do this Summer, at the same time when we go in search of lost and wandering sheep all through the region of that great Lake.

Upon entering it by its mouth, where it empties into the Sault, the first place met where Copper is found in abundance, is an Island, distant forty or fifty leagues and situated toward the North, opposite a spot called Missipicouatong [Michipicoten].

The Savages say that it is a floating Island, which is sometimes far off, sometimes near, according to the winds that push it and drive it in all directions. They add, that a long time ago four Savages came thither by chance, having lost their way in the fog by which that Island is almost always surrounded.

[155] It was in the times before they had yet any commerce with the French, and when they did not use kettles or hatchets. These men, then, wishing to prepare themselves something to eat, adopted their usual method; taking some stones that they found at the water's edge, they heated them red-hot, and threw them into a bark dish filled with water, to make it boil, and by this device to cook their meat. While selecting these stones, they found that they were almost all pieces of Copper; accordingly they made use of some of them, and, after taking their repast, resolved to embark as soon as possible, fearing the Lynxes and Hares, which are as large as Dogs in that region, were coming to eat up their provisions and even their Canoe.

Before setting out, they loaded themselves with a good many of these stones, large and small, and even with some slabs of Copper; but they had not gone far from the shore when a powerful voice made itself heard in their ears, calling in great wrath: "Who are those robbers carrying off from me my children's cradles and playthings?" The Copper slabs are the cradles, because among the Savages these are made of only one or two boards joined together, on which they put their children

to bed: and those little pieces of Copper that they were carrying off are the toys and playthings of the Savage children, who play together with little stones.

That voice astonished them greatly, as they knew not whose it was. Some say that it was Thunder, because there are many storms there; and others that it was a certain Spirit whom they call Missibizi, who passes among these peoples for the God of the [157] waters, as Neptune did among the Pagans. Others say it came from Memogovissiouis; these are, they say, marine People somewhat like the fabulous Tritons or the Sirens, who always live in the water and have long hair reaching to the waist. One of our Savages told us he had seen one of them in the water, according to what he imagined.

However this may be, that astonishing voice inspired such terror in our Travelers' souls that one of the four died before reaching land. A short time afterward a second was taken off, and then the third; so that only one was left, who, after returning to his Country and relating all that had happened, died very soon afterward.

The Savages, all timid and superstitious as they are, have never dared to go there since that time, for fear of dying there, believing that there are certain Spirits who kill those who approach them. And, in fact, in the memory of man, no one has been known to set foot there, or even to be willing to sail in that direction,—although the Island seems to be open enough, and its trees may even be distinguished from another Island, named Achemikouan.

There is truth and there is untruth in this whole narrative, and the following is what is most probable; namely, that those four persons were poisoned by the water that they boiled with the pieces of copper, which communicated their poison to it, owing to their very great heat; for we know by experience that this copper, when it is put into the fire for the first time, exhales very malignant vapors, which are thick and infectious and whiten the fireplace. It is not, however, a poison so immediate as not to operate more promptly in some cases than in others, [159] as happened with those of whom we are speaking; who, being already affected by the poison, may have easily imagined that they heard those voices, if they heard, however slightly, some echo, such as is commonly found among the Rocks bordering that Island.

Perhaps this fable has been invented since the event, from not knowing to what to attribute the death of those Savages; and

when they say that it is a floating Island, it is not incredible that the mists with which it is often laden, by becoming thin or dense under the Sun's rays, make the Island appear to the observer sometimes very near, and at other times farther away.

What is certain is that, in the common opinion of the Savages, there is a great abundance of Copper in that Island; but they dare not go there. It is there that we hope to begin the discoveries which we purpose making this Summer.

Advancing as far as the part called "the great inlet" one comes to an Island three leagues from land, renowned for the metal that is found there, and for the name of *Tonnerre* [Thunder], which it bears because it is said to thunder there all the time.

But farther toward the West, on the same North side, is found the Island which is most famous for Copper, and is called Minong [Isle Royale]; this is the one in which, as the Savages have told many people, the metal exists in abundance, and in many places. It is large, and is fully twenty-five leagues long; it is distant seven leagues from the mainland, and more than sixty from the end of the Lake. Pieces of Copper, mingled with the stones, are found at the water's edge almost all around the Island, [161] especially on the South side; but principally in a certain inlet that is near the end facing the Northeast, toward the offing, there are some very steep clay hills where are seen several strata or beds of red Copper, one over another, separated or divided by other strata of earth or of Rocks. In the water even is seen Copper sand as it were; and from it may be dipped up with ladles grains as large as a nut, and other smaller ones reduced to sand. This large Island is almost all surrounded with Islets that are said to be formed of Copper; they are encountered in various places, as far as the mainland on the North. One, among others, is only two gunshots distant from Minong; it is between the middle of the Island and the end that faces the Northeast. Again, on this Northeast side, far out in the lake, there is another Island which, because of the copper in which it abounds, is called Manitouminis [*i.e.*, "Island of the spirit"]: of this it is related that those who came here formerly, upon throwing stones on the ground, made it ring, just as brass is wont to ring.

Going on to the end of the Lake, and coming back a day's journey along the South side, one sees at the water's edge a Rock of Copper weighing fully seven or eight hundred livres, so hard

that steel can scarcely cut it; yet, when it is heated, it may be cut like lead.

Twenty or thirty leagues this side of that spot is situated Chagaouamigong point, where we have established the Mission of saint Esprit, of which we shall speak hereafter. Near that place are some Islands, on the shores of which are often found Rocks of Copper, and even slabs of the same material.

[163] Last Spring, we bought from the Savages a slab of pure Copper, two feet square, and weighing more than a hundred livres. It is not thought, however, that the mines are found in the Islands, but that all these Copper pebbles probably come from Minong or from other Islands which are the sources of it, borne upon floating ice or rolled along in the depths of the water by the very impetuous winds,—particularly by the North-east wind, which is extremely violent.

It is true that on the Mainland, at the place where the Outaouaks raise Indian corn, half a league from the water's edge, the women have sometimes found pieces of Copper scattered here and there, of the weight of ten, twenty, or thirty livres. It is in digging up the sand to plant their corn that they make these chance discoveries. . . .

[165] OF THE PEOPLES CONNECTED WITH THE MISSION OF SAINT ESPRIT, AT THE POINT CALLED CHAGAOUAMIGONG.

More than fifty Villages can be counted, which comprise divers peoples, either nomadic or stationary, who depend in some sort on this Mission; and to whom the Gospel can be proclaimed, either by going into their Country, or waiting for them to come to this to do their trading.

[167] The three Nations comprised under the name of Outaouaks, of which one has embraced Christianity, and that of the Etionnontatehronnon Hurons—among whom there are more than five hundred baptized persons—inhabit this point; they live there on fish and corn, and rarely by hunting, and number more than fifteen hundred souls.

The Ilinois, tribes extending toward the South, have five large Villages, of which one has a stretch of three leagues, the cabins being placed lengthwise. They number nearly two thousand souls, and repair to this place from time to time in great numbers, as Merchants, to carry away hatchets and kettles, guns, and other articles that they need. During the sojourn that they make here, we take the opportunity to sow in their hearts the

first seeds of the Gospel. Fuller mention will be hereafter made of these peoples, and of the desire which they manifest to have one of our Fathers among them to instruct them; and also of the plan formed by Father Marquette to go thither next Autumn.

Eight days' journey from here toward the West is the first of the thirty Villages of the Nadouessi. The extensive warfare carried on by them with our Hurons, and with some other Nations of those Regions, keeps them more confined, and obliges them to come hither only in small numbers, and as if on an Embassy. Of them also mention will be made hereafter, and of what the said Father has done to put them in a state of peace and keep them there.

Of all the Nations toward the North, there are three, among others, who come to trade here; and very recently two hundred Canoes passed some time here.

[169] Four other Nations also,—of the number of those composing the Mission of saint François Xavier, at the Bay des Puans,—received here the first tincture of the Faith during the time when, fleeing from the pursuit of the Iroquois, they resided here.

Thus this Mission finds itself surrounded, on almost all sides, by peoples to whose conversion we have begun to apply ourselves, as we shall see.

LETTER FROM FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE TO THE REVEREND FATHER SUPERIOR OF THE MISSIONS.

My Reverend Father,

PAX CHRISTI.

I am obliged to render an account to Your Reverence of the condition of the Mission of saint Esprit among the Outaouaks, according to the order that I have received from You—and again, recently, from Father Dablon—since my arrival here after a Voyage of a month amid snow and ice, which blocked our passage, and amid almost constant dangers of death.

Having been assigned by Divine Providence to continue the Mission of saint Esprit,—which Father Allouez had begun, and where he had baptized the principal men of the Nation of the Kiskakonk,—I arrived here on the thirteenth of September, and went to visit the Savages in the Clearings, who are divided among five Villages. The Hurons, to the number of four or five hundred souls, almost all baptized, still preserve a little Christianity. Some of the chief men, assembled in a council, were very glad

to see me at first; but when I informed them that I [171] did not yet know their language perfectly, and that no other Father was coming to the place,—both because they had all gone to the Iroquois; and because Father Allouez, who understood them thoroughly, had been unwilling to return to them for this Winter, because they did not take enough interest in Prayer,—they acknowledged that they were well deserving of this punishment. Since then they have spoken of the matter during the Winter, and resolved to do better, as they have declared to me.

The Nation of the Sinagaux Outaouaks is very far from the Kingdom of God, because of its extreme attachment, above all the other Nations, to indecencies, sacrifices, and jugglery. . . .

The people of the Nation of Keinouché [1] declare themselves boldly, saying that it is not yet time. Still, there are two men that were formerly baptized,—one of whom, who is rather old, is looked upon as a wonder among the Savages, from his never having chosen to marry; and he still persists in his resolution, whatever one can say to him on the subject. . . .

[173] The Outaouaks, superstitious to an extraordinary degree in their feasts and their juggleries, seem to harden themselves to the teachings that are given them; yet they are very glad to have their children baptized. God suffered a woman to die in her sin this Winter. Her illness had been concealed from me, and I learned nothing of it except from the report that was circulated that she had asked for a very indecent dance as a cure. I immediately went into a Cabin where all the elders were at a feast, and among them were some Christian Kiskakonk. I pointed out to them this woman's impiety as well [175] as the juggler's, and I gave them instruction and spoke to all present. It was God's will that an old Outaouak should speak, saying that I was granted what I asked, and that it was no matter if that woman did die. An old Christian immediately took the word, and told the Nation that the young people's dissolute conduct must be stopped, and that the Christian girls must never be permitted to be present at those dances. To satisfy that woman, the dance asked for was changed into a children's game, but this did not prevent her from dying before morning.

The critical illness of a sick young man caused the jugglers to say that the Devil must be invoked by the observance of some altogether extraordinary superstitions. The Christians did not make any invocation to him; there were only the juggler and the sick man, who was made to pass over some large fires that had been lighted in all the Cabins. They said that he did

not feel the heat, although his body had been smeared with oil for five or six days. Men, women, and children ran through the cabins, asking as a riddle what they had in their thoughts, and he who guessed it was very glad to give the person what he sought. I prevented them from carrying out the indecencies that they are accustomed to practice at the close of all these devilries; and I do not think that they will return to them, because the sick man died soon afterward.

The Nation of the Kiskakonk, which for three years had refused to receive the Gospel, as proclaimed to them by Father Allouez, resolved at last, toward Autumn of the year 1668, to obey God. The resolution to that effect was adopted in a [177] council, and announced to the Father, who was thus obliged to winter with them for a fourth time, in order to instruct and baptize them. The chiefs of the Nation declared themselves Christians; and, in order to cultivate them, the Father having gone on to another Mission, I was given charge of them, and went to assume my duties in the month of September of the year 1669.

All the Christians were in their fields, harvesting the Indian corn. They heard me with pleasure when I told them that I came to la pointe only out of consideration for them and for the Hurons; that they should never be forsaken, but cherished more warmly than all the other nations, and that they had only one common interest with the French. I had the consolation of seeing their fondness for prayer, and the great account they make of being Christians; I baptized the new-born babes, and visited the Elders, whom I found all favorably disposed; and when the Chief had permitted that a dog should be suspended from a pole near his Cabin,—a kind of sacrifice that the Savages make to the Sun,—and I had told him that was not right, he went himself at once and threw it down. A sick man, instructed but not yet baptized, begged me to grant him that grace, or else to remain near him, because he did not wish to employ the juggler for his cure, and he was afraid of Hell-fire. I prepared him for Baptism, and was often in his Cabin, the joy that he felt in consequence partly restoring his health. He thanked me for the care that I had taken of him, and soon after, saying that I had given him his life, he gave me the present of a slave that had been brought to him from the Ilinois, two or three months before. . . .

[185] The Ilinois are distant from la pointe thirty days' journey by land, by a very difficult route, and live by themselves, Southwestward from the point of saint Esprit. One passes the

Nation of the Ketchigamins, who live in the interior, constitute more than twenty large cabins, and seek acquaintance with the French, hoping to obtain hatchets, knives, and other iron implements from them. They fear them to such a degree that they withdrew from the fire two Ilinois, who, after being bound to the stake, stated that the Frenchman had said that he wished peace to prevail over all the earth. One goes on then to the Miamiouek, and, after crossing great prairies, reaches the Ilinois, who are mainly gathered [187] in two Villages, containing more than eight or nine thousand souls. These people are fairly well inclined toward Christianity; since Father Allouez spoke to them, at la Pointe, about worshiping the one God, they have begun to abandon their false divinity. They worship the Sun and Thunder. Those whom I have seen seem to be of a tolerably good disposition; they do not go about at night, as do the other Savages; a man boldly kills his wife if he learns that she has not been faithful; they are more moderate in their Sacrifices; and they promise me to embrace Christianity and observe all that I shall say in the Country. With this purpose in view, the Outaouaks gave me a young man who had lately come from the Ilinois, and he furnished me the rudiments of the language, during the leisure allowed me by the Savages of la Pointe in the course of the Winter. One can scarcely understand it, although it is somewhat like the Algonquin; still I hope, by the Grace of God, to understand and be understood, if God in his goodness lead me to that Country. . . .

[189] The Ilinois journey always by land; they raise Indian corn, which they have in great abundance, have squashes as large as those of France, and have a great many roots and fruits. There is fine hunting there of Wild Cattle, Bears, Stags, Turkeys, Ducks, Bustards, Pigeons, and Cranes. The people quit their Village some time in the year, to go all together to the places where the animals are killed, and better to resist the enemy who come to attack them, They believe that, if I go to them, I shall establish peace everywhere, that they will always live in one place, and that it will be only the young men who will go hunting.

When the Illinois come to la Pointe, they cross a great river which is nearly a league in width, flows from North to South, and to such a distance that the Ilinois, who do not know what a canoe is, have not yet heard any mention of its mouth. They simply know that there are some very large Nations lower down than themselves, some of whom, toward the East-Southeast of

their Country, raise two crops of Indian corn in a year. A Nation that they call Chaouanou came to see them last Summer; and this young man who has been given to me, and is teaching me the language, saw them. They are laden with glass Beads, which shows that they have communication with Europeans. They had come overland a journey of nearly thirty days, before reaching the Country. It is hard to believe that that great River discharges its waters in Virginia, and we think rather that it has its mouth in California. If the Savages who promise to make me a Canoe do not break their [191] word to me, we shall explore this River as far as we can, with a Frenchman and this young man who was given me, who knows some of those languages and has a facility for learning the others. We shall visit the Nations dwelling there, in order to open the passage to such of our Fathers as have been awaiting this good fortune for so long a time. This discovery will give us full knowledge either of the South Sea or of the Western Sea.

Six or Seven days' journey below the Ilinois, there is another great River, on which live some very powerful Nations, who use wooden Canoes; of them we can write nothing else until next year—if God grant us the grace to conduct us thither.

The Ilinois are warriors and take a great many Slaves, whom they trade with the Outaouaks for Muskets, Powder, Kettles, Hatchets and Knives. They were formerly at war with the Nadouessi, but made peace with them some years ago, which I confirmed, in order to facilitate their coming to la Pointe—where I am going to await them, that I may accompany them into their Country.

The Nadouessi, who are the Iroquois of this country, beyond la Pointe,—but less perfidious than they, and who never attack until they have been attacked,—are toward the Southwest from the Mission of St. Esprit. It is a large nation and has not yet been visited, as we are engaged in the conversion of the Outaouaks. They fear the Frenchman because he brings iron into this country; they have a language wholly different from the Algonquin and the Huron: there are a good many villages, but they extend over a great deal of territory. Their manners and customs are quite extraordinary;* they chiefly adore the [193]

*"'*A Young man of the outaouaks . . . cleverly made a lance and sponge, the better to represent the mystery of the death of Jesus Christ, and to set off the Cross by this embellishment. . . . That evening . . . two Infidel savages came to us; . . . to inform us that several persons were surprised at seeing the lance and the sponge attached to the Cross—features which they have not observed on the Crosses which are in the lands where the french have*

Calumet, and say not a word at their feasts: and, when any stranger arrives, they feed him with a wooden fork, as one would a child. All the nations at the Lake make war on them, but with little success. They have the wild oats, use little Canoes, and keep their word inviolate. I sent them a present by the Interpreter, with a message that they must show due recognition to the Frenchman wherever they met him, and must not kill him or the Savages accompanying him; that the black Gown wished to proceed into the country of the Assinipouars, and into that of the Kilistinaux; that he was already among the Outagamis; and that I should set out this Autumn to go to the Ilinois, the passage to whom they were to leave free.* To this they consented; but, as for my present, they were waiting until all of their people should have come back from the chase; and they said they would be at la Pointe this Autumn, to hold council with the Ilinois and talk with me. I could wish that all the Nations had as much love for God as these people have fear of the French; Christianity would soon be flourishing.

The Assinipouars, who have almost the same language as the Nadouessi, are Westward from the Mission of St. Esprit, being fifteen or twenty days' journey distant on a Lake, where they gather wild oats, and fish are very plenty. I heard that there was in their Country a great River leading to the Western Sea; and a Savage told me that, being at its mouth, he had seen Frenchmen and four large Canoes with sails.

The Kilistinaux are nomadic people, and we do not yet well know their rendezvous. They are [195] toward the Northwest of the Mission of saint Esprit, are always in the woods, and have only the Bow to live by. They called at the Mission where I was last Autumn, to the number of two hundred Canoes, coming to

settlements. "Thou wilt say that I speak amiss," said one of these, ". . . but I state only the feelings of some of the most distinguished among all the nations who are here assembled, and who believe that that lance signifies that the Iroquois are soon to cause us to perish, and that Jesus is about to deliver us into the hands of our enemies." . . . We also learned on this occasion, a somewhat remarkable Fact,—that the nadoissis put to death upon the Cross those whom they capture in war; For, in that country, these are the only persons whom they put to death.[1] They also offer drink to their victims in a vessel of bark fastened to the end of a pole; this also affords our savages a pretext for disliking the Cross, because the nadoissis are their enemies.'"—Enjalran, *Relation*, 1679:—*Id.*, lxi, *doc.* cxlv, pp. 135, 137.

* "It is no new thing for the Savages, obeying a maxim of their policy or of their avarice, to be extremely cautious in granting strangers a passage, by way of their rivers, to distant Nations. The rivers are to them what fields are to the French, their sole source of subsistence,—whether in the form of fish and game, or in that of traffic."—Albanel's Journal, *Relation*, 1671-72:—*Id.*, lvi, *doc.* cxxviii, pp. 171, 173.

buy Merchandise and corn. They went into the woods to pass the Winter, but I have seen them this Spring, on the Lake shore.

[197] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT FRANÇOIS XAVIER ON THE "BAY OF STINKARDS," OR RATHER "OF STINKING WATERS." *

Letter from Father Allouez, who has had charge of this Mission, to the Reverend Father Superior.

MY REVEREND FATHER,
PAX CHRISTI.

I send to Your Reverence the Journal of our winter's campaign, wherein you will find how the Gospel has been proclaimed, and JESUS CHRIST preached, to Peoples that worship only the Sun, or some imaginary Idols.

On the third of November we departed from the Sault, I and two others. Two Canoe-loads of Prouteouatamis wished to conduct me to their Country: not that they wished to receive instruction there, having no disposition for the Faith, but that I might curb some young Frenchmen who, being among them for the purpose of trading, were threatening and maltreating them. . . .

[199] On the 5th, upon waking, we found ourselves covered with snow, and the surface of the canoe coated with ice. This little beginning of crosses which Our Lord was pleased to allot us invited us to offer ourselves for greater ones. We were compelled to embark with all the baggage and provisions, with great difficulty, our bare feet in the water, in order to keep the Canoe afloat, which otherwise would have broken. After leaving a great number of Islands to the Northward, we slept on a little Island, where we were detained six days by the bad weather. The snow and frosts threatening us with ice, my Companions had recourse to saint Anne, to whom we entrusted our journey, praying her, together with St. Francis Xavier, to take us under her protection.

On the eleventh we embarked, notwithstanding the contrary wind, and crossed to another Island, and thence to the mainland, where we found two Frenchmen with several savages. From them we learned of the great dangers to which we were about

* Part III, chap. xii.

to expose ourselves, by reason of the storms that are frequent on this Lake, and the ice which [201] would soon be afloat. But all that was not sufficient to shake the confidence that we had reposed in our Protectors. After invoking them, we launched the Canoe, and then doubled successfully enough the Cape, which makes a detour to the West, having left in our rear a large Island named Michilimakinak, celebrated among the Savages. Their legends about this Island are pleasing.

They say that it is the native country of one of their Gods, named Michabous—that is to say, "the great Hare," Ouisaketchak, who is the one that created the Earth; and that it was in these Islands that he invented nets for catching fish, after he had attentively considered the spider while she was working at her web in order to catch flies in it. They believe that Lake Superior is a Pond made by Beavers, and that its Dam was double,—the first being at a place called by us the Sault, and the second five leagues below. In ascending the River, they say, this same God found that second Dam first and broke it down completely; and that is why there is no waterfall or whirlpools in that rapid. As to the first Dam, being in haste, he only walked on it to tread it down; and, for that reason, there still remain great falls and whirlpools there.

This God, they add, while chasing a Beaver in Lake Superior, crossed with a single stride a bay of eight leagues in width. In view of so mighty an enemy, the Beavers changed their location, and withdrew to another Lake, Alimibegoung [Nipigon],—whence they afterward, by means of the Rivers flowing from it, arrived at the North Sea, with the intention of crossing over to France; but, finding the water bitter, they lost heart, and spread [203] throughout the Rivers and Lakes of this entire Country. And that is the reason why there are no Beavers in France, and the French come to get them here. The people believe that it is this God who is the master of our lives, and that he grants life only to those to whom he has appeared in sleep. This is a part of the legends with which the Savages very often entertain us. . . .

After we had continued our Voyage until the twenty-fifth, amid continual dangers, God indemnified us for all our hardships by causing us to chance upon a Cabin of Pouteouatomies, who were engaged in fishing and hunting at the edge of the wood. They regaled us with all that they had, but especially with *fené*, which is the nut of the beech-tree, which they roast and pound into flour. . . .

[205] On the twenty-ninth, as the Mouth of the River which we were to enter was frozen over, we were in great difficulty. We thought of making the rest of the journey to the rendezvous by land; but, a furious wind having arisen during the night, we found ourselves enabled, owing to the breaking-up of the ice, to continue our Voyage. We finished it on the second of December, on the eve of saint Francis Xavier's day, when we arrived at the place where the French were; and they helped us to celebrate his Day with the utmost solemnity in our power,—thanking him for the succor that he had procured for us during our voyage, and entreating him to be the Patron of that Mission, which we were about to start under his protection.

On the following day, I celebrated holy Mass, at which the French, to the number of eight, paid their Devotions. As the Savages had gone into winter quarters, I found here only one Village of different Nations—Ousaki, Pouteouatami, Outagami, Ovenibigoutz [*i.e.*, Ouinipegouk]—about six hundred souls. A league and a half away was another, of a hundred and fifty souls; four leagues distant, one of a hundred souls; and eight leagues from here, on the other side of the Bay, one of about three hundred souls.

[207] All these Nations have their fields of Indian corn, squashes, beans, and tobacco. On this Bay, in a place that they call Ouestatinong, twenty-five leagues away, there is a large Nation named Outagami, and a day's journey from them there are two others, Oumami, and Makskouteng. Of all these Peoples, a portion gained a knowledge of our Faith at saint Esprit point, where I instructed them; we shall do so more fully, with Heaven's help.

In the matter of our sustenance, we have had a good deal of trouble. Scarcely have we found material to make our cabin; all that we have had for food has been only Indian corn and acorns; the few fish that are seen here, and that but seldom, are very poor; and the water of this bay and of the rivers is like stagnant ditch-water. .

The Savages of this region are more than usually barbarous; they are without ingenuity, and do not know how to make even a bark dish or a ladle; they commonly use shells. They are grasping and avaricious to an extraordinary degree, and sell their little commodities at a high price, because they have only what is barely necessary. . . .

[209] OF THE MISSION TO THE OUSAKI.

THE Village of the Ousaki is the first where I began to give instruction. As soon as we were provided with a cabin there, I assembled all the elders, to whom, after relating the news of the peace with the Iroquois, I expatiated on the purpose of my journey, which was naught else than their instruction. . . .[1]

In the month of January I purposed to go and carry the Gospel to another Village, but it was impossible for me to go and settle down among them. I tried to make up for this by frequent visits.

[211] OF THE MISSION TO THE POUTEOUATAMIS.

On the seventeenth of February I repaired to the Village of the Pouteouatamis, which is eight leagues from this place, on the other side of the Lake. After walking all day without halting, we arrived there at Sunset, sustained by some small bit of frozen meat that hunger made us eat. On the day after my arrival, they made us a present of all the fat of a Bear, with many manifestations of affection. . . .

[215] On the 16th of April, I embarked to go and begin the Mission to the Outagamis, a people of considerable note in all these regions. We slept at the head of the bay, at the mouth of the River des Puans, which we have named for saint Francis.[2] On our way we saw clouds of Swans, Bustards, and Ducks. The Savages set snares for them at the head of the bay, where they catch as many as fifty in one night, this game seeking in Autumn the wild oats that the wind has shaken off in the month of September.

On the 17th, we ascended the River saint François, which is two, and sometimes three, arpents wide. After proceeding four leagues, we [217] found the Village of the Savages called Saky [Sacs], whose people were beginning a work that well deserves to have its place here. From one bank of the River to the other they make a barricade by driving down large stakes in two brasses of water, so that there is a kind of bridge over the stream for the fishermen, who, with the help of a small weir, easily catch the Sturgeon and every other kind of fish,—which this dam stops, although the water does not cease to flow between the stakes.[3] They call this contrivance *Mitihikan,* and it serves them during the Spring and a part of the Summer.*

* "The bay commonly called des Puans receives a river, in which wild fowl and fish are caught both together. Of this practice the Savages are the inventors; for, perceiving that Ducks, Teal, and other birds of that kind dive

On the eighteenth we passed the portage called by the natives Kekaling,[1] our sailors dragging the canoe among rapids; while I walked on the River-bank, where I found apple-trees and vine-stocks in great numbers.

On the 19th, our Sailors ascended the Rapids for two leagues by the use of poles, and I went by land as far as the other portage, which they call Ooukocitiming,—that is to say, "the bank." . . .

[219] On the twenty-fourth, after turning and doubling several times in various Lakes and Rivers, we arrived at the Village of the Outagamis.

This people came in crowds to meet us, in order to see, as they said, the Manitou, who was coming to their country. They accompanied us with respect as far as the door of the cabin, which we were made to enter.

This Nation is renowned for being populous, the men who bear arms numbering more than four hundred; while the number of women and children there is the greater on account of the polygamy which prevails among them,—each man having commonly four wives, some having six, and others as many as ten. Six large cabins of these poor people were put to rout this month of March by eighteen Iroquois from Tsonnontouan,—who, under the guidance of two fugitive Iroquois Slaves of the Pouteouatamis, made an onslaught, and killed all the people, except thirty women whom they led away as captives. As the men were away hunting, they met with but little [221] resistance,—there being only six warriors left in the cabins, besides the women and children, who numbered a hundred or thereabout.

into the water in quest of the grains of wild rice to be found there toward the Autumn season, they stretch nets for them with such skill that, without counting the fish, they sometimes catch in one night as many as a hundred wild fowl. This fishing is equally pleasant and profitable; for it is a pleasure to see in a net, when it is drawn out of the water, a Duck caught side by side with a pike, and Carp entangled in the same meshes with Teal. The Savages subsist on this manna nearly three months [in the year].

"Nature and necessity, which have taught them this mode of fishing, have prompted them to invent still another on the same river, two leagues from its mouth.

"It is a device that is somewhat rude, but excellently adapted to their purpose, and it enables a child to fish with great success. They construct it in such a manner as to bar the entire river from one bank to the other, making a sort of palisade of stakes, which they plant in the water in a straight line, leaving only space enough to allow the water to run between certain hurdles, which stop the large fish. Along this barrier they arrange scaffolds, on which they place themselves in ambush and await their prey with impatience. When the fish, following the current, reach this barrier, the fisher plunges in a pocket-shaped net, into which he easily coaxes them."—Nouvel, *Relation*, 1671-72:—*Id.*, lvi, *doc.* cxxviii, p. 121, 123.

This carnage was committed two days' journey from the place of our winter quarters, at the foot of the Lake of the Ilinioues, which is called Machihiganing [Michigan]. . . .

An Outagami told me, in private, that his ancestor had come from Heaven, and that he had preached the Unity and the Sovereignty of a God who had made all other Gods; that he had assured them that he would go to Heaven after his death, where he should die no more; and that his body would not be found in the place where it had been buried, [223]—which was verified, said this Outagami, the body being no longer found where it had been put. . . .

I spoke their language, in the assurance they gave me that they understood me; it is the same as that of the Satzi [*sc.* Saki]. But alas, what difficulty they have in apprehending a Law that is so opposed to all their customs!

These Savages withdrew to those regions to escape the persecution of the Iroquois, and settled in an excellent country—the soil, which is black there, yielding them Indian corn in abundance. They live by hunting during the Winter, returning to their cabins toward its close, and living there on Indian corn that they had hidden away the previous Autumn; they season it with fish. In the midst of their clearings they have a Fort, where their cabins of heavy bark are situated, for resisting all sorts of attacks. On their journeys they make themselves cabins with mats. They are at war with the Nadouecious, their neighbors. Canoes are not used by them; and, for that reason, they do not make war on the Iroquois, [225] although they are often killed by them. They are held in very low estimation, and are considered by the other Nations as stingy, avaricious, thieving, choleric, and quarrelsome. They have poor opinion of the French, ever since two traders in Beaver-skins appeared among them; if these men had behaved as they ought, I would have had less trouble in giving these poor people other ideas of the whole French Nation,—which they are beginning to esteem, since I explained to them the principal and only motive that brought me to their country.

On the twenty-sixth, the Elders came into the cabin where I was lodging, to hold council there. The assembly having been convened, the Captain, after laying at my feet a present of some skins, harangued in the following terms: "We thank thee," he said, "for having come to visit and console us in our affliction; and we are the more obliged to thee, inasmuch as no one has hitherto shown us that kindness." They added that they had

nothing further to say to me, except that they were too dispirited to speak to me, being all occupied in mourning their dead. "Do thou, black Gown, who are not dispirited and who takest pity on people, take pity on us as thou shalt deem best. Thou couldst dwell here near us, to protect us from our enemies, and teach us to speak to the great Manitou, the same as thou teachest the Savages of the Sault. Thou couldst cause to be restored to us our wives, who were led away prisoners. Thou couldst stay the arms of the Iroquois, and speak to them of peace in our behalf for the future. I have no sense to say anything to thee; only take pity on us in the way thou shalt judge most fitting. When thou seest the [227] Iroquois, tell them that they have taken me for some one else. I do not make war on them; I have not eaten their people; but my neighbors took them prisoners and made me a present of them; I adopted them, and they are living here as my children." This speech has nothing of the barbarian in it. I told them that in the treaty of peace which the French had made with the Iroquois no mention had been made of them; that no Frenchman had then been here, and that they were not known; that, as to other matters, I much approved what their Captain had said; that I would not forget it, and that in the following Autumn I would render them an answer. Meanwhile, I told them to fortify themselves in their resolution to obey the true God, who alone could procure them what they asked for, and infinitely more.

In the evening four Savages, of the Nation of the Oumamis, arrived from a place two days' journey hence, bringing three Iroquois scalps and a half-smoked arm, to console the relatives of those whom the Iroquois had killed a short time before.

On the twenty-seventh, we took our departure, commending to the good Angels the first seed sown in the hearts of these poor people, who listened to me with respect and attention. There is a glorious and rich harvest for a zealous and patient Missionary. We named this Mission after saint Mark, because on his day the Faith was proclaimed there."[1]

OF THE MISSION TO THE OUMAMIS AND MACHKOUTENCH.

On the twenty-ninth, we entered the River which leads to the Machkoutench, who are called by the Hurons *Assista Ectaeronnons*, "Nation of Fire." [229] This River is very beautiful, without rapids or portages, and flows toward the Southwest.

On the thirtieth, landing opposite the Village and leaving our canoe at the water's edge, after walking a league through beautiful Prairies, we perceived the Fort. The Savages, espying us, immediately gave the cry in their Village, hastened to meet us, and accompanied us with honor into the cabin of the Chief, where refreshments were straightway brought to us, and the feet and legs of the Frenchmen were anointed with oil. Afterward a feast was prepared, which was attended with the following ceremonies. When all were seated, and after some had filled a dish with powdered tobacco, an Old man arose and, turning to me, with both hands full of tobacco which he took from the dish, harangued me as follows: "This is well, black Gown, that thou comest to visit us. Take pity on us; thou art a Manitou; we give thee Tobacco to smoke. The Nadouessious and the Iroquois are eating us; take pity on us. We are often ill, our children are dying, we are hungry. Hear me, Manitou; I give thee tobacco to smoke. Let the earth give us corn, and the rivers yield us fish; let not disease kill us any more, or famine treat us any longer so harshly!" At each desire the Old men who were present uttered a loud "Oh!" in response. . [231] . . They offered us a veritable sacrifice like that which they make to their false Gods. . . .

The Savages named Oumamis are here only in very small numbers, their main body not having yet come in from their hunting; therefore I say almost nothing about them in detail. Their language is in harmony with their disposition; they are gentle, affable, sedate; they also speak slowly. This whole Nation was to arrive in sixteen days; but, obedience calling me to the Sault, I was not at liberty to wait for them.

These people are settled in a very attractive place, where beautiful Plains and Fields meet the eye as far as one can see. Their River leads by a six days' voyage to the great River named Messi-Sipi, and it [233] is along the former River that the other populous Nations are situated. Four leagues from here are the Kikabou and the Kitchigamich, who speak the same language as the Machkouteng.[1]

On the first of May, I went to visit them in their cabins; and I instructed them, speaking their language sufficiently to make myself understood by them. They heard me with respect, admired the main features of our Faith, and were eager to lavish on me all the best things they had. Those poor Mountaineers are kind beyond all power of belief; but they do not fail to have

their superstitions, and to practice polygamy, as is customary with the Savages.

The courtesies that they showed me kept me busy almost all day; they came to my cabin to give me an invitation, conducted me to their own, and, after making me sit down on a fine new piece of fur, presented me a handful of tobacco, which they placed at my feet; and brought me a kettle full of fat, meat, and Indian corn, accompanying it with a speech or a compliment. I always took occasion thereupon to inform them of the truths of our Faith,—while God, by his grace, never failed to make me understood, their language being the same as that of the Saki. . . .

[235] On the sixth, I paid a visit to the Oumalouminek, eight leagues distant from our cabin, and found them at their River [1] in small numbers, the young people being still in the woods. This Nation has been almost exterminated by the wars. I had difficulty in understanding them, but in time made the discovery that their language is Algonquin, although much corrupted. They succeeded in understanding me better than I understood them. After making a little present to the Elders, I proclaimed the Gospel to them, which they admired and heard with respect.

On the ninth, the Elders invited me to their council, and there made me a present, with an expression of Thanks for my having come to visit them in order to give them a knowledge of the true God. "Take heart," they said to me, "instruct us often, and teach us to speak to him who has made all things." This Mission we have named after saint Michael, as well as the River where they dwell.

On the tenth, when I arrived at the settlement, a [237] Pouteouatami, not daring to ask me for news, addressed our dog in these words: "Tell me, O Captain's dog, what is the state of affairs among the Oumacouminitz? Thy Master has told thee; thou hast followed him everywhere. Do not conceal the matter from me, for I dare not ask him about it." I saw well what his design was.

On the thirteenth I crossed the Bay to go to find the Ovenibigoutz in their Clearings, where they were assembling. The next day, I held council with the Old men and the youth, and proclaimed the Gospel to them, as I had done to the others. About thirty years ago, all the people of this Nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek, with the exception of a single man who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow. When the Iliniouetz had sent back his captive countrymen to inhabit

the country anew, he was made Captain of his Nation, as having never been a slave.

They speak a peculiar language which the other Savages do not understand; it resembles neither the Huron nor the Algonquin. There are, they say, only certain tribes of the Southwest who speak as they do. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxxvi, vol. liii, pp. 19-299; vol. liv, pp. 19-243.]

XXXIX

[95] Relation of the Missions to the Outouacs During the Years 1670 and 1671.*

[In Part III are described the Ottawa missions. It opens with a survey of these missions, of the tribes that they reach, and of the region inhabited by those peoples; this résumé is illustrated by a map of Lake Superior and the adjacent lands, prepared by some of the missionaries. . . .

A long description is given of Mackinac Island, its fisheries, its phenomena of wind and tide, and the tribes who, now and in the past, have made it their abode. A favorite resort for all the Algonkin tribes, many are returning to it since the peace with the Iroquois. On this account, the Jesuits have begun a new mission, opposite Mackinac, called St. Ignace. Thither have fled the Hurons, driven from Chequamegon Bay by fear of the Sioux, "the Iroquois of the West"; and Marquette follows his flock. . . .

He [Dablon] enumerates and locates the tribes dwelling in Wisconsin. He relates a journey made by him and Allouez, in the autumn of 1670, to visit the tribes in the central and southern parts of that State. . . .

The Fathers proceed up the Fox River, to visit the tribes thereon; they find at the De Pere rapids a sort of idol, adored by the savages,—a rock, resembling a human bust. This the missionaries remove and cast to the bottom of the river. After passing all the rapids, they reach the prairies and "oak-openings" of Winnebago Country,—"the fairest land possible to behold"; its beauty is vividly portrayed in their account. Here the abundance of game and wild rice renders the savages sedentary. They reach the Mascoutens and the Miamis, who have fixed their abode in the same place, for common defense against the Iroquois. . . .

Dablon devotes a chapter to the character, manners, and customs of the Illinois Indians, some of whom have come to dwell with the Mascoutens; and to the Mississippi river and valley, so far as he has learned about that region from the reports of the savages. He is delighted with the mildness and politeness of the Illinois tribe, and dilates upon the noble character and kindness of their chief, who shows the missionaries every attention; they have strong hope that he will embrace the faith. . . .—*Id.*, lv, pp. 10, 13, 14, 15.]

EXPLANATION OF THE IDEA THAT SHOULD BE HELD REGARDING ALL THE MISSIONS INCLUDED UNDER THE NAME OUTAOUAC.

IT is well to afford a general view of all these Outaouac territories, not only for the purpose of designating the places where the Faith has been proclaimed by the planting of Missions; but also because the King, by very recently taking possession of them with a ceremony worthy of the eldest son of the Church, and of a Most Christian King, put all those tribes under the protection of the Cross before receiving them under his own,

* Part Third of the *Relation* of 1670-71.

being unwilling to unfurl his standard before planting that of JESUS CHRIST,—as will be set forth in the account to be given of that act of taking possession.*

By glancing, as one can, at the Map of the lakes, and of the territories on which are settled most of the tribes of these regions, one will gain more light upon all these Missions than by long descriptions that might be given of them.

The reader may first turn his eyes to the Mission of Sainte Marie du Sault, three leagues below the mouth of Lake superior. He will find it situated on [97] the banks of the river by which this great Lake discharges its waters, at the place called the Sault, very advantageous in which to perform Apostolic functions, since it is the great resort of most of the Savages of these regions, and lies in the almost universal route of all who go down to the French settlements. It was also on this spot that all these lands were taken possession of in his Majesty's name, in the presence and with the approval of fourteen Nations who had come hither for that purpose.

Toward the other end of the same lake is found the Mission of Saint Esprit, covering both the district known as Chagaouamigong point, and the neighboring Islands. Thither the Outaouacs, with the Hurons of Tionnontaté, repair in the seasons suitable for fishing and for raising Indian corn.

It will be easy to recognize the rivers and routes leading to various Nations, either stationary or nomadic, located in the

* "When Monsieur Talon, our Intendant, returned from Portugal, and after his shipwreck, he was commanded by the King to return to this country; and at the same time received his Majesty's orders to . . . cause the name and sovereignty of our invincible Monarch to be acknowledged by even the least known and the most remote Nations. . . . Monsieur Talon had no sooner landed than he considered means for insuring the success of these plans,—choosing, to that end, sieur de saint Lusson, whom he commissioned to take possession, in his place and in his Majesty's name, of the territories lying between the East and the West, from Montreal as far as the South sea, covering the utmost extent and range possible.

"For this purpose, after wintering on the Lake of the Hurons, Monsieur de saint Lusson repaired to sainte Marie du Sault early in May of this year, sixteen hundred and seventy-one. First, he summoned the surrounding tribes living within a radius of a hundred leagues and even more; and they responded through their Ambassadors, to the number of fourteen Nations.[1] After making all necessary preparations for the successful issue of the whole undertaking to the honor of France, he began, on June fourth of the same year, with the most solemn ceremony ever observed in these regions.

"For, when all had assembled in a great public council, and a height had been chosen well adapted to his purpose,—overlooking, as it did, the Village of the people of the Sault,—he caused the Cross to be planted there, and then the King's standard to be raised, with all the pomp that he could devise."—Dablon, *Relation,* 1670-71:—*Id.,* lv, *doc.* cxxvii, pp. 105, 107.

vicinity of this same lake, who are somewhat dependent on this Mission of saint Esprit in the matter of trade, which draws them to our Savages' abode.

For it is a Southward course that is taken by the great river called by the natives Missisipi, which must empty somewhere in the region of the Florida sea, more than four hundred leagues hence. Fuller mention will be made of it hereafter. Beyond that great river lie the eight Villages of the Ilinois, a hundred leagues from saint Esprit point; while forty or fifty leagues Westward from the latter place is found the Nation of the Nadouessi,—very populous and warlike, and regarded as the Iroquois of these regions, waging war, almost unaided, with all the other tribes hereabout. Still farther away is situated [99] another Nation, of an unknown tongue, beyond which, it is said, lies the Western sea. Again, proceeding toward the West-Northwest, we find the people called Assinipoualac, constituting one large village,—or, as others say, thirty small villages in a group,—not far from the North sea, two weeks' journey from the above-named Mission of saint Esprit.

Finally, the Kilistinons are dispersed through the whole Region to the North of this Lake Superior,—possessing neither corn nor fields, nor any fixed abode; but forever wandering through these vast Forests, and seeking a livelihood there by hunting. There are also other Nations in those districts, for that reason called "the peoples of the Interior," or of the North Sea.

The reader will also be enabled—on his journey, so to speak—to note all the places on this Lake where copper is said to be found. For, although at the present we have no very definite knowledge on the subject, because no thorough surveys have been made, yet the slabs and huge lumps of this metal which we have seen, each weighing a hundred or two hundred livres, and much more; that great rock of copper, seven or eight hundred livres in weight, seen near the head of the Lake by all who pass; and, furthermore, the numerous pieces found at the water's edge in various places,—all seem to force upon us the conviction that somewhere there are parent mines which have not yet been discovered.[1]

After surveying this entire Lake Superior, together with the Nations surrounding it, let us go down to the Lake of the Hurons, almost in the middle of which we shall see the Mission of saint Simon, established on the Islands which were formerly the [101] true country of some Nations of the Outaouacs, and which they were forced to leave when the Hurons were ravaged by the Iro-

JESUIT MAP OF LAKE SUPERIOR, AND PARTS OF LAKES HURON AND MICHIGAN

From chart accompanying *Relation* of 1670-71

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LV.*]

quois.* But since the King's Arms have compelled the latter to live at peace with our Algonquins, part of the Outaouacs have returned to their country; and we at the same time have planted this Mission, with which are connected the peoples of Mississagué, the Amicouës, and other circumjacent tribes,—to whom we have proclaimed the Faith, baptizing many of their children and adults.

Toward the south, on the other side of the Lake, are the territories formerly occupied by various Nations of the Hurons and Outaouacs, who had stationed themselves at some distance from one another, as far as the famous Island of Missilimakinac.[1] In the neighborhood of this island, as being the spot most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, various Peoples used to make their abode, who now fully intend to return thither if they see that peace is firmly established. It is for this reason that we have already begun there to found the Mission of St. Ignace; this was done during the past Winter, which we spent there.

Thence one enters the Lake called Mitchiganons, to which the Ilinois have given their name. After the People who formerly lived near the Western sea were driven away from it by their foes, they sought a refuge on the shores of this Lake; and when the Iroquois expelled them thence also, they finally withdrew to a spot seven days' journey beyond the great river. The reader will see, at the end, how a part of this nation has begun to receive the light of the Faith, which we carried even to their own country.

Finally, between this Lake of Ilinois and Lake [103] Superior is seen a long bay called the bay des Puans, at the head of which is the Mission of saint François Xavier; while at its entrance are encountered the Islands called Huron, because the Hurons took refuge there for some time, after their own country was laid waste. In one of them especially is found a kind of Emerald or diamond, some white and others green. Still farther Northward may be seen a stream of no great size, to which is given the name of copper river, from a lump of metal that we saw there, weighing more than two hundred livres.

*"War and peace gave birth to this mission—the war waged by the people called Nadouessi, who drove the Outaouacs from Saint Esprit point, where they lived; and the peace with the Iroquois, which permitted them to return to their own country. A part of the Outaouacs, who last summer separated from the rest, betook themselves to the Island called Ekaentouton, lying in the middle of the Lake of the Hurons, as to their former country."—Dablon, *Relation*, 1670-71:—*Id.*, lv, *doc.* cxxvii, p. 133.

Approaching the head of the same bay, we see the river of the Oumaloumines [Menomonees],—or, translated, "the wild-oats Nation,"—which is a dependency of the Mission of St. François Xavier, as are also the Potéouatami, the Ousaki, and other Tribes, —who, driven from their own abode, the Lands toward the South, near Missilimakinac, have sought refuge at the head of this bay. Beyond it, and farther Inland, may be seen the Fire Nation, or the Mathkoutench, with an Ilinois tribe called the Oumami [Miami], and also the Outagami. . . .

Finally, the remaining tribes, farther distant toward the South and the Southwest, are either beginning to draw near to us,—for already the Ilinois have reached the bay mentioned above,—or else are [105] waiting until we can advance to them. All these matters will be treated more in detail when we take up each Mission in order, touching upon what has been found most rare and curious to be known among those newly discovered countries and Peoples. . . .

[157] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT IGNACE AT MISSILIMAKINAC.*

Missilimakinac is an Island of note in these regions. It is a league in diameter, and has such high steep rocks in some places that it can be seen at a distance of more than twelve leagues.

It is situated exactly in the strait connecting the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Ilinois, and forms the key and the door, so to speak, for all the peoples of the South, as does the Sault for those of the North; for in these regions there are only those two passages by water for very many Nations, who must seek one or the other of the two if they wish to visit the French settlements.

This circumstance makes it very easy both to instruct these poor people when they pass, and to gain ready access to their countries.

This spot is the most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish, since, in Savage parlance, this is its native country. No other place, however it may abound in fish, is properly its abode, which is only in the neighborhood of Missilimakinac.

In fact, besides the fish common to all the other Nations, as the herring, carp, pike, golden fish, whitefish, and sturgeon, there

* Chap. iii.

are here found three kinds of trout; one, the common kind; the second, larger, being three feet in length and one in width; and the third, monstrous, for no other [159] word expresses it,—being moreover so fat that the Savages, who delight in grease, have difficulty in eating it. Now they are so abundant that one man will pierce with his javelin as many as 40 or 50, under the ice, in three hours' time.

These advantages, in times past, attracted to so desirable a spot most of the Savages of this region, who were dispersed by the fear of the Iroquois. The three Nations now dwelling as strangers on the Bay des Puans formerly lived on the mainland, to the south of this Island,—some on the shores of the Lake of the Ilinois, others on those of the Lake of the Hurons. A part of the so-called people of the Saut possessed territories on the mainland, toward the West; and the rest also regard that region as their country for passing the winter, during which there are no fish at the Sault. The Hurons called Etiennontatehronnons lived for some years on the Island itself, taking refuge from the Iroquois. Four Villages of the Outaouacs had also their lands in these regions.

But, especially, those who bore the name of the Island and were called Missilimakinac, were so numerous that some of them still living declare that they constituted thirty Villages; and that they all had intrenched themselves in a fort a league and a half in circumference, when the Iroquois—elated at gaining a victory over three thousand men of that Nation, who had carried the war even into the very country of the Agniehronnons—came and defeated them.

In short, the abundance of fish, and the excellence of the soil for raising Indian corn, have ever proved a very powerful attraction for the tribes of these [161] regions, the greater number of whom live only on fish, and some of them on Indian corn. . . .

[169] OF THE MISSION OF SAINT ESPRIT, AT THE HEAD OF LAKE SUPERIOR.*

THESE regions of the North have their Iroquois, as do those of the South. They are a certain people called the Nadouessi, who, as they are naturally warlike, have made themselves feared by all their neighbors; and, although they use only bows and arrows,

* Chap. iv.

yet they handle them with such skill and readiness as to fill the air with shafts in an instant,—especially when, like the Parthians, they face about in their flight; for then they discharge their arrows so rapidly as to render themselves not less formidable when fleeing than when attacking.

They live near and on the banks of that great river called Missisipi, of which further mention will be made. They comprise no fewer than fifteen Villages of considerable size, and yet know not what it is to till the soil for the purpose of sowing seed. They are content with a kind of marsh rye which we call wild oats, which the prairies furnish them naturally,—they dividing the latter among themselves, and each gathering his own harvest separately, without encroaching on the others.

They are sixty leagues from the head of Lake superior in a Westerly direction, and well-nigh in the center of the Nations of the West,—with all of whom they are at war, in consequence of a general [171] League formed against themselves as a common foe.

They speak a Language peculiar to themselves, and entirely distinct from that of the Algonquins and Hurons, whom they far exceed in magnanimity,—being often content with the glory of winning a victory, and sending back free and uninjured the prisoners taken by them in battle.

Our Outaouacs and Hurons of point saint Esprit had thus far maintained a sort of peace with them; but as their relations became embroiled during the past winter, some murders even being committed on each side, our Savages had reason to fear the storm might burst over them, and deemed it safer to leave their location. This they did in the Spring, when they withdrew to the Lake of the Hurons,—the Outaouacs to the Island of Ekaentouton, to join the people of their own Nation who had preceded them thither, where we then planted the Mission of saint Simon; and the Hurons to that famous Island of Missilimakinac, where we last winter began the Mission of saint Ignace. . . .

[183] OF THE MISSION OF ST. FRANÇOIS XAVIER AND THE NATIONS DEPENDENT THEREON.*

This Mission embraces eight different Nations, or even more, if we include some unsettled tribes which sustain relations to it.

* Chap. v.

The first to receive our attention, and the best instructed in the faith, are the people living at the head of the Bay commonly called des Puans. . . .

Four Nations make their abode here,—to wit, the people named Puans [Stinkards], who have always lived here as in their own country, and who have been reduced to nothing from their very flourishing and populous state in the past, having been exterminated by the Ilinois, their enemies; the Pouteouatami, the Ousaki, and the nation of the Fork also live here, but as foreigners, driven by their fear of the Iroquois from their own territories, which lies between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Ilinois.

A fifth Nation, known as "the Wild-Oats people," [185] because this grain grows in their country, dwells on the banks of a river of considerable beauty, which empties into this same Bay, 15 or 20 leagues from its head.

Proceeding inland by another river at the very end of the Bay, we pursue our course, and, turning to the right, encounter the Nation of the Outagami,—a proud and arrogant people; while at no great distance is another, called the Nantoué. Then, ascending the same river toward the left, we find the Maskoutench and Oumami Nations, who are more civilized and gentle, as will be shown below.

All these Nations are included in the mission of saint François Xavier, and it will be seen in the following articles how the Faith was proclaimed to them all, and what were the operations of grace upon those poor Barbarians.

ARTICLE I. JOURNEY TO THE BAY CALLED DES PUANS AND THE MORE IMPORTANT OCCURRENCES THERE.

FATHER Claude Allouez,—who has charge of this Church, and laid its first foundations,—being obliged last year to make a tour as far as the Sault, set out with little delay, purposing not merely to make his way to the Bay des Puans, but also to push on as far as the Fire Nation. I accompanied him on this journey.

We reached the head of this Bay on the 6th of September, 1670, after a voyage of more than a hundred leagues, which we made by Canoe, without mishap. We found matters there in a rather bad state, and the Savages highly incensed [187] against the French who were trading with them; they were maltreating the latter in deed and word, pillaging and robbing them of their goods, in spite of their resistance, and subjecting them to unbearable insolence and indignity.

The cause of the disturbance was this: the natives had received some ill treatment from the French, whom they had this year visited for purposes of trade, and especially from the Soldiers, at whose hands they claimed to have suffered many wrongs and injuries. In order to avenge themselves,—these peoples being more unruly than any others,—they had chosen two-score of their young men, appointed a Captain over them, and thus formed a Company of Soldiers, for the purpose of treating our Frenchmen who were in those regions in the same way as the Soldiers at our French settlements had treated them.

Upon our arrival, we soothed the feelings and checked the insolence of these Barbarians; after which, we called together the four Nations of this Bay, in order to announce to them in full Council the motive of our coming, which was merely to teach them the way to Heaven, and also obedience to the master of our lives; and, at the same time, to administer the needed reprimands for the current disturbances, to which, as our hearers were elders and were more discreet than the young men, they were bound to apply a remedy unless they wished to incur Monsieur the Governor's indignation.

This Council was attended, on their part, with the same Formalities they had seen observed at our settlements. Those newly-made Soldiers took it upon themselves to honor us with the same ceremonies [189] that they had seen practiced by ours, but wholly in the manner of Savages,—that is, absurdedly, as they were unaccustomed to such things. For, when it was time to assemble, two of them came to call us, muskets shouldered and war-hatchets, instead of swords, at the belt; and throughout the sitting of the assembly they continued this species of sentry duty at the Cabin door, assuming as much dignity as they could, and pacing back and forth (which the Savages never do) with their muskets now on one shoulder and now on the other, striking the most astonishing attitudes, and making themselves the more ridiculous, the more they tried to comport themselves seriously. . . .

[191] ARTICLE II. JOURNEY OF THE SAME TWO FATHERS TO THE FIRE NATION, AND THE BEAUTY AND CURIOSITIES OF THAT COUNTRY.

If the country of this Nation somewhat resembles an earthly Paradise in beauty, the way leading to it may also be said to bear some likeness to the one depicted by our Lord as leading

to Heaven. For scarcely has one proceeded a day's journey up the river from the head of the Bay des Puans, when he finds three or four leagues of rapids to contend with; and they are more difficult than is usual in other rivers, since the pebbles on which the [193] men must walk barefoot, dragging the Canoes, are so sharp and cutting that they have the utmost difficulty in withstanding the swift current which flows there.

At the Fall of these rapids, we found a sort of Idol which the Savages of that region honor, never failing to offer it some Sacrifice in passing,—either of tobacco, or arrows, or painted objects, or other articles,—to thank it for aiding them to escape, on their way up, the dangers of the waterfalls occurring in the stream; or else, if they have to descend, to pray for its assistance on that perilous voyage. It is a rock shaped by nature in the form of a human bust, in which one seems able to distinguish, from a distance, the head, shoulders, breast and, more especially, the face, which passers-by are wont to paint with their finest colors. To remove this cause of idolatry, we had it carried away by main force and thrown to the bottom of the river, never to appear again.*

After accomplishing this journey, which is equally rough and dangerous, we enter, in compensation for all these difficulties overcome, the fairest land possible to behold,—in every direction, prairies only, as far as the eye can reach, cut by a river which gently winds through it, and on which it rests the traveler to paddle his canoe. The region of forests and mountains is passed when one arrives here, and nothing but little grove-planted hills present themselves at intervals, as if to offer their shade to the traveler, that he may there find grateful shelter from the Sun's heat.

Nothing but elms, oaks, and other similar trees are seen here, —and not those which, growing commonly [195] only on poor soil, are merely fit to furnish bark for covering Cabins or for making Canoes. Hence these people know not what it is to travel by water; and have no other houses, for the most part,

*"*Having learned that some Cabins of outagami had remained in Their village on Account of the sick, who could not Walk,—they were those whom I had baptized The previous spring,—I went to see Them. It was* [While on the Road to the Outagami,—] The 4th of november, when I left to go there by land,—about noon we found, at a little distance *from the Road*, [opposite a small rapid,] a great rock, roughly carved into the figure of a man, The face of which had been painted red. It was *opposite a small rapid*, two leagues on this side of a great rapid called the Kakalink. It is an Idol which passers-by invoke for The fortunate result of Their journey. We rolled it into The water."—Allouez's Journal, *Relation*, 1672-73:—*Id.*, lviii, *doc.* cxxx, p. 43.

than such as are made of rushes woven together in the form of mats. . . .*

All this prairie country, extending to our knowledge more than three hundred leagues in every direction,—to say nothing of its farther extent, of which we have no knowledge,—affords ample sustenance to the wild cows, not infrequently encountered in herds of four and five hundred each. These, by their abundance, furnish adequate provision for whole Villages, which therefore are not obliged to scatter by families during their hunting season, as is the case with the Savages elsewhere.

In these rich pasture lands are also found buffaloes, called *Pisikiou,* which greatly resemble our bulls in size and strength. They surpass our cattle, however,—first, in being more prolific, the female bearing three and four young at a time; secondly, in having larger horns, which are indeed very similar [197] to those of our cattle in form and color, but are of double their size, being nearly two feet long when the animal is fairly mature; and, thirdly, in having thick, heavy, dark-colored hair which somewhat resembles the wool of sheep, but is much coarser and thicker. Therefore it is made into robes and fur garments which afford greater protection from the cold than any other furs of this country. Its flesh is excellent; and the fat, when mixed with wild oats, makes the most delicate of native dishes.**

The same river of which we are speaking is broken up by several small lakes, on which are seen in great numbers certain rare birds of a very peculiar sort, called by the Savages *Cheté.* One would take them for Swans, from a distance, as they have the latter's white plumage and long necks, their feet, and bodies of the same size; but the point of difference and curiosity lies in the beak, which is fully a foot in length, and as thick as one's arm. They usually carry it resting upon the neck, which they bend back for the purpose, as if to offer it a most inviting bed. They maintain this posture to relieve themselves of its weight, except when they use it for fishing; for then it is wonderful to see how beneath this beak, nature has fastened a sort of net,—which opens and shuts, more or less, according to the supply of

* *"This method of building Cabins is The most convenient of all That I have yet seen. Straw is used to The height of a man and then mats above it. They afford greater protection against cold and smoke than do bark Cabins, and one need fear neither rain nor snow if The mats have the least slope."*—André, from the Bay des Puants, *Relation,* 1672-73:—*Id.,* lvii, *doc.* cxxx, p. 269.

** "There are Elks, Beavers, Porcupines, Hares, and some of the deer family,—such as the common red Deer, and a kind of cow that appears to have some affinity with ours."[1]—Le Jeune's *Relation,* 1636:—*Id.,* ix, *doc.* xxvi, p. 165.

fish therein enclosed. This net is made of skin, of extremely fine and elastic texture, which, when closed, is gathered up so well and so snugly all along the under side of the beak that nothing of it is seen,—in order that the fishes may not take fright at it; but, at the proper time, the [199] birds can enlarge it so quickly and open it so wide that it would easily hold a man's head. Swimming at the same time to meet the fish, or waiting for it below the rapids, while it comes down, they hold this net all stretched for it, and make it enter as into a fishing net, whereupon they promptly shut it, lest the fish escape. Thus God teaches man artificial fishing, by the lesson furnished by these natural fishers.[1]

One does not tire of paddling over these lakes and rivers when he meets with such diversion. Now he has to push on for more than twenty leagues through this fair country before reaching the Fire Nation; they are situated on a little hill, whence nothing but vast prairies are to be seen on all sides, with some groves scattered here and there, which nature seems to furnish solely for the gratification of the eye, or to meet the needs of man, who cannot dispense with wood.

Here, then, we arrived on the fifteenth of September, 1670, and were received by an assembly of all the people, that we might accomplish what will be set forth in the following article.

ARTICLE III. EVENTS ATTENDING THE PUBLICATION OF THE FAITH TO THE FIRE NATION AND TO ONE OF THE ILINOIS NATIONS.

THE Fire Nation is erroneously so called, its correct name being Maskoutenech which means "a treeless country," like that inhabited by these people; but as, by changing a few letters, this word is made to signify "fire" therefore the people have come to be called the Fire Nation.

It is united, within the same pali- [201] sade enclosure, to another people called the Oumami, who form one of the Nations of the Ilinois,—being dismembered, so to speak, from the rest, to make its home in these regions.

They form together more than three thousand souls, and are able to furnish each four hundred men for the common defense against the Iroquois, who pursue them even into these remote districts. . . .

[203] They had conceived so high an opinion of the things of the Faith, and of those who published it, that they invited us

to many feasts, not so much for the sake of eating as of obtaining, through us, either recovery from their ailments, or good success in their hunting and in war.

Of this sort was a feast to which we were called, where a very peculiar ceremony was observed. It seemed to be a feast for fighting, and not for eating; for in place of a table, a sort of trophy had been erected, on which had been hung all a warrior's arms,—bow, arrows, quiver, and war-hatchet,—together with provisions, namely, a little meal and some tobacco; with other articles commonly carried on their persons by the Warriors of this country, to give them renewed courage for fighting. The master of the feast did, however, produce a dish of indian corn cooked in pisikiou-fat; and in placing it before us, he addressed us as follows: "You have heard of the people called Nadouessi. They have eaten me to the bone, and have not left me a single member of my family alive. I must taste of their flesh, as they have tasted of that of my kinsfolk. I am ready to set out against them in war, but I despair of success therein unless you, who are masters of life and of death, are favorable [205] toward me in this undertaking. Therefore, to obtain victory by your means, I invite you to this banquet. . . ."

They invited us to other feasts also, for similar purposes,—either to gain our favor or to afford us some diversion; for occasionally some of the oldest men would appear, dressed as if for playing a comedy, and would dance to the music of some very tuneful airs, which they sang in excellent harmony. . . .

All this, and much else that oc- [207] curred, belongs to the two Nations of this Village in common; but something in particular must be said in commendation of the Ilinois.

ARTICLE IV. SOME PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE NATION OF THE ILINOIS, ESPECIALLY REGARDING THE GOOD DISPOSITION AND POLITENESS OF THOSE PEOPLES.

As the name Outaouacs has been given to all the Savages of these regions, although of different Nations, because the first to appear among the French were the Outaouacs, so it is with the name of the Ilinois, who are very numerous and dwell toward the South, since the first who visited point saint Esprit to trade were called Ilinois.

These People are situated in the midst of that beautiful region mentioned by us, near the great river named Missisipi, of which it is well to note here what information we have gathered. It

seems to form an inclosure, as it were, for all our lakes, rising in the regions of the North and flowing toward the south, until it empties into the sea—supposed by us to be either the vermilion or the Florida Sea, as there is no knowledge of any large rivers in that direction except those which empty into these two Seas. Some Savages have assured us that this is so noble a river that, at more than three hundred leagues' distance from its mouth it is larger than the one flowing before Quebec: for they declare that it is more than a league wide. They also state that all this vast stretch of country consists of nothing but treeless prairies,—so that its inhabitants are all obliged to burn peat and animal excrement dried in the Sun,—until we come within [209] twenty leagues of the sea, when Forests begin to appear again. Some warriors of this country who tell us they have made their way thither, declare that they saw there men resembling the French, who were splitting trees with long knives; and that some of them had their houses on the water,—for thus they expressed themselves in speaking of sawed boards and of Ships. They state further that all along the great river are various Tribes of different Nations, of dissimilar languages and customs, and all at war with one another. Some are seen situated on the coast, but many more in the interior; and so they continue until we reach the Nation of the Nadouessi, who are scattered over more than a hundred leagues of territory.

Now the Ilinois, of whom we are speaking, lie on the farther side of this great river; and from them those living here with the Fire Nation separated, for the purpose of forming here a sort of transplanted Colony,—to be soon followed, as we hope, by others whom the holy Ghost shall lead into these regions to receive instruction from us. For it is almost impossible for us to make the long journey to their country; and indeed many of them have already joined their country-men here,—offering a fine field for Gospel laborers, as it is impossible to find one better fitted for receiving Christian influences.

These people showed us such politeness, caresses, and evidences of affection as will scarcely be credited; and this is especially true of the chief of that Ilinois Nation, who is respected in his cabin as a Prince would be in his Palace. He was ever [211] surrounded there by the leading men of the Village, whom we might almost call courtiers, so becoming and deferential was their demeanor, and so respectful the silence which they never failed to observe as a mark of their esteem for his person and for us.

It was a Cabin of considerable size, in the middle of which he had put his most precious possessions, in order to receive us there, and had taken his seat opposite us; and he hardly ever went out during our entire stay, as if to honor us by his presence, and not to lose our company or conversation. Even in the streets and in the other Cabins, when we were invited out to eat, he commonly attended us, or sent some of his people to escort us. The duties of the kitchen, although speedily despatched, were not performed in his presence or in ours. He took remarkable pains to prevent our being disturbed by the throngs of people who were constantly feasting their eyes upon us. When it was time to hold our evening prayers, he always bestirred himself, and showed the most charming eagerness to make a bright, shining fire that would give us abundant light for reading; and he even imposed a profound silence upon all who were present.

To show us the greater honor, he took care to have his Cabin constantly full of the chief men of his Nation, who seemed to pay their Court very well for Barbarians. His countenance, moreover, is as gentle and winning as is possible to see; and, although he is regarded as a great warrior, he has a mildness of expression that delights all beholders. [213] The inner nature does not belie the external appearance, for he is of a tender and affectionate disposition. . . .

And what we say of the Chief may be said of all the rest of this Nation, in whom we have noted the same disposition, together with a docility which has no savor of the Barbarian. Besides their evident eagerness to receive our instructions, they enjoy a great advantage over other Savages, as far as the Faith is concerned, in that they have hardly any superstitions, and are not wont to offer Sacrifices to various spirits, as do the Outaouacs and others. The reason of this may be that, as they do not fish, but live on Indian corn, which is easily raised in those fertile lands that they occupy, and on game, which [215] is very plenty, and of which they are never in want, they have no fear of the perils of the Lakes,—where many other Savages perish while fishing, either in their Canoes, or by breaking through the ice. These last-named people believe that there are water spirits which devour them, and which plunder their nets, when the latter are carried off by storms; and hence they try to appease them or to win their favor by numerous Sacrifices.

These people are free from all that, and worship only the Sun. But, when they are instructed in the truths of our Religion,

they will speedily change this worship, and render it to the creator of the Sun, as some have already begun to do.

During our sojourn in this Village, twelve or fifteen men arrived there from the real country of the Ilinois,—partly to visit their relatives or their countrymen, and partly to do some trading. When they were about to take their departure and return home, they appeared before us ceremoniously, in a body; and, after saluting us, told us in the presence of a great crowd, which always surrounded us, that they came to commend their journey to us; and that they besought us to conduct them safely to their own country, there to rejoin their kinsfolk, and to preserve them from all mishap on the way.

They thus offered us a fine opening for imparting to them a knowledge of the great Master of our lives, whose servants and deputies only we are, and to whom we were very willing to appeal for a happy issue to their journey. They answered us with a compliment which had no savor of the Savage, assuring us that they valued so highly what they had learned from us that they were not content [217] to go and publish it throughout their country; but would make the message resound among other and much more remote peoples, by recounting to the latter the marvels they themselves had seen. And thus they took their leave of us, very proud of having spoken with some spirits, as they said, and of having received tidings from the other world.

Let us add one word more on these Ilinois, concerning their manners and customs. All Savages in general pride themselves especially on their fine head-gear; and, above all, on wearing their hair either long or short, as may be their National mode. These people seem to have united both fashions, having what the Outaouacs regard as handsome in their short and erect hair, and also what pleases others in their long locks; for, clipping the greater part of the head, as do the above-named people, they leave four great mustaches, one on each side of each ear, arranging them in such order as to avoid inconvenience from them.

They are not very rich in household utensils, their country hardly furnishing them material for making bark dishes, as the trees growing on those vast and beautiful prairies are not suitable for the purpose. But if they are thus at a disadvantage, so beautiful a country seems, in compensation, to contribute to the lovable disposition with which they are endowed, and of which they gave us the most convincing proof upon our departure. For the Chief of whom we have spoken,—who is, as it were, the King of the Nation,—together with the leading men and a part

of the Village, determined to accompany us, as a [219] mark of honor to our place of embarkation, a short league's distance from the Village. . . .

ARTICLE V. OF THE MISSION OF SAINT MARC AT THE VILLAGE OF THE OUTAGAMI.

THESE people are haughty because of their numbers, their Cabins being reckoned at more than two hundred, while in each there are five or six, and even as many as ten families. Several other Nations swell the size of this one,—or, rather, make a Babylon of it by the disorder which reigns there, as in its empire. The light of the Faith having yet made no impression upon them, they had formed a plan, as they are proud and arrogant, to take vengeance, by killing some Frenchmen, for the ill treatment they had themselves received during the past summer at our French settlements. Consequently our young Frenchmen who are here trading dared not set foot there; but all this did not frighten Father Allouez, who counted himself happy to expose his life to evident danger in order to bear the Gospel to those poor Barbarians, as he has done to all other peoples of those regions.

He set out therefore from the Bay des Puans, where he was making his residence, on the twentieth of February, sixteen hundred and seventy-one; and, after traveling in six days twenty-four leagues over snow and ice, in the severest part of the winter, —some of those whom he had joined being frost-bitten, [221] and well-nigh perishing with the cold,—he at length reached this Village.[1] He had no sooner entered it than he went from Cabin to Cabin, cheering some with the hope of Paradise, and frightening others with the fear of Hell.

From these haughty natures he was bound to expect nothing but jests, repulses and mockery, with which they at first received the word he bore them—especially in certain Cabins whose Chiefs had as many as eight wives, and into which he could not step without abhorrence, as into a Seraglio. Nevertheless, the Father's patience won the day; and he saw that these people were insensibly softening, and that what they heard at first with mockery, they soon after received with fear and respect. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxxvii, vol. liv, pp. 245-301; vol. lv, pp. 19-227.]

XL

[35] Relation of What Occurred Most Remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France in the years 1672 and 1673.

[The MS. of the *Relation* of 1672-73 was sent to Europe as usual, although it was not published until 1861. . . . Especial interest attaches to this *Relation*, as here published, for it was written by Jean de Lamberville, and corrected by the superior, Dablon. We are able to present, for the first time, both the original and all emendations thereon,—distinguishing them by using different styles of type, as indicated at the beginning of the document. . . .

A report from the mission of St. Ignace is made by Marquette, in a letter to the superior, Dablon. There the remnant of the Tobacco tribe of the Hurons have settled and are under Marquette's spiritual care. . . . In obedience to his superior's order, the Father is preparing to undertake a journey of exploration toward the South Sea. . . .—*Id.*, lvii, pp. 10, 16, 17.

Lamberville's text, as retained by Dablon, is here printed in roman; matter substituted or added by Dablon is also in roman, but enclosed in brackets; and matter stricken out by Dablon appears in italics.—*Id.*, lvii, p. 33.]

[249] OF THE MISSION OF ST. IGNACE AMONG THE TIONNONTATERONNONS.*

FATHER Marquette, who has charge of this mission, Writes the following, in the form of a Letter to Reverend Father Dablon, superior of the missions of the Society of Jesus in new france.

MY REVEREND FATHER:

The Hurons called Tionnontateronnons, or The tobacco nation, who compose The mission of saint Ignace at michilimakinang, Began last summer a fort near The Chapel, in Which all Their Cabins were enclosed. . . .

This year, the Tionnontateronnons were here to the number of three hundred and eighty souls, and they were joined by over sixty souls of the Outaoua- [251] sinagaux. . . .

[255] *Over two Hundred souls left last autumn for The Chase; those who remained here asked me what dances I pro-*

* Part III, The Ottawa Missions, chap. iv.

hibited. I replied in the first place that I would not permit those which God Forbids, such As indecent Ones; that, as regards The others, I would decide about them when I had seen Them. Every dance has its own name; but I did not find any harm in any of them, except that called "The bear dance." A woman who became impatient in her illness, in order to satisfy both her God and her Imagination, caused twenty women to be invited. They were Covered with bearskins and wore fine porcelain Collars; They growled like Bears; they ate and pretended to Hide Like bears. Meanwhile, The sick woman danced, and from time to time told them to throw oil on the fire, with Certain superstitious observances. The men who acted as Singers had great difficulty in carrying out The sick woman's design, not having yet heard similar airs, for That dance was not in vogue among The Tionnontateronnons. I availed myself of this fact to dissuade Them from the dance. I did not forbid others which are of no importance; for I considered that my winter's sojourn among them had been profitable,—inasmuch as, with God's grace, I had put a stop to The usual indecencies and exposure of* [257] *the naked person. This all The Chiefs have resolved no longer to permit, and I have urged Them to it in The large assemblies. But we must always distrust the devil's ambushes, and Their great inconstancy. I tried to induce some huron women not to be present at any of those dances, which generally lasted a good part of The day; but they told me that they had only that time in which to divert themselves, and that, Moreover, I did not forbid Them to Dance. Others did not go there at all, for fear of offending God. . . .*

[259] *As The savages have vivid imaginations, they are often cured of Their sickness When They are granted what they desire.*

* "The Father's [Le Moyne's Iroquois] hostess, being troubled by an inflammation of the cheek, saw herself apparently cured in a dream by men of another Nation, who were captives in Onnontague. They were summoned, and ordered to administer to the patient the best drugs used by the Medicine-men of their country. They made their preparations, and all the Village assembled in the cabin to witness a wonderful cure. First appeared some old women, who began to dance in time to the beating of a sort of Tambourine; and soon afterward there were seen to enter, with measured tread, three counterfeit Bears, hopping now on one foot, now on the other, and making as if they would pounce on the sick woman and devour her, although their purpose was merely to apply warm ashes to her swollen cheek. Finally, the men and women joined with these animals in executing a dance which was certainly capable of exciting laughter in those who did not pity these people's blindness, and the prompt obedience which they render to their demon. The result was that the woman was left very well pleased with the ceremonies, but as ill as before."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1661-62:—*Id.*, xlvii, *doc.* cviii, pp. 181, 183.

"The Christian algonquins were afterwards invited by the Christian hurons [of the Huron and Algonquin missions at St. Ignace, at Missilimakinac] to a

Their medicine-men, who know nothing about Their diseases, propose a number of Things to Them for which they might have a desire. Sometimes The sick person mentions It, and they fail not to give it to him. But many, during the winter, Fearing that it might be A sin, always replied with constancy that they desired nothing, and that they would do whatever The black gown told Them.

I did not fail during The autumn to go and visit them in Their Fields where I instructed Them and made Them pray to God, and told Them what they had to do. I also made frequent and regular visits to them,—especially those who, owing to their advanced age, could not come to The Chapel. A Blind woman, who had formerly been instructed by Reverend Father Brébeuf, had not during all those years forgotten her prayers; she daily prayed to God that she might not die without grace, and I admired her sentiments. . . .

[261] *God has aided in a special manner The Hurons who went to Hunt; for he Led Them to places where they killed a great number of bears, Stags, Beavers, and Wildcats. Several bands failed not to observe the directions that I had given Them respecting prayers. Dreams, to which they formerly had recourse, were looked upon as Illusions; and, if they happened to dream of bears, they did not Kill any on account of that; on the contrary, after they had had recourse to prayer, God gave them what they desired.* This, my Reverend Father, is all that I can write to Your Reverence respecting this mission, where men's minds are more gentle, more tractable, and better [263] disposed to receive The instructions that are given them than in any other Place. Meanwhile, I am preparing to Leave It in The hands of another missionary, to go by Your Reverence's order and Seek toward The south sea new nations that are unknown to us, to teach Them to know our great God, of whom they have hitherto been Ignorant.

feast, at which they exhorted each other to obey Jesus Christ, who was the true master of the world. *After this feast, at which, according to their Custom, the hurons did not eat, another and a special one was prepared for all the Christian and non-Christian hurons, spread by the officers in turn. This feast was preceded by a dance, as is their custom, whose sole object was that they might Rejoice together at the favor that they had received in the Visit which the newborn child had paid to their village. This dance is performed by the women only, as I said,—ranging themselves in two parallel lines at the two Sides of a Cabin, having in their hands a kind of Castanet. Those who are officers commence the Song and dance; they have some words to which they apply one of their airs, and these form the refrain of their Song which every one is to*

[265] OF THE MISSION OF ST. FRANCOIS XAVIER IN THE GREAT BAY DES PUANTS.*

THE following is what Fathers Louis Andre [1] and Claude Alloues, who labor there, *themselves* write of it; it has been divided into several articles, according to The various places wherein they have labored, or the various Matters about which they have written.

ARTICLE IST. OF THE CHOUSKOUABIKA MISSION.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

The fire that broke out in my Cabin on The twenty-second of december of The year 1672 has, by burning my Writing-case and journal, deprived me of The means of writing accurately of the most remarkable things that have occurred in connection with Christianity in The bay of saint Xavier, of which I was given charge by Reverend Father Nouvel some months ago. I took possession of it, as it were, on The 16th of november of last year,—on Which day I arrived at Chouskouabika, and stopped there to procure a supply of herrings for my subsistence during the winter. . . .

[269] I had not intended to baptize any adults, although many asked me for baptism. I promised it to them on one condition which I thought they could not fulfill; that was, to know the Pater, the Ave Maria, [271] and the Credo by Heart, in their own Language. I had been with them but a short time when I found myself compelled either to pass for a liar, or to grant baptism to a girl sixteen years of age. . [273] . . Many others knew their prayers very well, and urgently pressed me to baptize them, as well as Their sisters and relatives. They promised me that they would dream no more, pay no Heed to their

repeat to the same air. While the One who has Begun Goes on with her Song agreeably to the words which have served her for a refrain,—very often, however, varying the air,—she Runs and bustles about between these two ranks in a singular manner. In this there is nothing, as formerly, to violate decency, especially on occasions in which they claim to honor God. Meanwhile the others—repeating at certain intervals the words which form the refrain, and which explain the intention of the one who is dancing—sound their Castanets, and move sometimes one foot, sometimes the other, to Certain measures without leaving their places. When some word which pleases them occurs in the Song, they redouble the noise of their castanets, and their cries of Joy. Each does, in her turn, the same as the first; and it is required of each that she have a special refrain and song."—Enjalran, *Relation*, 1679:—*Id.*, lxi, *doc.* cxlv, pp. 119, 121.

* Part III, The Ottawa Missions, chap. v.

false divinities, and keep God's Commandments. But I did not trust them, Because They are taught from The age of four or Five years to blacken Their faces, to fast, and to dream of some false God, being led to believe that thus they will be successful in fishing, Hunting, and war. *The women are the Cause of this evil practice, even more than The men; For—in order to save themselves The trouble of preparing Food, or to economize their provisions, or to accustom Their children to eat only at night—they make Them fast like Dogs. They tell Them that they will dream of The Sturgeon, the bear, or the stag manitou, or of some other similar one, who will make them spear Sturgeons or kill bears; and, if they be not old enough to go out hunting or spearing, they still make them fast, by leading Them to believe that The hunters and spearers will be successful if they dream. These little children have the most ardent longing to kill some animal or spear a fish; hence, if a dreamer be successful for once, they place all their confidence in dreams. I had some difficulty in* [275] *persuading them to clean their faces. They told me that it was for God that they fasted; but their attachment to this custom of blackening their faces when they fast did not permit me to doubt of their bad faith.* I found no better way of compelling Them to clean their faces than to show them The painting of the Devil, to whom they made themselves similar; and to refuse them entrance into my cabin when they came to me to pray to God. The desire that they had to pray, in order to sing at the end of The prayer, was more powerful than reason. Marriage may serve a curb upon lewdness, but there is none for dreams. As they advance in years, they become more attached to them, and The old people are more subject to them than the young ones; and through this they gain credit by saying that The sun or The thunder, or some other false divinity has *said this or that* [spoken] to Them.*

I have not yet mentioned The greatest obstacle to the baptism of the young men. It seems to me that I have produced

* "Four different Tribes are situated near the head of the bay [des Puans], where they live partly on what they gather from the fields, and partly by fishing and hunting. Two others, a little farther away, make their usual abode on the rivers emptying into this same bay from the North; and all acknowledge several sorts of divinities, to whom they offer frequent sacrifices. These People have Gods, as had the Pagans of old,—having them in the Skies, in the air, on the earth, in the woods, in the water, and even in hell. And, as there have been Theologians who placed special intelligences not only in the heavenly bodies, but also on the earth, for the preservation of each species of all creatures, so those of our Savages who are regarded as intelligent among their fellows hold the belief that, besides the Sun and thunder,—which they

some Effect on The minds of several among them, by making them reflect upon the hunting and the fishing in which the french, and even They themselves, have been successful without having dreamed. But I do not know a single savage who does not place his confidence in dreams when he intends to go to war. There are even very few who do not believe that prayer is injurious to warriors, and who do not address themselves to the Demon whom they believe to be the master of life and of death. "The Nadouessi who pray not," they say, "killed us last summer, and prayer is the cause of it, for we had prayed. . . ." [277] To show them that they were wrong in blaming prayer, I attributed Their loss to Their idolatry, which was much more criminal than that of the Nadouessi, who had no knowledge of God. Kiouchin, an oussaki, while on his way to war, passed here with eighteen companions. I did not wish to make Him pray, because he had several wives, and possessed a Stone Idol, —which, however, had not the slightest resemblance to The hu-

recognise as the Gods of the Sky and of the air,—each species of animals, fishes, and birds, has a special genius who cares for it, watches over its safety, and protects it from the harm that might befall it.

"Therefore, just as the Egyptians offered rats and mice on their altars, so these people cherish special regard for these animals, as was illustrated in the case of a mouse that we had caught and thrown outdoors; for, a girl having snatched it up and being inclined to eat it, her father first took the mouse and bestowed a thousand caresses upon it. Upon our asking him why he treated it thus, 'Because,' said he, 'I wish to propitiate the genius that cares for mice, in order that so unusual a dish may not hurt my daughter.'

"There are certain animals to whose genii they pay far more respect than to others, because they are more useful to them. It passes belief what veneration they have for the Bear; for after killing one in hunting, they are wont to hold a solemn feast over it with very special ceremonies. Carefully saving the animal's head, they paint it with the finest colors they can find; and, during the feast, they place it in an elevated position, to receive the worship of all the guests and the praises that they bestow upon it, one after another, in their choicest songs.

"They follow a somewhat similar usage in regard to the other Divinities; but, to secure their favor, they practice devotions of various kinds, of which the following is the most customary and the most important. They pass four or five days without eating, in order that, having their heads weakened by this fast, they may see in their dreams some one of those Divinities, on whom, they think, depends all their welfare; and, as they believe that they cannot be successful in hunting the Stag or the Bear, unless they have first seen these in a dream, their whole anxiety is, before going to seek these animals, to see in their sleep the animal upon which they have designs.

"Accordingly, they prepare for their hunting excursions by long fasts,—which they sometimes protract even to ten days, as is most commonly done by those of the Outagami Nation. They do far more; for while the men are at the hunt, the little children are obliged to fast, that they may dream of the Bear, of which their relatives are in quest; and they imagine that the animal will be caught, if it be once seen in a dream, even by these children."—*Relation*, 1671-72:—*Id.*, lvi, *doc.* cxxviii, pp. 125, 127, 129.

man form. Still, it was his God; he offered it tobacco to smoke, dedicated his feasts in its honor; adorned It with porcelain, and embellished It with paint; he kissed and Caressed It and bore It along with pomp, assuming an air of intrepidity when he had It on his back. . . .

[287] I have had no trouble this year with the savages. None of them have been angry with me because I decried The false divinity of the sun, of thunder, of The bear, of *missipissi, of michabous, and of Their dreams* [and of other things]; nor because I spoke Against superstitious feasts and Against The Jugglers. *They had no objections to Cover themselves before me; and when they were in my Cabin they were very careful to Cover themselves,—and even The children, who, at The end, did not blacken their faces any more in order to dream or to fast. There were even some who fasted without blackening themselves, telling me that they fasted because they thought God would make Them spear fish. I had not yet obtained from those who fasted, as they said, to please God, that they should fast without blackening themselves; but this year some children fasted, as I told them I fasted, by eating only once a day.* Several sturgeon and bear feasts were also given, but in a fashion that led me to entertain good hopes for the adults.

Last year I could never induce them to renounce The bear and *missipissi* [Missipissi, who is, as it were, Their Neptune]; but this year Many have done So. There were some who said to the guests: "I am *putting on the Kettle* [preparing a feast] in honor of him who has made all, and not of *the other* [Missipissi]." Others said: "I believe in God alone, and [289] renounce all The other manitous; and for that reason I give you a feast." Some said: "I give God a whole sturgeon to eat." Others again: "I wish to go to war, and I give you a feast with no other object than that of making you eat." Their usual conduct would be blasphemous if we gave to Their words Their literal meaning. But taking into consideration what they wish to express, and the meaning that Their hearers attach to It in Their minds, we may excuse It. . . . I cannot say that it is my efforts that have made The savages docile during The three months that I passed at chouskouabika; God accomplished this, through The great numbers of sturgeon that were speared there. For when The savages saw that, without invoking missipissi, they caught more Sturgeon than in all The previous years, and that their neighbors who gave feasts in honor of *missipissi* [that God of the waters] caught less than Usual, they told me that they would

obey me; that they believed that missipissi was worth nothing; that he was a slave; that I was to take Courage, and instruct Their children and girls; that they prayed not, because they knew not The prayers. I showed Them that it was easy to pray by saying ejaculatory prayers; and that it was sufficient that they should listen to me, and kneel when I told Them to do So. . . .

[291] ARTICLE 2ND. OF THE OSSOUAMIGOUNG[1] MISSION.

[Father andré continues to speak in these terms:] A village of sixteen Cabins had been established a month before at oussouamigoung. I delayed going there, however, until the first day of Lent, [293] because I thought I should do better by completing the instruction of The little flock of Chouskouabika. As soon as I arrived at ousouamigoung, The elders caused a Cabin to be erected for me, and showed me that I would oblige Them by remaining some time with them. They hoped that I would speak to God for them, so that he might give Them Sturgeons; therefore they [earnestly] begged me to undertake that matter. The women *also* preferred The same request to me [with equally earnest Entreaties]. I told Them that it would be useless for me to pray to God for them, if they continued to give feasts to Missipissi; and that there was a great abundance of sturgeon at Chouskouabika, since the people there no longer gave feasts to *missipissi* [that false divinity]. They promised me everywhere that they would speak only to God, and would not invoke missipissi. I know not whether they kept their promises to me or not. *Feasts were frequently given without my having any reason to believe that They were in honor of any other manitou than of him who has made all. They even assured me that The war-feasts were in honor of God, and not, according to Their custom, of the Devil. It is quite true that The Devil had his share in them, for there was always Something superstitious connected with them. There was one who Sang all night long of The manitou, for a bear-feast that he gave, to make Known that he was going to war. He told me that he Impersonated God, and not The Devil. I told Him what was necessary on That point, and that I knew that he was worthless, and had no esteem for prayer. He is called "porceau," and he is a true hog in his conduct. I reproved The guests for having been present at a diabolical feast; they alleged as their sole excuse that he had stated to them that he was* [295] *giving*

a feast to the Manitou, and that they had not taken the trouble to ascertain to which manitou, but had merely eaten what was given Them. It is customary among the savages not to say to which manitou they give the feast, especially when they fear to Offend some one among the Guests, or The black gown, or The french. But The savages generally know which manitou is referred to by him who delivers the harangue before the food is served. I had reason to believe that a very solemn feast had been given in honor of the devil; but after obtaining accurate information, I was told that he who had given the feast had said: "Here are two Kettles full of sturgeon to give food to God, and here are four of corn not to give food to the Devil." In fine, all The Pouteouatami protested to me that they gave feasts only in honor of God, with the exception of a single person, who was not in that village. But The savages are too great liars to be Believed. . . .

[299] *I found occupation as soon as I reached The house. Some days before, many savages had Encamped on The opposite side of The river, a little below us, and had erected a village of eighteen Cabins. The cold weather of the month of march, which had been unusual for this country, did not prevent the children and girls from coming to me to pray to God. They occupied my attention from about ten o'clock until the evening. Those who went Hunting came to pray to God in The Chapel, on The day previous to Their departure. Hardly any blackened themselves, and those who knew that It displeased me did not come, or else they cleaned their faces in my presence. They were convinced of The folly of Their dreams when The snow was firm enough to bear The Dogs, but not The skenontons.*[1] *There was hardly a child who did not kill an animal; and because I impressed upon Their minds that it was God who had made The snow, and that they had not even The first idea that Their dream was The Cause of it, they were readily convinced that it was not necessary to dream of the Manitou in order to kill animals; and they promised me that they would no longer blacken their faces to fast and afterward dream of some manitou. In exchange, I promised Them baptism, for which they have some inclination; and I do not despair of baptizing some,* [301] *this year or The next. They offered me some children to baptize, but I only baptized one whose mother had prayed since last year; The others have never shown me that they could pass for Catechumens. On the twenty-fourth of march, all The Savages broke camp, and erected their Cabins almost at The entrance of The river, so as not to be Far from the*

bay of saint Xavier, where abundance of sturgeon had been caught with nets under The ice; and on The following Day, Reverend Father Allouez came here from the village of the Outagami, and enabled me to go into retreat and perform The spiritual exercises.

[21] ARTICLE 4TH. OF THE MISSION TO THE MASKOUTENCH, ILINOIS, AND OTHER TRIBES.

THAT which Father Claude allouez has accomplished among these tribes is truly apostolic. . . . But it is better to make use of the journal of the same Father, to convey detailed Knowledge of all these Matters. . . .

A few days after Father henri nouvel's[1] *departure,* I embarked for The mission of saint Jacques, among the Machkoutench,—*that was* on The 9th of August of The year 1672, [and] I arrived there on The 13th.

[23] I began by procuring a separate Lodging for myself, so that all The tribes might Freely come and listen to The words of life; For I counted there twenty Cabins of ilinoués, thirty large cabins of Kikabou, Fifty of Machkoutench, Over ninety of miamiak, [and] three ouaouiatanoukak. . . .[2]

[41] In The forests where we live among The savages, God grants us the consolation of seeing The standard of The holy Cross planted and honored in The four villages where we are, in all of Which that holy tree has brought forth fruits for Heaven; and of beholding The mission of saint françois at The bay des puants, where are The pouteouatami, The saki, The ouenibigouc, The Oumalouminik, The outaoussinagouc, and others. Each tribe has its special Dialect. Deeper in The woods, toward The west, is The mission of st marc to the outagami, where are The ouagoussak, Makoua, makoucoué, Mikissioua. Still farther to The westward, in The woods, are *The atchaterakangouen,* The Machkoutench, Marameg, Kikaboua, and Kitchigamich; The village of the miami, where The atchatchakangouen are, and whither come The Ilinoue, The Kakachkiouek, Peoualen, ouaouiatanouk, memilounioue, pepikoukia, kilitika, mengakonkia,—Some for a short time, Others for a longer time. These tribes dwell on The [43] Banks of the Missisipi, and all speak the same Language. . . .[3]

[*Id., doc.* cxxx, vol. lvii, pp. 33-305; vol. lviii, pp. 19-89.]

XLI

[129] Relation of What Occurred Most Remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France During the Years 1673 and 1674.

[Milet reports from Oneida forty-five baptisms, "much more than I had hoped for, in view of the efforts of the Dutch against us." . . . The missionary finds, in a lunar eclipse (January 21, 1674) an excellent opportunity to expose the falsity of the claims to supernatural powers made by the medicine-men. Various embassies are sent to Oneida by the other Iroquois tribes, to settle affairs of mutual concern. Milet describes the ceremonies and procedures connected with the appointment, reception, and speeches of these ambassadors.— . . . *Id.*, lviii, p. 15.]

[179] OF THE ONNEIOUT MISSION.*

LETTER FROM FATHER MILLET[1] TO REVEREND FATHER DABLON.

My Reverend Father,

Since the time when I wrote to Your Reverence last year, I have baptized forty-five persons,—among others, sixteen adults, and as many children, with the rites of the Church; while the others, children or adults, were baptized while ill.

This is much more than I had hoped for, in view of the efforts of the Dutch against us, since they have recaptured Manathe and Orange, and driven out thence the English. . . .

[181] 1. OF THE ECLIPSE OF THE MOON ON THE 21ST OF JANUARY, 1674.

For a long time previously, I had talked to our Onneiouts about this eclipse; and, at the very beginning of the new moon, I had challenged the elders and, in particular, some jugglers who claim to foretell events, to say in how many days it would occur. They all hung their heads, and were compelled to confess their ignorance. "But," I said, "are these persons, who say that they come from the sky, ignorant of what happens up there? Cannot these

* Part II, The Iroquois Mission, chap. ii.

professional diviners even predict a thing that is revealed in nature? Are these men—who know fabulous stories so well, who relate such extraordinary things about the sun and the moon, who take these objects for divinities, and offer them tobacco to obtain success in war and in hunting—not aware when one or the other is to be eclipsed?" The more I pressed them, the more they were abashed. "Is it [183] the moon that is just beginning that is to be eclipsed?" they asked me. "Yes," I replied, "it is this moon; the only question is to know when the eclipse will occur. Take courage, consult among yourselves, and let us see for a moment how accurate your art is in predicting future events." The poor people admitted to me that it was beyond their knowledge, and begged me to go and notify them at the time of the eclipse. After this avowal of their ignorance had been several times reiterated, I publicly announced on Sunday, after mass, that the eclipse would take place on the following night; and that, if they awoke, they must remember to look. Fortunately, the sky was very clear; and, as soon as I noticed that the eclipse was beginning, I went to the orator of the country, and to some others among the most notable men; they arose and, coming quickly out of their cabins, saw that the eclipse was already very perceptible. Immediately, they announced the event, within and without the fort. I warned them that it would not remain as it was; that it would increase a great deal more, and that barely one-twelfth of the moon would remain visible. They asked me whether it would not reappear again, for these simple people thought that it was almost lost. "It will reappear entirely," I said, "and then it will be at such a spot in the sky for it continues to advance; and, just as you now see it gradually growing smaller, so you will see it *grow larger* in the same proportion." Everything happened as I had announced, and they were compelled to admit that we knew things better than they. For my part, I derived great benefit from this, in instructing them [185] and undeceiving them about their myths and superstitions. Such perceptible things have a much greater effect on their rude minds than would all the reasoning that could be brought to bear upon them.

II. OF SEVERAL EMBASSIES FROM THE OTHER IROQUOIS TO ONNEIOUT.

In order to maintain peace among themselves, and make amends for faults committed by individuals, the Iroquois na-

tions have instituted certain embassies which they reciprocally send one another.[1] In these they exhibit their fine porcelain collars, with the utmost magnificence in their power; and their captains endeavor to display their eloquence,—both in relating their fables, their genealogies, and their stories; and in suitably exhorting the elders and warriors, according to the requirements of current affairs.

In each family [2] there are a certain number of men and women of note, who represent, as it were, the nobles of the country. They are called *Agoiandères,* and they provide the porcelain beads and the collars.* When it is intended to send an embassy to other nations, the families first meet, each in private, and collect all the porcelain beads that they can give; then each family displays to the others what its richest members have supplied. Then the oldest or the most eloquent person of the family delivers a harangue,—either standing erect, or, more frequently, walking about. At times, he speaks in lugubrious tones, drawling out his words; at others, in a sharp tone calculated to produce emotion; sometimes in a joyful voice, intermingled with songs, [187] which the other elders repeat in harmony. At the conclusion, he shows all these collars as so many deceased persons, formerly people of note, who come back to life to urge all present to preserve the country for which they, of old, gave up their lives and shed their blood. The whole concludes with a feast and the mutual interchange of presents. The elders of the other families thank him who has spoken; and, on the following day, they do the same as he has done, each in turn. After each

* "He [Jogues] made a special present of 3000 Porcelain beads to one of the great families of the Annierronnon [3] scattered through their three villages, in order to keep a fire always lighted when the French should come to visit them."—Lalemant's *Relation,* 1645-46:—*Id.,* xxix, *doc.* lx, p. 53.

"She [a woman of the Nation of Annié] came down hither [to Quebec] this Spring with two little children of hers,—leaving her own Country, where she was highly esteemed and in very comfortable circumstances. Her sole motive in this course was to secure greater freedom in her devotional exercises, from which she was diverted by her kinsfolk. The discovery of her purpose, which she kept secret, so incensed all her family that, out of spite, they degraded her from her noble rank, in an assembly of the Village notables; and deprived her of the name and title of *Oiander,*[4]—that is, a person of quality. This is a dignity which they highly esteem, which she had inherited from her Ancestors, and deserved by her own intelligence, prudence, and discreet conduct. At the same time, too, they installed another woman in her place. Women of this rank are much respected; they hold councils, and the Elders decide no important affair without their advice. It was one of these women of quality who, some time ago, took the lead in persuading the Iroquois of Onnontagué, and afterward the other nations, to make peace with the French,—coming in person down to Quebec on this errand, with some of her slaves."—Dablon's *Relation,* 1670-71:—*Id.,* liv, *doc.* cxxvii, pp. 281, 283.

family has thus displayed its collars and delivered its harangue, they all assemble on a specified day; and, hanging up their collars in order, each family on its own side, they tell one another who have given these collars. "Such a person," they say, "has given this one, made of so many thousand beads; another has given these two, these three; still another, these four collars." Finally, they put all these collars together, and hand them over to the elders, who remain the masters thereof. The council is then held, to consider how many shall be carried to each nation to which an embassy is to be sent, and what affairs shall be negotiated by the deputies. Some days before the departure of the ambassadors, they send a present of porcelain beads, to ask that a mat be prepared on which they may sit and lie, and to give notice of the date of their departure or arrival.

As soon as the news reaches a village, the old people assemble; the young men, for their part, go to hunt; and every one contributes the best that he has for regaling the ambassadors.

When they have arrived within a musket-shot from the palisade, a fire is lighted, as a sign of peace, at the spot where the elders of the village are going [189] to wait for them; and, after smoking for some time and receiving the savage compliments that they pay one another, they are led to the cabin set apart for them. They all march gravely and in file. One of the most notable men walks at the head, and pronounces a long string of words which have been handed down to them by tradition, and which are repeated by the others after him. The ambassador who is to be the spokesman comes last of all, singing in a rather agreeable tone; he continues his song until he has entered his cabin, around which he also walks five or six times, still singing; then he sits down, last of all. There the pledges of friendship are renewed, and presents are given to dispel fatigue; to wipe away tears; to remove scales from their eyes, so that they may more easily see one another; and, finally, to open their throats and give freer passage to their voices. These presents are followed by food served to the ambassadors, by way of refreshment. Then they are asked for news concerning their nation, and they reply by recitals that sometimes last nearly all night. On the following day they rest, and on the third they deliver their harangue, display the collars, and make known the object of the embassy. A reply is given to them on the following day, after a public dance around the collars. The whole concludes with a feast and with mutual thanks. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxxxiii, vol. lviii, pp. 127-289; vol. lix, pp. 23-53.]

XLII

[57] Memorandum for a Missionary who will go to the 7 islands which the Savages call Manisounagouch, or, Properly, Mansounok.

[1673]

[After his return to Quebec, Nicolas [1] prepares a "memorandum for a missionary who will go to the Seven Islands." He informs his successor how many Indians he will find there, and of what tribes. He must understand the Montagnais language in order to talk with these savages. Nicolas mentions the scanty natural products of that desolate region, and advises that the French should establish fisheries there, which would be exceedingly profitable to them, and would enable a missionary to labor with the savages during the summer. He adds a list of the Indians who had been baptized in that tribe.—*Id.*, lix, p. 12.]

HE will Find there [2] next spring, at various times, about 150 persons, both adults and children. He will probably see all these—and perhaps others, who will come from the Interior or from the shores of the sea. From above, he can have only the Papinachois; from below, the Oumamiwetch, who are a nation of eskimeaux, and even the esquimeaux may come. All these nations speak nearly the same tongue. The foundation of their language is Montagnais; it is Very different from that of the people who come to Tadoussak and chekoutimi and to Pigwagami. To understand them aright, it is necessary to have a Good knowledge of Montagnais.

Those whom I saw, to the number of 26, during the 3 days that I spent in their country, appeared to me very good and quite tractable. They wish to pray, and complain that, at the most, they only see the Fathers for 2 or 3 nights.

Those who are farther down than the 7 * Islands are less

* "Under the name of Sept Iles is comprised a region on the North shore, more than a hundred leagues distant from Quebec, as one descends the Saint Lawrence River. There may indeed be seen seven islands, which are composed only of rocks,—very sterile, and having but stunted shrubs for covering. The largest of the islands is less than two leagues in circumference; and that nearest to the land is only a good league distant therefrom. They are, however, quite noted, on account of the concourse of Savages, who, after hunting in the forests on the mainland, resort from time to time to a river quite

sociable, for they have Never associated with the french or europeans. They have, however, gentle natures. Notwithstanding this, they destroyed a european ship; and that in consequence of a quarrel after drinking, and the defeat of some of their people, whom the europeans had first attacked and killed.

The entire sea-coast is of frightful aspect. There is not even the space of a drying-ground of Soil; it is all rocks, covered with Very small trees of spruce [59] and Fir,—save the little Birch, not one beautiful tree. There is no end to game, all marine birds,—which, to speak Frankly, stink of oil.

There are Many small rivers, and some large ones where there are Beautiful harbors, into which the little ships enter with considerable difficulty when the winds are not favorable. All along the coast, seals are to be seen, upon which the Savages live during the entire summer. The french can make a Great deal of oil from the seals that the savages kill, and from the codfish that they themselves will catch in abundance in a large Bay on this side of the 7 islands, opposite the river St. eustache and a little beyond Kawi, which is the end of the bay in returning to quebek. In this Bay, There is great abundance of Whales, large and small. If the french could find the secret of catching these, they could very well furnish oil, and thus carry on a Fine trade with europe.

A missionary would Easily obtain Opportunity to instruct the savages of all these coasts, if the french conducted fisheries there, especially for Whales, or else for seals,—or, at least, for salmon, which abound here in various rivers, especially in that which the savages call Chimanibit, which is opposite the 7 islands. There is nothing for the french or for a missionary to do in the winter, because the savages go about in too small bands, and do not have Much hunting. Besides, the woods are very hard to pass through, on account of the density of the trees, although these are very small; all french clothes are torn in them. On this account, the savages will wear nothing but skins, because, the forests being very dense, the hunters, in less than a Day, tear all the stuffs that the french Sell them.

[61] All the 26 savages whom I saw were Baptized, with the exception of 3 little children, whom I Baptized.

near these islands, in order to trade with the French who are drawn thither by commerce.

"That region is properly the country of the tribes whom we call Oumamiois; their language takes its origin from that of the Tadoussac Savages, although it has many more words and a greater range of idioms."—*Relation*, 1673-74:—*Id.*, lix, *doc.* cxxxiii, p. 49.

Here are their names:

Louis estamou, a papinachi.
françoise apikousiou, a papinachi.
Their sons and daughters:
ignace nematchiabamat.
Joseph Outchaouna.
Anne Oumiscimau.
Anne Kwakoupana.
Marie nipekasou—"feigns to sleep."
Jeanne papamiskweou was Baptized by me on the 3rd of June, 1673; her godfather was monsieur lambert.

Antoine WabousAbou—"hare's Broth."
marie magdelaine Iachagasteou. I did not see her husband.
ignace atwiriniou.
catherine cheskaiou.

These do not recall their names:
Westchinisi casou—"pretends to be Young"—had two wives; he must be questioned whether etc.; the name of his nation is Wepariwiawi.

Kikwanou was Baptized ten years ago; is of the Outchisestigou nation.
His wife is named pepisagoutaou, of the Manikwagan tribe.
A daughter of his is named catherine egwasitabeou.
A son is named meschiseabamat.
Denys, his infant son, was Baptized by me June 3, 1673; the Savages call him Kamachistiewanet—"he who needs must have a stubborn Head"; his godfather was denys Ouron.

[63] François takwatchisenapeou—"the little big Man"—is the son of the wife of Kikwanou.
pierre pepakousinagoutieou—"he who always looks sick"—and Barnabé eitoucha are two sons of Kikwanou.

Pentske Mitchitiou—"the eagle."

His wife is named mischitia; she does not recall her name or her Baptism, but she is very old.
His son is named Louis chakaragou; I Baptized him two years ago, october 7, 1671.
Kwetinamou, an old woman, does not recall her Baptism, although she is Baptized, as has been affirmed to me by a Savage woman; I am told the same concerning mischitia —that she has been elsewhere Baptized by our fathers.
Bernardin, a little boy, was Baptized by me June 3, 1673; his godfather was de Beaulieu; the Savages call the boy moutecha.

Joseph Wautichiou—"has a cold hand"—Oupapinachiwi.

These do not recall their names:

nouseskwewe.
Wabisiwisitch.
Westchinisikasou.
Oukoutaskweou.
touskatisiwa.

Charles, Kachinawaougat—"he who resembles a foot."

[Crossed out in original: The number of all whom I saw is 26; they are all Baptized.]

Louis Nicolas.

[*Id., doc.* cxxxiv, vol. lix, pp. 56-63.]

XLIII

[87] Of the first Voyage made by Father Marquette toward new Mexico, and How the idea thereof was conceived.

[1674]

[One of the most valuable and important documents in our series is the journal of Father Marquette, describing the voyage in which he and Joliet discovered and explored the Mississippi River. It is prefaced with a brief note by Dablon, which mentions Marquette's early desire to carry the gospel to the Southern tribes, and his opportunity for doing so when Joliet is chosen by Frontenac and Talon to explore the then unknown water-routes beyond Lake Michigan. Dablon also praises the fitness of Joliet for this undertaking.

Marquette recounts the details of their voyage, which begins May 17, 1673, at the St. Ignace mission. They journey via Green Bay, visiting on the way the Menomonee Indians, who endeavor to dissuade them from their enterprise—saying that there are ferocious tribes on the great river, some of whom are at war together, who will kill any stranger; that horrible monsters and demons will endanger their lives, etc.

Passing through the bay, and ascending the Fox River, they arrive at the Mascouten village, June 7. . . . These savages conduct them to the Fox-Wisconsin portage, whence the travelers make their way alone. On June 17, they enter the Mississippi, "with a Joy that I cannot express." . . .

The voyagers proceed more than sixty leagues without seeing any human being, until June 25, when they discover a beaten path from the river inland. Marquette and Joliet follow this, and reach an Illinois village, the people of which receive them most hospitably, and with elaborate ceremonies, which are fully described. . . .

Somewhat farther down they encounter a band of savages, who at first appear to be hostile; they prove, however, to be "as frightened as we were," and soon become pacified. Again, at the mouth of the St. Francis River, they are in danger of losing their lives, being attacked by the Mitchigameas, who dwell there. In this emergency they are saved by displaying the calumet which the Illinois gave them. On the next day they proceed to the mouth of the Arkansas, where another tribe dwells. These savages are friendly, and warn them that they cannot go farther without great danger. . . .—*Id.*, lix, pp. 14, 15, 16.]

THE Father had long premeditated This Undertaking, influenced by a most ardent desire to extend the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and to make him Known and adored by all the peoples of that country. He saw himself, As it were, at the door of these new Nations when, as early as the year 1670, he was laboring in the Mission at the point of st. Esprit, at the

extremity of lake superior, among the outaouacs; he even saw occasionally various persons belonging to these new peoples, from whom he obtained all the Information that he could. This induced him to make several efforts to commence this undertaking, but ever in vain; and he even lost all hope of succeeding therein, when God brought about for him the following opportunity.

In The year 1673, Monsieur The Count De Frontenac, Our Governor, and Monsieur Talon then Our Intendant, Recognizing The Importance of this discovery,—either that they might seek a passage from here to the sea of China, by the river that discharges into the Vermillion, or California Sea; or because they desired to verify what has for some time been said concerning the 2 Kingdoms of Theguaio And Quiuira, which Border on Canada and in which numerous gold mines are reported to exist, —these Gentlemen, I say, appointed at the same time [89] for This undertaking sieur Jolyet, whom they considered very fit for so great an enterprise; and they were well pleased that Father Marquette should be of the party.[1]

They were not mistaken in the choice that they made of Sieur Jolyet, For he is a young man, born in this country, who possesses all the qualifications that could be desired for such an undertaking. He has experience and Knows the Languages spoken in the Country of the Outaouacs, where he has passed several years. He possesses Tact and prudence, which are the chief qualities necessary for the success of a voyage as dangerous as it is difficult. Finally, he has the Courage to dread nothing where everything is to be Feared. Consequently, he has fulfilled all The expectations entertained of him; and if, after having passed through a thousand dangers, he had not unfortunately been wrecked in the very harbor, his Canoe having upset below sault st. Louys, near Montreal,—where he lost both his men and his papers, and whence he escaped only by a sort of Miracle,— nothing would have been left to be desired in the success of his Voyage.[2]

SECTION 1ST. DEPARTURE OF FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE GREAT RIVER CALLED BY THE SAVAGES MISSISIPI, WHICH LEADS TO NEW MEXICO.

The feast of The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin—whom I have always Invoked since I have been in this country of the outaouacs, to obtain from God the grace of

being able to visit the Nations who dwell along the Missisipi River—was precisely the Day on which Monsieur Jollyet [91] arrived with orders from Monsieur the Count de frontenac, Our Governor, and Monsieur Talon, Our Intendant, to accomplish This discovery with me. I was all the more delighted at This good news, since I saw that my plans were about to be accomplished; and since I found myself in the blessed necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these peoples, and especially of the Ilinois, who had very urgently entreated me, when I was at the point of st. Esprit, to carry the word of God to Their country.

We were not long in preparing all our Equipment, although we were about to Begin a voyage, the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian Corn, with some smoked meat, constituted all our provisions: with these we Embarked—Monsieur Jollyet and myself, with 5 men—in 2 Bark Canoes, fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an Undertaking.

Accordingly, on The 17th day of may, 1673, we started from the Mission of st. Ignace at Michilimakinac, where I Then was. The Joy that we felt at being selected for This Expedition animated our Courage, and rendered the labor of paddling from morning to night agreeable to us. And because We were going to seek Unknown countries, We took every precaution in our power, so that, if our Undertaking were hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. To that end, we obtained all the Information that we could from the savages who had frequented those regions; and we even traced out from their reports a Map of the whole of that New country; on it we indicated the rivers which we were to navigate, the names of the peoples and of the places through [93] which we were to pass, the Course of the great River, and the direction we were to follow when we reached it.

Above all, I placed our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that, if she granted us the favor of discovering the great River, I would give it The Name of the Conception, and that I would also make the first Mission that I should establish among Those New peoples, bear the same name. This I have actually done, among the Ilinois.[1]

SECTION 2ND. THE FATHER VISITS, IN PASSING, THE TRIBES OF THE FOLLE AVOINE. WHAT THAT FOLLE AVOINE IS. HE ENTERS THE BAY DES PUANTS; SOME PARTICULARS ABOUT THAT BAY. HE ARRIVES AMONG THE FIRE NATION.

With all these precautions, we Joyfully Plied our paddles on a portion of Lake huron, on That of the Ilinois and on the bay des Puants.

The first Nation we came to was That of the folle avoine. I entered Their river, to go and visit these peoples to whom we have preached The Gospel for several years,—in consequence of which, there are several good christians among Them.

The wild oat, whose name they bear because it is found in their country, is a sort of grass, which grows naturally in the small Rivers with muddy bottoms, and in Swampy Places. It greatly resembles the wild oats that Grow amid our wheat. The ears grow upon hollow stems, jointed at Intervals; they emerge from the Water about the month of June, and continue growing until they rise About two feet above it. The grain is not larger than That [95] of our oats, but it is twice as long, and The meal therefrom is much more abundant. The Savages Gather and prepare it for food as Follows. In The month of September, which is the suitable time for The harvest, they go in Canoes through These fields of wild oats; they shake its Ears into the Canoe, on both sides, as they pass through. The grain falls out easily, if it be ripe, and they obtain their supply In a short time. But, in order to clean it from the straw, and to remove it from a husk in which it is Enclosed, they dry it in the smoke, upon a wooden grating, under which they maintain a slow fire for some Days. When The oats are thoroughly dry, they put them in a Skin made into a bag, thrust It into a hole dug in the ground for This purpose, and tread it with their feet—so long and so vigorously that The grain separates from the straw, and is very easily winnowed. After this, they pound it to reduce it to flour, —or even, without pounding it, they Boil it in water, and season it with fat. Cooked in This fashion The wild oats have almost as delicate a taste as rice has when no better seasoning is added.

I told these peoples of the folle avoine of My design to go and discover Those Remote nations, in order to Teach them the Mysteries of Our Holy Religion. They were Greatly surprised to hear it, and did their best to dissuade me. They represented to me that I would meet Nations who never show mercy to

Strangers, but Break Their heads without any cause; and that war was kindled Between Various peoples who dwelt upon our Route, which Exposed us to the further manifest danger of being killed by the bands of Warriors who are ever in the [97] Field. They also said that the great River was very dangerous, when one does not know the difficult Places: that it was full of horrible monsters, which devoured men and Canoes Together; that there was even a demon, who was heard from a great distance, who barred the way, and swallowed up all who ventured to approach him; Finally that the Heat was so excessive In those countries that it would Inevitably Cause Our death.

I thanked them for the good advice that they gave me, but told them that I could not follow it, because the salvation of souls was at stake, for which I would be delighted to give my life; that I scoffed at the alleged demon; that we would easily defend ourselves against those marine monsters; and, moreover, that We would be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us. After making them pray to God and giving them some Instruction, I separated from them. Embarking then in our Canoes, We arrived shortly afterward at the bottom of the Bay des puantz, where our Fathers labor successfully for the Conversion of these peoples, over two thousand of whom they have baptized while they have been there.

This bay bears a Name which has a meaning not so offensive in the language of the savages; For they call it *la baye sallée* ["salt bay"] rather than Bay des Puans,—although with Them this is almost the same, and this is also The name which they give to the Sea. This led us to make very careful researches to ascertain whether there were not some salt-Water springs in This quarter, As there are among the hiroquois, but we found none. We conclude, therefore, that This name has been given to [99] it on account of the quantity of mire and Mud which is seen there, whence noisome vapors Constantly arise, Causing the loudest and most Continual Thunder that I have ever heard.

The Bay is about thirty leagues in depth and eight in width at its Mouth; it narrows gradually to the bottom, where it is easy to observe a tide which has its regular ebb and flow, almost Like That of the Sea. This is not the place to inquire whether these are real tides; whether they are Due to the wind, or to some other cause; whether there are winds, The precursors of the Moon and attached to her suite, which consequently agitate the lake and give it an apparent ebb and flow whenever the Moon ascends above the horizon. What I can Positively state

is, that, when the water is very Calm, it is easy to observe it rising and falling according to the Course of the moon; although I do not deny that This movement may be Caused by very Remote Winds, which, pressing on the middle of the lake, cause the edges to Rise and fall in the manner which is visible to our eyes.

We left This bay to enter the river that discharges into it; it is very beautiful at its Mouth, and flows gently; it is full Of bustards, Ducks, Teal, and other birds, attracted thither by the wild oats, of which they are very fond. But, after ascending the river a short distance, it becomes difficult of passage, on account of both the Currents and the sharp Rocks, which Cut the Canoes and the feet of Those who are obliged to drag them, especially when the Waters are low. Nevertheless, we successfully passed Those rapids: and on approaching Machkoutens, the fire Nation, I had the Curiosity to drink the mineral [101] Waters of the River that is not Far from That village. I also took time to look for a medicinal plant which a savage, who knows its secret, showed to Father Allouez with many Ceremonies. Its root is employed to Counteract snake-bites, God having been pleased to give this antidote Against a poison which is very common in these countries. It is very pungent, and tastes like powder when crushed with the teeth; it must be masticated and placed upon the bite inflicted by the snake. The reptile has so great a horror of it that it even flees from a Person who has rubbed himself with it. The plant bears several stalks, a foot high, with rather long leaves; and a white flower, which greatly resembles The wallflower.[1] I put some in my Canoe, in order to examine it at leisure while we continued to advance toward Maskoutens, where we arrived on The 7th of June.

SECTION 3RD. DESCRIPTION OF THE VILLAGE OF MASKOUTENS; WHAT PASSED THERE BETWEEN THE FATHER AND THE SAVAGES. THE FRENCH BEGIN TO ENTER A NEW AND UNKNOWN COUNTRY, AND ARRIVE AT MISSISIPI.

HERE we are at Maskoutens. This Word may, in Algonkin, mean "the fire Nation,"—which, indeed, is the name given to this tribe. Here is the limit of the discoveries which the french have made, For they have not yet gone any farther.

This Village Consists of three Nations who have gathered there —Miamis, Maskoutens, and Kikabous. The former are the most civil, the most liberal, and the most shapely. They wear two

long locks over their ears, which give them a pleasing appearance. [103] They are regarded as warriors, and rarely undertake expeditions without being successful. They are very docile, and listen quietly to What is said to Them; and they appeared so eager to Hear Father Alloues when he Instructed them that they gave Him but little rest, even during the night. The Maskoutens and Kikabous are ruder, and seem peasants in Comparison with the others. As Bark for making Cabins is scarce in this country, They use Rushes; these serve Them for making walls and Roofs, but do not afford them much protection against the winds, and still less against the rains when they fall abundantly. The Advantage of Cabins of this kind is, that they make packages of Them, and easily transport them wherever they wish, while they are hunting.

When I visited them, I was greatly Consoled at seeing a handsome Cross erected in the middle of the village, and adorned with many white skins, red Belts, and bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the great Manitou (This is the name which they give to God). They did this to thank him for having had pity On Them during The winter, by giving Them an abundance of game When they Most dreaded famine.[1]

I took pleasure in observing the situation of this village. It is beautiful and very pleasing; For, from an Eminence upon which it is placed, one beholds on every side prairies, extending farther than the eye can see, interspersed with groves or with lofty trees. The soil is very fertile, and yields much indian corn. The savages gather quantities of plums and grapes, wherewith much wine could be made if desired.

[105] No sooner had we arrived than we, Monsieur Jollyet and I, assembled the elders together; and he told them that he was sent by Monsieur Our Governor to discover New countries, while I was sent by God to Illumine them with the light of the holy Gospel. He told them that, moreover, The sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known by all the Nations; and that in obeying his will I feared not the death to which I exposed myself in voyages so perilous. He informed them that we needed two guides to show us the way; and We gave them a present, by it asking them to grant us the guides. To this they very Civilly consented; and they also spoke to us by means of a present, consisting of a Mat to serve us as a bed during the whole of our voyage.

On the following day, the tenth of June, two Miamis who were given us as guides embarked with us, in the sight of a great crowd,

who could not sufficiently express their astonishment at the sight of seven frenchmen, alone and in two Canoes, daring to undertake so extraordinary and so hazardous an Expedition.

We knew that, at three leagues from Maskoutens, was a River which discharged into Missisipi. We knew also that the direction we were to follow in order to reach it was west-southwesterly. But the road is broken by so many swamps and small lakes that it is easy to lose one's way, especially as the River leading thither is so full of wild oats that it is difficult to find the Channel. For this reason we greatly needed our two guides, who safely Conducted us to a portage of 2,700 paces, and helped us to transport our Canoes to enter That river; after [107] which they returned home, leaving us alone in this Unknown country, in the hands of providence.[1]

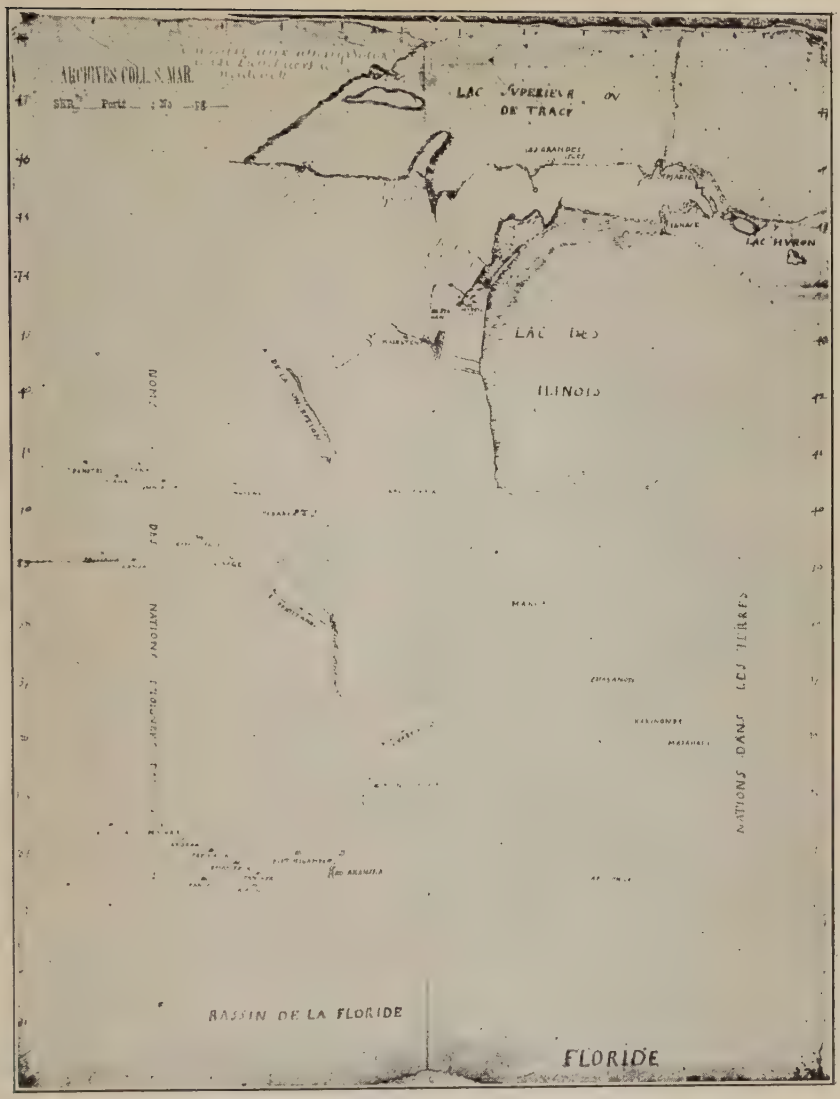
Thus we left the Waters flowing to Quebeq, 4 or 500 Leagues from here, to float on Those that would thenceforward Take us through strange lands. Before embarking thereon, we Began all together a new devotion to the blessed Virgin Immaculate, which we practiced daily, addressing to her special prayers to place under her protection both our persons and the success of our voyage; and, after mutually encouraging one another, we entered our Canoes.

The River on which we embarked is called Meskousing. It is very wide; it has a sandy bottom, which forms various shoals that render its navigation very difficult. It is full of Islands Covered with Vines. On the banks one sees fertile land, diversified with woods, prairies, and Hills. There are oak, Walnut, and basswood trees: and another kind, whose branches are armed with long thorns. We saw there neither feathered game nor fish, but many deer, and a large number of cattle. Our Route lay to the southwest, and, after navigating about 30 leagues, we saw a spot presenting all the appearances of an iron mine; and, in fact, one of our party who had formerly seen such mines, assures us that The One which We found is very good and very rich. It is Covered with three feet of good soil, and is quite near a chain of rocks, the base of which is covered by very fine trees. After proceeding 40 leagues on This same route, we arrived at the mouth of our River; and, at 42 and a half degrees Of latitude, We safely entered Missisipi on The 17th of June, with a Joy that I cannot Express.

SECTION 4TH. OF THE GREAT RIVER CALLED MISSISIPI; ITS MOST NOTABLE FEATURES; OF VARIOUS ANIMALS, AND ESPECIALLY THE PISIKIOUS OR WILD CATTLE, THEIR SHAPE AND NATURE; OF THE FIRST VILLAGES OF THE ILINOIS, WHERE THE FRENCH ARRIVED.

HERE we are then, on this so renowned River, all of whose peculiar features I have endeavored to note carefully. The Missisipi River takes its rise in various lakes in the country of the Northern nations. It is narrow at the place where Miskous empties; its Current, which flows southward, is slow and gentle. To the right is a large Chain of very high Mountains, and to the left are beautiful lands; in various Places, the stream is Divided by Islands. On sounding, we found ten brasses of Water. Its Width is very unequal; sometimes it is three-quarters of a league, and sometimes it narrows to three arpents. We gently followed its Course, which runs toward the south and southeast, as far as the 42nd degree of Latitude. Here we plainly saw that its aspect was completely changed. There are hardly any woods or mountains; The Islands are more beautiful, and are Covered with finer trees. We saw only deer and cattle, bustards, and Swans without wings, because they drop Their plumage in This country. From time to time, we came upon monstrous fish, one of which struck our Canoe with such violence that I Thought that it was a great tree, about to break the Canoe to pieces.[1] On another occasion, we saw on The water a monster with the head of a tiger, a sharp nose Like That of a wildcat, with whiskers and straight, Erect ears; The head was gray and The Neck quite black; but We saw no [111] more creatures of this sort. When we cast our nets into the river we caught Sturgeon, and a very extraordinary Kind of fish. It resembles the trout, with This difference, that its mouth is larger. Near its nose—which is smaller, as are also the eyes—is a large Bone shaped Like a woman's busk, three fingers wide and a Cubit Long, at the end of which is a disk as Wide As one's hand. This frequently causes it to fall backward when it leaps out of the water.[2] When we reached the parallel of 41 degrees 28 minutes, following The same direction, we found that Turkeys had taken the place of game; and the pisikious, or wild cattle, That of the other animals.

We call them "wild cattle," because they are very similar to our domestic cattle. They are not longer, but are nearly as large again, and more Corpulent. When Our people killed one, three persons had much difficulty in moving it. The head is very



MARQUETTE'S MAP, 1673-74

Reduced facsimile of original manuscript in archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LIX.*]

large; The forehead is flat, and a foot and a half Wide between the Horns, which are exactly like Those of our oxen, but black and much larger. Under the Neck They have a Sort of large dewlap, which hangs down; and on The back is a rather high hump. The whole of the head, The Neck, and a portion of the Shoulders, are Covered with a thick Mane Like That of horses; It forms a crest a foot long, which makes them hideous, and, falling over their eyes, Prevents them from seeing what is before Them. The remainder of the Body is covered with a heavy coat of curly hair, almost Like That of our sheep, but much stronger and Thicker. It falls off in Summer, and The skin becomes as soft As Velvet. At that season, the savages Use the hides for making fine [113] Robes, which they paint in various Colors. The flesh and the fat of the pisikious are Excellent, and constitute the best dish at feasts. Moreover they are very fierce; and not a year passes without their killing some savages. When attacked, they catch a man on their Horns, if they can, toss Him in the air, and then throw him on the ground, after which they trample him under foot and kill him. If a person fire at Them from a distance, with either a bow or a gun, he must, immediately after the Shot, throw himself down and hide in the grass; For if they perceive Him who has fired, they Run at him, and attack him. As their legs are thick and rather Short, they do not run very fast, As a rule, except when angry. They are scattered about the prairie in herds; I have seen one of 400.

We continued to advance, but, As we knew not whither we were going,—for we had proceeded over one Hundred leagues without discovering anything except animals and birds,—we kept well on our guard. On this account, we make only a small fire on land, toward evening, to cook our meals; and, after supper, we remove Ourselves as far from it as possible, and pass the night in our Canoes, which we anchor in the river at some distance from the shore. This does not prevent us from always posting one of the party as a sentinel, for fear of a surprise. Proceeding still in a southerly and south-southwesterly direction, we find ourselves at the parallel of 41 degrees, and as low as 40 degrees and some minutes,—partly southeast and partly southwest,—after having advanced over 60 leagues since We Entered the River, without discovering anything.

Finally, on the 25th of June, we perceived on the [115] water's edge some tracks of men and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie. We stopped to Examine it; and, thinking that it was a road which Led to some village of savages, We

resolved to go and reconnoiter it. We therefore left our two Canoes under the guard of our people, strictly charging Them not to allow themselves to be surprised, after which Monsieur Jollyet and I undertook this investigation—a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves, alone, to the mercy of a barbarous and Unknown people. We silently followed The narrow path, and after walking About 2 leagues, We discovered a village on the Bank of a river, and two others on a Hill distant about half a league from the first.[1] Then we Heartily commended ourselves to God, and, after imploring his aid, we went farther without being perceived, and approached so near that we could even hear the savages talking. We therefore Decided that it was time to reveal ourselves. This We did by Shouting with all Our energy, and stopped, without advancing any farther. On hearing the shout, the savages quickly issued from their Cabins, And having probably recognized us as frenchmen, especially when they saw a black gown,—or, at least, having no cause for distrust, as we were only two men, and had given them notice of our arrival,—they deputed four old men to come and speak to us. Two of these bore tobacco-pipes, finely ornamented and Adorned with various feathers. They walked slowly, and raised their pipes toward the sun, seemingly offering them to it to smoke,—without, however, saying a word. They spent a rather long time in covering the short distance between their village [117] and us. Finally, when they had drawn near, they stopped to Consider us attentively. I was reassured when I observed these Ceremonies, which with them are performed only among friends; and much more so when I saw them Clad in Cloth, for I judged thereby that they were our allies. I therefore spoke to them first, and asked them who they were. They replied that they were Ilinois; and, as a token of peace, they offered us their pipes to smoke. They afterward invited us to enter their Village, where all the people impatiently awaited us. These pipes for smoking tobacco are called in This country Calumets. This word has come so much Into use that, in order to be understood, I shall be obliged to use it, as I shall often have to mention these pipes.

SECTION 5TH. HOW THE ILINOIS RECEIVED THE FATHER IN THEIR VILLAGE.

At the Door of the Cabin in which we were to be received was an old man, who awaited us in a rather surprising attitude, which constitutes a part of the Ceremonial that they observe when they

receive Strangers. This man stood erect, and stark naked, with his hands extended and lifted toward the sun, As if he wished to protect himself from its rays, which nevertheless shone upon his face through his fingers. When we came near him, he paid us This Compliment: "How beautiful the sun is, O frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our Cabins in peace." Having said this, he made us enter his own, in which were a crowd of people; they devoured us with their eyes, but, nevertheless, observed profound silence. We could, however, hear these words, [119] which were addressed to us from time to time in a low voice: "How good it is, My brothers, that you should visit us."

After We had taken our places, the usual Civility of the country was paid to us, which consisted in offering us the Calumet. This must not be refused, unless one wishes to be considered an Enemy, or at least uncivil; it suffices that one make a pretense of smoking. While all the elders smoked after Us, in order to do us honor, we received an invitation on behalf of the great Captain of all the Ilinois to proceed to his Village where he wished to hold a Council with us. We went thither in a large Company, For all these people, who had never seen any frenchmen among Them, could not cease looking at us. They Lay on The grass along the road; they preceded us, and then retraced their steps to come and see us Again. All this was done noiselessly, and with marks of great respect for us.

When we reached the Village of the great Captain, We saw him at the entrance of his Cabin, between two old men,—all three erect and naked, and holding their Calumet turned toward the sun. He harangued us In a few words, congratulating us upon our arrival. He afterward offered us his Calumet, and made us smoke while we entered his Cabin, where we received all their usual kind Attentions.

Seeing all assembled and silent, I spoke to them by four presents that I gave them. By the first, I told them that we were journeying peacefully to visit the nations dwelling on the River as far as the Sea. By the second, I announced to them that God, who had Created them, had pity on Them, inasmuch as, after they had so long been ignorant of him, he [121] wished to make himself Known to all the peoples; that I was Sent by him for that purpose; and that it was for Them to acknowledge and obey him. By the third, I said that the great Captain of the French informed them that he it was who restored peace everywhere; and that he had subdued The Iroquois. Finally, by the

fourth, we begged them to give us all The Information that they had about the Sea, and about the Nations through Whom we must pass to reach it.

When I had finished my speech, the Captain arose, and, resting His hand upon the head of a little Slave whom he wished to give us, he spoke thus: "I thank thee, Black Gown, and thee, O frenchman"—addressing himself to Monsieur Jollyet—"for having taken so much trouble to come to visit us. Never has the earth been so beautiful, or the sun so Bright, as today; Never has our river been so Calm, or so clear of rocks, which your canoes have Removed in passing; never has our tobacco tasted so good, or our corn appeared so fine, as We now see Them. Here is my son, whom I give thee to Show thee my Heart. I beg thee to have pity on me, and on all my Nation. It is thou who Knowest the great Spirit who has made us all. It is thou who speakest to Him, and who hearest his word. Beg Him to give me life and health, and to come and dwell with us, in order to make us Know him." Having said this, he placed the little Slave near us, and gave us a second present, consisting of an altogether mysterious Calumet, upon which they place more value than upon a Slave. By this gift, he expressed to us the esteem that he had for Monsieur Our Governor, from the account which we had given him; and, by a [123] third, he begged us on behalf of all his Nation not to go farther, on account of the great dangers to which we Exposed ourselves.

I replied that I Feared not death, and that I regarded no happiness as greater than that of losing my life for the glory of Him who has made all. This is what these poor people cannot Understand.

The Council was followed by a great feast, Consisting of four dishes, which had to be partaken of in accordance with all their fashions. The first course was a great wooden platter full of sagamité,—that is to say, meal of indian corn boiled in water, and seasoned with fat. The Master of Ceremonies filled a Spoon with sagamité three or 4 times and put it to my mouth As if I were a little Child. He did The same to Monsieur Jollyet. As a second course, he caused a second platter to be brought, on which were three fish. He took some pieces of them, removed the bones therefrom, and, after blowing upon them to cool Them, he put them in our mouths As one would give food to a bird. For the third course, they brought a large dog, that had just been killed; but, when they learned that we did not eat this meat, they removed it from before us. Finally, the 4th course was a piece of

wild ox, The fattest morsels of which were placed in our mouths.

After this feast, we had to go to visit the whole village, which Consists of fully 300 Cabins. While we walked through the Streets, an orator Continually harangued to oblige all the people to come to see us without Annoying us. Everywhere we were presented with Belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of bears and cattle, dyed red, Yellow and gray. These are all the rarities they possess. [125] As they are of no great Value, we did not burden ourselves with Them.

We Slept in the Captain's Cabin, and on the following day we took Leave of him, promising to pass again by his village, within four moons. He Conducted us to our Canoes, with nearly 600 persons who witnessed our Embarkation, giving us every possible manifestation of the joy that Our visit had caused them. For my own part, I promised, on bidding them Adieu, that I would come the following year, and reside with Them to instruct them.* But, before quitting the Ilinois country, it is proper that I should relate what I observed of their Customs and usages.

SECTIONS 6TH. OF THE CHARACTER OF THE ILINOIS: OF THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS; AND OF THE ESTEEM THAT THEY HAVE FOR THE CALUMET, OR TOBACCO-PIPE, AND OF THE DANCE THEY PERFORM IN ITS HONOR.

When one speaks the word "Ilinois," it is as if one said in their language, "the men,"—As if the other Savages were looked upon by them merely as animals.[1] It must also be admitted that they have an air of humanity which we have not observed in the other nations that we have seen upon our route. The shortness Of my stay among Them did not allow me to secure all the Information that I would have desired; among all Their customs, the following is what I have observed.

They are divided into many villages, some of which are quite distant from that of which we speak, which is called peou-

* "Father Jacques marquette, having promised the Ilinois on his first voyage to them, in 1673, that he would return to them the following year, to teach them the mysteries of our religion, had much difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had Brought upon him a bloody flux, and had so weakened him that he was giving up the hope of undertaking a second. . . .

"On at last arriving at the village, he was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the Chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the first seeds of the gospel, and after having given Instruction in the Cabins, which were always

area. This causes some difference in their language, which, on the whole, [127] resembles allegonquin, so that we easily understood each other. They are of a gentle and tractable disposition; we Experienced this in the reception which they gave us. They have several wives, of whom they are Extremely jealous; they watch them very closely and Cut off Their noses or ears when they misbehave. I saw several women who bore the marks of their misconduct. Their Bodies are shapely; they are active and very skillful with bows and arrows. They also use guns, which they buy from our savage allies who Trade with our french. They use them especially to inspire, through their noise and smoke, terror in their Enemies; the latter do not use guns, and have never seen any, since they live too Far toward the West. They are warlike, and make themselves dreaded by the Distant tribes to the south and west, whither they go to procure Slaves; these they barter, selling them at a high price to other Nations, in exchange for other Wares.[1] Those very Distant Savages against whom they war have no Knowledge of Europeans; neither do they know anything of iron, or of Copper, and they have only stone Knives. When the Ilinois depart to go to war, the whole village must be notified by a loud Shout, which is uttered at the doors of their Cabins, the night and The Morning before their departure. The Captains are distinguished from the warriors by wearing red Scarfs. These are made, with considerable Skill, from the Hair of bears and wild cattle. They paint their faces with red ocher, great quantities of which are found at a distance of some days' journey from the village. They live by hunting, game being plentiful in that country, and on indian corn, of which they always have a good crop; conse- [129] quently, they have never suffered from famine. They also sow beans and melons, which are Excellent, especially those that have red seeds. Their Squashes are not of the best; they dry them in the sun, to

filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly, which he called together in the open Air, the Cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was Selected for this great Council; this was adorned, after the fashion of the country, by Covering it with mats and bearskins. Then the father, having directed them to stretch out upon Lines several pieces of chinese taffeta, attached to these four large Pictures of the blessed Virgin, which were visible on all Sides. The audience was Composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the father, and of all the Young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous,—the village being composed of 5 or 600 fires."—Dablon's *Account of the Second Voyage and the Death of Father Jacques Marquette:—Id.*, lix, *doc.* cxxxviii, pp. 185, 189.

eat them during The winter and the spring. Their Cabins are very large, and are Roofed and floored with mats made of Rushes. They make all Their utensils of wood, and Their Ladles out of the heads of cattle, whose Skulls they know so well how to prepare that they use these ladles with ease for eating their sagamité.

They are liberal in cases of illness, and Think that the effect of the medicines administered to them is in proportion to the presents given to the physician. Their garments consist only of skins; the women are always clad very modestly and very becomingly, while the men do not take the trouble to Cover themselves. I know not through what superstition some Ilinois, as well as some Nadouessi, while still young, assume the garb of women, and retain it throughout their lives. There is some mystery in this, For they never marry and glory in demeaning themselves to do everything that the women do. They go to war, however, but can use only clubs, and not bows and arrows, which are the weapons proper to men. They are present at all the juggleries, and at the solemn dances in honor of the Calumet; at these they sing, but must not dance. They are summoned to the Councils, and nothing can be decided without their advice. Finally, through their profession of leading an Extraordinary life, they pass for Manitous,—That is to say, for Spirits,—or persons of Consequence.[1]

There remains no more, except to speak of the Calumet. There is nothing more mysterious or more [131] respected among them. Less honor is paid to the Crowns and scepters of Kings than the Savages bestow upon this. It seems to be the God of peace and of war, the Arbiter of life and of death. It has but to be carried upon one's person and displayed, to enable one to walk safely through the midst of Enemies—who, in the hottest of the Fight, lay down Their arms when it is shown. For That reason, the Ilinois gave me one, to serve as a safeguard among all the Nations through whom I had to pass during my voyage. There is a Calumet for peace, and one for war, which are distinguished solely by the Color of the feathers with which they are adorned; Red is a sign of war. They also use it to put an end to Their disputes, to strengthen Their alliances, and to speak to Strangers.[2] It is fashioned from a red stone, polished like marble, and bored in such a manner that one end serves as a receptacle for the tobacco, while the other fits into the stem; this is a stick two feet long, as thick as an ordinary cane, and bored through the

middle. It is ornamented with the heads and necks of various birds, whose plumage is very beautiful. To these they also add large feathers,—red, green, and other colors,—wherewith the whole is adorned. They have a great regard for it, because they look upon it as the calumet of the Sun; and, in fact, they offer it to the latter to smoke when they wished to obtain a calm, or rain, or fine weather. They scruple to bathe themselves at the beginning of Summer, or to eat fresh fruit, until after they have performed the dance, which they do as follows:

The Calumet dance, which is very famous among these peoples, is performed solely for important reasons: sometimes to strengthen peace, or to unite [133] themselves for some great war; at other times, for public rejoicing. Sometimes they thus do honor to a Nation who are invited to be present; sometimes it is danced at the reception of some important personage, as if they wished to give him the diversion of a Ball or a Comedy. In Winter, the ceremony takes place in a Cabin; in Summer, in the open fields. When the spot is selected, it is completely surrounded by trees, so that all may sit in the shade afforded by their leaves, in order to be protected from the heat of the Sun. A large mat of rushes, painted in various colors, is spread in the middle of the place, and serves as a carpet upon which to place with honor the God of the person who gives the Dance; for each has his own god, which they call their Manitou. This is a serpent, a bird, or other similar thing, of which they have dreamed while sleeping, and in which they place all their confidence for the success of their war, their fishing, and their hunting. Near this Manitou, and at its right, is placed the Calumet in honor of which the feast is given; and all around it a sort of trophy is made, and the weapons used by the warriors of those Nations are spread, namely: clubs, war-hatchets, bows, quivers, and arrows.

Everything being thus arranged, and the hour of the Dance drawing near, those who have been appointed to sing take the most honorable place under the branches; these are the men and women who are gifted with the best voices, and who sing together in perfect harmony. Afterward, all come to take their seats in a circle under the branches; but each one, on arriving, must salute the Manitou. This he does by inhaling the smoke, and blowing it from his [135] mouth upon the Manitou, as if he were offering to it incense. Every one, at the outset, takes the Calumet in a respectful manner, and, supporting it with both hands, causes it to dance in cadence, keeping good time with the

THEVENOT'S MAP, 1681

Published by him as being that of Marquette

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LIX.*]

air of the songs. He makes it execute many differing figures; sometimes he shows it to the whole assembly, turning himself from one side to the other. After that, he who is to begin the Dance appears in the middle of the assembly, and at once continues this. Sometimes he offers it to the sun, as if he wished the latter to smoke it; sometimes he inclines it toward the earth; again, he makes it spread its wings, as if about to fly; at other times, he puts it near the mouths of those present, that they may smoke. The whole is done in cadence; and this is, as it were, the first Scene of the Ballet.

The second consists of a Combat carried on to the sound of a kind of drum, which succeeds the songs, or even unites with them, harmonizing very well together. The Dancer makes a sign to some warrior to come to take the arms which lie upon the mat, and invites him to fight to the sound of the drums. The latter approaches, takes up the bow and arrows, and the war-hatchet, and begins the duel with the other, whose sole defense is the Calumet. This spectacle is very pleasing, especially as all is done in cadence; for one attacks, the other defends himself; one strikes blows, the other parries them; one takes to flight, the other pursues; and then he who was fleeing faces about, and causes his adversary to flee. This is done so well—with slow and measured steps, and to the rhythmic sound of the voices and drums—that it might pass for a very fine [137] opening of a Ballet in France. The third Scene consists of a lofty Discourse, delivered by him who holds the Calumet; for, when the Combat is ended without bloodshed, he recounts the battles at which he has been present, the victories that he has won, the names of the Nations, the places, and the Captives whom he has made, And, to reward him, he who presides at the Dance makes him a present of a fine robe of Beaver-skins, or some other article. Then, having received it, he hands the Calumet to another, the latter to a third, and so on with all the others, until every one has done his duty; then the President presents the Calumet itself to the Nation that has been invited to the Ceremony, as a token of the everlasting peace that is to exist between the two peoples.

Here is one of the Songs that they are in the habit of singing. They give it a certain turn which cannot be sufficiently expressed by Note, but which nevertheless constitutes all its grace.

Ninahani, ninahani, ninahani, nani ongo.[1]

SECTION 7TH. DEPARTURE OF THE FATHER FROM THE ILINOIS; OF THE PAINTED MONSTERS WHICH HE SAW UPON THE GREAT RIVER MISSISIPI; OF THE RIVER PEKITANOUÏ. CONTINUATION OF THE VOYAGE.[1]

We take leave of our Ilinois at the end of June, about three o'clock in the afternoon. We embark in the sight of all the people, who admire our little Canoes, for they have never seen any like them.

We descend, following the current of the river called Pikitanoui, which discharges into the Mississipy, flowing from the Northwest. I shall have [139] something important to say about it, when I shall have related all that I observed along this river.[2]

While passing near the rather high rocks that line the river, I noticed a simple which seemed to me very Extraordinary. The root is like small turnips fastened together by little filaments, which taste like carrots. From this root springs a leaf as wide As one's hand, and half a finger thick, with spots. From the middle of this leaf spring other leaves, resembling the sconces used for candles in our halls; and each leaf bears Five or six yellow flowers shaped like little Bells.

We found quantities of mulberries, as large as Those of france; and a small fruit which we at first took for olives, but which tasted like oranges; and another fruit as large As a hen's egg. We cut it in halves, and two divisions appeared, in each of which 8 to 10 fruits were encased; these are shaped like almonds, and are very good when ripe. Nevertheless, The tree that bears them has a very bad odor, and its leaves resemble Those of the walnut-tree. In These prairies there is also a fruit similar to Hazelnuts, but more delicate; The leaves are very large, and grow from a stalk at the end of which is a head similar to That of a sunflower, in which all its Nuts are regularly arranged. These are very good, both Cooked and Raw.[3]

While Skirting some rocks, which by Their height and Length inspired awe, We saw upon one of them two painted monsters which at first made Us afraid, and upon Which the boldest savages dare not Long rest their eyes. They are as large As a calf; they have Horns on their heads Like those of a deer, a horrible look, red eyes, a beard Like a tiger's, a face [141] somewhat like a man's, a body Covered with scales, and so Long A tail that it winds all around the Body, passing above the head and going back between the legs, ending in a Fish's tail. Green,

red, and black are the three Colors composing the Picture. Moreover, these 2 monsters are so well painted that we cannot believe that any savage is their author; for good painters in france would find it difficult to paint so well,—and, besides, they are so high up on the rock that it is difficult to reach that place Conveniently to paint them. Here is approximately The shape of these monsters, As we have faithfully Copied It.[1]

While conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm Water, we heard the noise of a rapid, into which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches, and floating islands, was issuing from the mouth of The river pekistanouï, with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy, and could not become clear.

Pekitanouï is a river of Considerable size, coming from the Northwest, from a great Distance; and it discharges into the Missisipi. There are many Villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the vermillion or California sea.

Judging from The Direction of the course of the Missisipï, if it Continue the same way, we think that it discharges into the mexican gulf. It would be a great advantage to find the river Leading to the southern sea, toward California; and, As I have said, that is what I hope to do by means of the Pekitanouï, [143] according to the reports made to me by the savages. From them I have learned that, by ascending this river for 5 or 6 Days, one reaches a fine prairie, 20 or 30 Leagues Long. This must be crossed in a Northwesterly direction, and it terminates at another small river,—on which one may embark, for it is not very difficult to transport Canoes through so fine a country as that prairie. This 2nd River Flows toward The southwest for 10 or 15 Leagues, after which it enters a Lake, small and deep [the source of another deep river—*substituted by Dablon*], which flows toward the West, where it falls into The sea.[2] I have hardly any doubt that it is The vermillion sea, and I do not despair of discovering It some day, if God grant me the grace and The health to do so, in order that I may preach The Gospel to all The peoples of this new world who have so Long Groveled in the darkness of infidelity.

Let us resume our Route, after Escaping As best We could from the dangerous rapid caused by The obstruction which I have mentioned.

SECTION 8TH. OF THE NEW COUNTRIES DISCOVERED BY THE FATHER. VARIOUS PARTICULARS. MEETING WITH SOME SAVAGES. FIRST NEWS OF THE SEA AND OF EUROPEANS. GREAT DANGER AVOIDED BY MEANS OF THE CALUMET.

After proceeding about 20 Leagues straight to the south, and a little less to the southeast, we found ourselves at a river called ouaboukigou, The mouth of which is at the 36th degree of latitude. Before reaching it, we passed by a Place that is dreaded by the Savages, because they believe that a manitou is there,—that is to say, a demon,—that [145] devours travelers; and The savages, who wished to divert us from our undertaking, warned us against it. This is the demon: there is a small cove, surrounded by rocks 20 feet high, into which The whole Current of the river rushes; and, being pushed back against the waters following It, and checked by an Island near by, the Current is Compelled to pass through a narrow Channel. This is not done without a violent Struggle between all these waters, which force one another back, or without a great din, which inspires terror in the savages, who fear everything. But this did not prevent us from passing, and arriving at Waboukigou.[1] This river flows from the lands of the East, where dwell the people called Chaouanons in so great numbers that in one district there are as many as 23 villages, and 15 in another, quite near one another. They are not at all warlike, and are the nations whom the Iroquois go so far to seek, and war against without any reason; and, because these poor people cannot defend themselves, they allow themselves to be captured and taken Like flocks of sheep; and, innocent though they are, they nevertheless sometimes experience The barbarity of the Iroquois, who cruelly burn Them.[2]

A short distance above the river of which I have just spoken are cliffs, on which our frenchmen noticed an iron mine, which they consider very rich. There are several veins of ore, and a bed a foot thick, and one sees large masses of it united with Pebbles. A sticky earth is found there, of three different colors —purple, violet, and Red. The water in which the latter is washed assumes a bloody tinge. There is also very heavy, red sand. I placed some on a [147] paddle, which was dyed with its color—so deeply that The water could not wash it away during the 15 days while I used it for paddling.

Here we Began to see Canes, or large reeds, which grow on the bank of the river; their color is a very pleasing green; all the nodes are marked by a Crown of Long, narrow, and pointed

leaves. They are very high, and grow so thickly that The wild cattle have some difficulty in forcing their way through them.

Hitherto, we had not suffered any inconvenience from mosquitoes; but we were entering into their home, as it were. This is what the savages of this quarter do to protect themselves against them. They erect a scaffolding, the floor of which consists only of poles, so that it is open to the air in order that the smoke of the fire made underneath may pass through, and drive away those little creatures, which cannot endure it; the savages lie down upon the poles, over which bark is spread to keep off rain. These scaffoldings also serve them as protection against The excessive and Unbearable heat of this country; for they lie in the shade, on the floor below, and thus protect themselves against the sun's rays, enjoying the cool breeze that circulates freely through the scaffolding.

With the same object, we were compelled to erect a sort of cabin on The water, with our sails as a protection against the mosquitoes and the rays of the sun. While drifting down with The current, in this condition, we perceived on land some savages armed with guns, who awaited us. I at once offered them my plumed calumet, while our frenchmen prepared for defense, but delayed firing, that The savages might be the first to discharge their guns. I spoke [149] to them in huron, but they answered me by a word which seemed to me a declaration of war against us. However, they were as frightened as we were; and what we took for a signal for battle was an Invitation that they gave us to draw near, that they might give us food. We therefore landed, and entered their Cabins, where they offered us meat from wild cattle and bear's grease, with white plums, which are very good. They have guns, hatchets, hoes, Knives, beads, and flasks of double glass, in which they put Their powder. They wear Their hair long, and tattoo their bodies after the hiroquois fashion. The women wear head-dresses and garments like those of the huron women. They assured us that we were no more than ten days' journey from The sea; that they bought cloth and all other goods from the Europeans who lived to The east, that these Europeans had rosaries and pictures; that they played upon Instruments; that some of them looked Like me, and had been received by these savages kindly. Nevertheless, I saw none who seemed to have received any instruction in the faith; I gave Them as much as I could, with some medals.[1]

This news animated our courage, and made us paddle with Fresh ardor. We thus push forward, and no longer see so many

prairies, because both shores of The river are bordered with lofty trees. The cottonwood, elm, and basswood trees there are admirable for Their height and thickness. The great numbers of wild cattle, which we heard bellowing, lead us to believe that The prairies are near. We also saw Quail on the water's edge. We killed a little parroquet, one half of whose head was red, The other half and The Neck yellow, and The whole [151] body green. We had gone down to near the 33rd degree of latitude having proceeded nearly all the time in a southerly direction, when we perceived a village on The water's edge called Mitchigamea.[1] We had recourse to our Patroness and guide, the Blessed VIRGIN IMMACULATE; and we greatly needed her assistance, For we heard from afar The savages who were inciting one another to the Fray by their Continual yells. They were armed with bows, arrows, hatchets, clubs, and shields. They prepared to attack us, both on land and water; part of them embarked in great wooden canoes—some to ascend, others to descend the river, in order to Intercept us and surround us on all sides. Those who were on land came and went, as if to commence The attack. In fact, some Young men threw themselves into The water, to come and seize my Canoe; but the current compelled Them to return to land. One of them then hurled his club, which passed over without striking us. In vain I showed The calumet, and made them signs that we were not coming to war against them. The alarm continued, and they were already preparing to pierce us with arrows from all sides, when God suddenly touched the hearts of the old men, who were standing at the water's edge. This no doubt happened through the sight of our Calumet, which they had not clearly distinguished from afar; but as I did not cease displaying it, they were influenced by it, and checked the ardor of their Young men. Two of these elders even,—after casting into our canoe, as if at our feet, Their bows and quivers, to reassure us,—entered the canoe, and made us approach the shore, whereon we landed, not without fear on our part. At first, we had to [153] speak by signs, because none of them understood the six languages which I spoke. At last, we found an old man who could speak a little Ilinois.

We informed them, by our presents, that we were going to the sea. They understood very well what we wished to say to Them, but I know not whether they apprehended what I told them about God, and about matters pertaining to their salvation. This is a seed cast into the ground, which will bear fruit in its time. We obtained no other answer than that we would learn all that we

desired at another large village, called Akamsea, which was only 8 or 10 leagues lower down. They offered us sagamité and fish, and we passed The night among them, with some anxiety.

SECTION 9TH. RECEPTION GIVEN TO THE FRENCH IN THE LAST VILLAGE WHICH THEY SAW. THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THOSE SAVAGES. REASONS FOR NOT GOING FARTHER.

We embarked early on the following day, with our interpreter; a canoe containing ten savages went a short distance ahead of us. When we arrived within half a league of the Akamsea, we saw two canoes coming to meet us.[1] He who commanded stood upright, holding in his hand The calumet, with Which he made various signs, according to the custom of the country. He joined us, singing very agreeably, and gave us tobacco to smoke; after that, he offered us sagamité, and bread made of indian corn, of which we ate a little. He then preceded us, after making us a sign to follow Him slowly. A place had been prepared for us under The scaffolding of the chief of the warriors; it was [155] clean, and carpeted with fine rush mats. Upon These we were made to sit, having around us the elders, who were nearest to us; after them, The warriors; and finally, all The common people in a crowd. We fortunately found there a Young man who understood Ilinois much better than did The Interpreter whom we had brought from Mitchigamea. Through him, I spoke at first to the whole assembly by The usual presents. They admired what I said to Them about God and the mysteries of our holy faith. They manifested a great desire to retain me among them, that I might instruct Them.

We afterward asked them what they knew about the sea. They replied that we were only ten days' journey from it—we could have covered the distance in 5 days; that they were not acquainted with The Nations who dwelt There, because Their enemies prevented Them from Trading with those Europeans; that the hatchets, Knives, and beads that we saw were sold to Them partly by Nations from The east, and partly by an Ilinois village situated at four days' journey from their village westward. They also told us that the savages with guns whom we had met were Their Enemies, who barred Their way to the sea, and prevented Them from becoming acquainted with the Europeans, and from carrying on any trade with them; that, moreover, we exposed ourselves to great dangers by going farther, on

account of the continual forays of their enemies along the river, —because, as they had guns and were very warlike, we could not without manifest danger proceed down the river, which they constantly occupy.

During this conversation, food was continually [157] brought to us in large wooden platters, consisting sometimes of sagamité, sometimes of whole corn, sometimes of a piece of dog's flesh. The entire day was spent in feasting. These people are very obliging and liberal with what they have; but they are wretchedly provided with food, for they dare not go and hunt wild cattle, on account of Their Enemies. It is true that they have an abundance of indian corn, which they sow at all seasons. We saw at the same time some that was ripe, some other that had only sprouted, and some again in the Milk, so that they sow it three times a year. They cook it in great earthen jars, which are very well made.[1] They have also plates of baked earth which they use in various ways. The men go naked, and wear Their hair short; they pierce their noses, from which, as well as from Their ears, hang beads. The women are clad in wretched skins; they knot Their hair in two tresses which they throw behind their ears, and have no ornaments with which to adorn themselves. Their feasts are given without any ceremony. They offer the Guests large dishes, from which all eat at discretion and offer what is left to one another. Their language is exceedingly difficult, and I could succeed in pronouncing only a few words notwithstanding all my efforts. Their Cabins, which are made of bark, are Long and Wide; they sleep at the two ends, which are raised two feet above the ground. They keep Their corn in large baskets made of Canes, or in gourds as large as half-barrels. They know nothing of the Beaver. Their wealth consists in the skins of wild cattle. They never see snow in their country, and recognize The winter only through The [159] rains, which there fall more frequently than in summer. We ate no other fruit there than watermelons. If they knew how to till their soil, they would have fruits of all kinds.

In the evening, the elders held a secret council, in regard to the design entertained by some to break our heads and rob us; but the Chief put a stop to all these plots. After sending for us, he danced the calumet before us, in the manner I have already described, as a token of our entire safety; and, to relieve us of all fear, he made me a present of it.

Monsieur Jolliet and I held another Council, to deliberate upon what we should do—whether we should push on, or remain con-

tent with the discovery which we had made. After attentively considering that we were not far from the gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is at the latitude of 31 degrees 60 minutes, while we were at 33 degrees 40 minutes, we judged that we could not be more than 2 or 3 days' journey from it; and that, beyond a doubt, the Mississipi river discharges into the florida or Mexican gulf, and not to The east in Virginia, whose sea-coast is at 34 degrees latitude,—which we had passed, without, however, having yet reached the sea,—or to the west in California, because in that case our route would have been to The west, or the west-southwest, whereas we had always continued It toward the south. We further considered that we exposed ourselves to the risk of losing the results of this voyage, of which we could give no information if we proceeded to fling ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards who, without doubt, would at least have detained us as captives. Moreover, we saw very plainly that we were not in a condition to resist Savages allied to [161] The Europeans, who were numerous, and expert in firing guns, and who continually infested the lower part of the river. Finally, we had obtained all the information that could be desired in regard to this discovery. All these reasons induced us to decide upon Returning: this we announced to the savages, and, after a day's rest, made our preparations for it.

SECTION TENTH. RETURN OF THE FATHER AND OF THE FRENCH. BAPTISM OF A DYING CHILD.

After a month's Navigation, while descending Missisipi from the 42nd to the 34th degree, and beyond, and after preaching the Gospel as well as I could to the Nations that I met, we start on the 17th of July from the village of the akensea, to retrace our steps. We therefore reascend the Missisipi which gives us much trouble in breasting its Currents. It is true that we leave it, at about the 38th degree, to enter another river, which greatly shortens our road, and takes us with but little effort to the lake of the Ilinois.

We have seen nothing like this river that we enter, as regards its fertility of soil, its prairies and woods; its cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver. There are many small lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is wide, deep, and still, for 65 leagues. In the spring and during part of The summer there is only one portage of half a league.[1] We found on it a village of Ilinois called Kaskasia, consisting of

JOLIET'S MAP, 1674

From *Revue de Géographie,* for February, 1880

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LIX.*]

74 Cabins. They received us very well, and obliged me to promise that I would return to instruct them. One of the chiefs of this nation, with his young men, escorted us to the Lake of Ilinois, whence, at last, at The [163] end of September, we reached the bay des puantz, from which we had started at the beginning of June.

Had this voyage resulted in the salvation of even one soul, I would consider all my troubles well rewarded, and I have reason to presume that such is the case. For, when I was returning, we passed through the Ilinois of Peouarea,[1] and during three days I preached the faith in all their Cabins; after which, while we were embarking, a dying child was brought to me at The water's edge, and I baptized it shortly before it died, through an admirable act of providence for the salvation of that Innocent soul.

[*Id., doc.* cxxxvi, vol. lix, pp. 86-163.]

XLIV

[149] Narrative of a 3rd voyage to the Ilinois, made by Father Claude Allois.

[*ca.* 1677]

[A voyage to the Illinois mission, which was begun by the late Father Marquette, is made by his successor, the veteran Allouez. His report of this journey, prefaced by a short note by Dablon, is here given.

He sets out from De Pere near the end of October, 1676, with two men. . . . March 29, they embark on Lake Michigan, which they have reached via the Sturgeon Bay portage. After voyaging seventy-six leagues along the lake-shore, they reach Chicago River, where they are cordially welcomed by the Indians who dwell there. Finally, on April 27, they reach the great Illinois village of Kaskaskia. This place has now people from eight different tribes, and contains 351 cabins. Allouez briefly mentions the customs of these people, and the natural products of the country. . . .—*Id.*, lx, pp. 16, 17.]

A SUCCESSOR to the late father marquette * was needed who should be no less Zealous than he. To fill his place, father Claude alloues was chosen, who had labored, the leader in all our missions to the outaouaks, with Untiring Courage. He was engaged, at the time, in that of st. françois xavier in the bay des puants, and was soon ready to set out.

Let us hear what he says of his voyage.

SECTION 1ST. FATHER ALOUÉS SETS OUT OVER THE ICE. A YOUNG MAN IS KILLED BY A BEAR; OF THE REVENGE THAT WAS TAKEN FOR THIS. VARIOUS CURIOSITIES ENCOUNTERED ON THE WAY.

DURING the time while I was making preparations for my departure, the weather not being as yet propitious, I paid some visits along the bay, where I baptized two sick adults, one of whom died the next day. . . .

* "The evening before his death, which was a friday, he told them, very Joyously, that it would take place on the morrow. He conversed with them during the whole Day as to what would need to be done for his burial; about the manner in which they should inter him; of the spot that should be chosen for his grave; how his feet, his hands, and his face should be arranged; how

[151] After these Trips, the weather being favorable for setting out,—it was toward the close of the month of october, 1676,—I embarked in a canoe with two men, to attempt to go to winter with the Ilinois. But I did not go far, for the winter had set in so early that year that, the ice overtaking us, we were compelled to go into camp, and wait until the ice was strong enough to bear us. It was not until the month of february that we began our voyage—a very unusual mode of navigation, for, instead of putting the Canoe into the water, we placed it upon the ice, over which the wind, which was in our favor, and a sail made it go as on water.* When the wind failed us, in place of paddles we

they should erect a Cross over his grave. He even went so Far as to counsel them, 3 hours before he expired, that as soon as he was dead they should take the little Hand-bell of his Chapel, and sound it while he was being put under ground. . . .

"God did not permit that a deposit so precious should remain in the midst of the forest, unhonored and forgotten. The savages named Kiskakons, who have been making public profession of Christianity for nearly ten years, and who were instructed by father Marquette when he lived at the point of st. Esprit, at the extremity of lake superior, carried on their last winter's hunting in the vicinity of the lake of the Ilinois. As they were returning in the spring, they were greatly pleased to pass near the grave of their good father, whom they tenderly loved; and God also put it into their hearts to remove his bones and bring them to our Church at the mission of st. Ignace at missilimakinac, where those savages make their abode.

"They repaired then to the spot, and resolved among themselves to act in regard to the father as they are Wont to do toward Those for whom they profess great respect. Accordingly, they opened the grave, and uncovered the Body; and, although the Flesh and Internal organs were all Dried up, they found it entire, so that not even the skin was in any way injured. This did not prevent them from proceeding to dissect it, as is their custom. They cleansed the bones and exposed them to the sun to dry; then, carefully laying them in a box of birch-bark, they set out to bring them to our mission of st. Ignace.

"There were nearly 30 Canoes which formed, in excellent order, that funeral procession. There were also a goodly number of iroquois, who United with our algonquin savages to lend more honor to the ceremonial. When they drew near our house, father nouvel, who is its superior, with father piercon, went out to meet them, accompanied by the frenchmen and savages who were there; and having halted the Procession, he put the usual questions to them, to make sure that It was really the father's body which they were bringing. Before conveying it to land, they Intoned the *de profundis* in the presence of the 30 Canoes, which were still on the water, and of the people who were on the shore. After that, the Body was carried to the church, care being taken to observe all that the ritual appoints in such ceremonies. It remained exposed under the pall, all that Day, which was whitsun-monday, the 8th of June; and on the morrow, after having rendered to it all the funeral rites, it was lowered into a small Vault in the middle of the church, where it rests as the guardian angel of our outaouas missions."—Dablon's *Account of the Second Voyage and the Death of Father Jacques Marquette:—Id.*, lix, *doc.* cxxxviii, pp. 193, 195, 201, 203, 205.

* "Some time ago, two Savages wished to cross the great River, toward the end of winter. As they had no boat either of wood or of bark, they made one from an ice-floe. Having found on the bank a piece large enough for their

used Ropes to draw it along, as horses draw carriages. Passing near the nation of the poueteouatamis, I learned that a Young man had recently been killed by bears. I had, in times past, baptized him at the point of st. Esprit, and his parents were of my Acquaintance, which constrained me to go a little out of my Way, that I might console them. They told me that bears, having taken on fat during autumn, retain all winter, and even increase, their bulk, although they eat nothing, as naturalists have remarked. They sleep in the Hollows of trees—especially the females, to bring forth in them their young—or else they Sleep on the branches of fir-trees, which they break off for the purpose of making a bed of them upon the snow. This they do not leave all winter, unless Hunters [153] discover them by means of their dogs, which they train to this sport. This Young man, having descried one of them on these pine-branches, discharged at it all the arrows in his Quiver; but the bear, feeling itself struck, although not by a deadly blow, rose up and sprang upon him, tore off his scalp, and disemboweled him, mangling and dismembering the entire Body. I found his mother in great distress. We said together the prayers for the departed; and although my presence had renewed her grief, she wiped away her tears and Consoled herself by saying to me: "It is paulin who is dead; it is the good paulin whom thou camest always to call to prayers."

Afterward, by way of avenging, they said, this death, the relatives and friends of the deceased went to make war on the bears while they were still in good condition,—that is to say, in winter; for in summer they are thin, and so famished that they eat even Toads and Snakes. The war was so successful that, in a short time they killed over 500, of which they gave us a share, telling us that God delivered the bears into their hands as satisfaction for the death of that Young man who had been so cruelly treated by one of their nation.

At 12 leagues from the village of the pouteaouatamis, we entered a very deep bay, from which we carried our Canoe through the woods as Far as the great lake of the Ilinois; this portage extends about a league and a half.[1]

The vigil of st. Joseph, patron of all Canada, finding us on this lake of the Ilinois, we gave it the name of that great saint; ac-

purpose, they pushed it into the water, and embarked on it; then they stretched a large blanket, the lower extremity of which they held down with their feet, while they held up the other with their javelins, so as to receive a favorable wind that wafted them over the great river under sail, on a bridge or boat made of ice. This is a game of hazard at which, if some win, others lose."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1647-48:—*Id.*, xxxiii, *doc.* lxvi, p. 37.

cordingly we shall call it, from this time, the lake of st. Joseph. . . .

[157] After voyaging 76 leagues over the lake of saint Joseph, we at length entered the river which leads to the Ilinois. I met there 80 savages of the country, by whom I was welcomed in a very hospitable manner. The Captain came about 30 steps to meet me, carrying in one hand a firebrand and in the other a Calumet adorned with feathers. Approaching me, he placed it in my mouth and himself lighted the tobacco, which obliged me to make pretense of smoking it. Then he made me come into his Cabin, and having given me the place of honor, he spoke to me as follows:

"My Father, have pity on me; suffer me to return with thee, to bear thee company and take thee into my village. The meeting I have had today with thee will prove fatal to me if I do not use it to my advantage. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer. If I lose the opportunity of listening to thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, [159] whom thou seest in so great number; without doubt, they will be defeated by our enemies. Let us embark, then, in Company, that I may profit by thy coming into our land." That said, he set out at the same time as ourselves, and shortly after we arrived at his abode.

SECTION 2ND. FATHER ALLOUES ARRIVES AT THE VILLAGE OF THE ILINOIS. DESCRIPTION OF THAT VILLAGE AND OF THE COUNTRY. THE FAITH IS PROCLAIMED TO ALL THE NATIONS.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the efforts that we made to hasten our journey, it was not until the 27th of april that I was able to arrive at Kachkachkia, the great village of the Ilinois. I entered, at once, the Cabin in which father marquette had lodged; and, the old men being assembled there with the entire population, I made known the reason for which I had come to them,—namely, to preach to them the true God, living and Immortal, and his only son Jesus Christ. They listened very attentively to my whole discourse and thanked me for the trouble that I was taking for their salvation.

I found this Village largely increased since a year ago. Formerly, it was Composed of but one nation, that of the Kachkachkia; at the present time, there are 8 tribes in it, the first having summoned the others, who inhabited the neighborhood of the river mississipi. One cannot well satisfy himself as to the num-

ber of people who Compose that village. They are housed in 351 cabins, which are easily counted, as most of them are situated upon the bank of the river.

The spot which they have Chosen for their abode [161] is situated in latitude 40 degrees 41 minutes. On one Side of it is a long stretch of prairie, and on the other a multitude of swamps, which *are* [render the atmosphere] unhealthy and often Covered with fog,—giving Rise to much sickness, and to loud and frequent Peals of thunder; they delight, however, in this location, as they can easily espy from it their enemies.

These savages are naturally high-spirited, valorous, and daring. They wage war with 7 or 8 different nations, but do not use guns, finding them too cumbersome and slow. They carry them nevertheless, when they march against nations who do not understand the use of them, to frighten them by the noise and put them to rout. Usually they carry only the club, the bow, and a Quiverful of arrows, which they shoot with such skill and rapidity as scarcely to give time to those who have guns to Take Aim. They carry also a large shield, made of the skins of the wild bison, arrow-proof, and covering the whole Body.[1]

They have several wives, and are extremely jealous of them, leaving them on the least suspicion. Usually these latter conduct themselves well, and dress modestly; not so the men, who feel no shame at their nudity.

They live on indian corn and other fruits of the earth, which they cultivate, like the other savages, on the prairies. They eat 14 kinds of roots, which they find in the prairies; they made me eat some and I found them good and very sweet. They Gather from trees and plants 42 different kinds of fruits, all of which are excellent; and catch 25 sorts of fish—among them, the eel. They Hunt the [163] roebuck, the bison, the Turkey, the Wildcat, a species of tiger, and other animals; they Reckon up 22 kinds of these, and 40 kinds of game and birds. I have been told that, lower down the river, there are saline springs, and that they make salt from them; I have not yet seen the experiment tried. I am also assured that, not far from their village, there is slatestone as fine as ours. I have seen in this country, as with the outaouacs, red Copper—which is found, as elsewhere, in little pieces, on the banks of the river. And, lastly, they assure me that there are rocks with pitch, similar to those which I saw on the shores of lake st. Joseph. The savages Cut them, and find silver-like veins; they pulverize these and make of them a very fine red paint. They also come across other veins, from which

the pitch oozes; this, when thrown into the fire, burns like ours.

This is all I was able to observe in this country, in the short time that I lived in it. What follows is what I did for the Christian faith. . . .

[167] [Postscript by Dablon: "In the year after, 1678, father aloués set out on his return to that mission, to remain there two consecutive years, that he might thus work more effectively for the Conversion of those peoples. We have since learned that the Iroquois have made an incursion thus far, but that they were defeated by the Ilinois. This will go far to foment war between these nations; and if God do not interpose, will do much injury to this mission."]

[*Id., doc.* cxlii, vol. lx, pp. 148-167.]

XLV

[171] Relation of What Occurred Most Remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France in the Years 1676 and 1677.

[The *Relation* of 1676-77 is written by Dablon, as a report to his provincial. He begins with an account of the Iroquois missions, regarding which there is much cause for anxiety. The upper Iroquois are threatening war against the French, and even the missionaries are in constant danger of their lives. . . .

The lower Iroquois tribes are less inclined to persecute the missionaries, from whose letters extracts are given, to show that they are still making some headway in their labors. . . .

Jean de Lamberville[1] writes (June 18, 1676) from Onondaga. He has baptized several Mohican captives who were burned to death there. The medicine-men greatly hinder his labors; some of their superstitious ceremonies are described. . . .—*Id.*, lx, pp. 17, 18.]

[173] Of the Iroquois Missions in the year 1676.

THE War that the Iroquois wish to wage upon us not only places the fathers who are in their country in very great danger of Being killed, but has also Caused great Delay to the progress of the Gospel. Since those Barbarians have at Last succeeded in Exterminating the Andastoguetz, who have held out against them for over 20 years, they have become so insolent that they talk only of breaking the missionaries' heads, by way of beginning hostilities. Drunkenness, which prevails among them to a horrible extent, adds a license brazen enough to Attempt anything.

The upper Iroquois—That is to say, those who are most remote from us, like the Sonnontouans and the Ouoguens—are the most arrogant and most insolent. They run after the missionaries with hatchets in their hands; they pursue them with stones; they Overturn their Chapels and their little Cabins; and in a thousand other ways subject them to most infamous treatment. . . .

[175] The Fathers who are Among the lower Iroquois—that is, at Agnié, Onneiout, and Onnontagué—are not all persecuted,

and even greatly promote God's Kingdom among those nations, as may be seen by The following Extracts from some of their Letters. . . .

[185] EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF FATHER JEAN DE LAMBERVILLE, WRITTEN FROM ONNONTAGUÉ IN THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY ON THE 18TH OF JUNE, 1676.

YOUR Reverence will Hear as much about war from this quarter as from Europe. The Minds of our Iroquois are always full of it, and there is no probability that they will cease to kill men (as they say) so long as they find them in the woods.

They are actually Bringing 50 captives from a distance of 200 leagues from here, to whom they have granted their lives because they destine them to work in their Fields. They acted differently with some prisoners whom they took from the Loups, with whom they have been at War for a short time. Such of the latter captives as they have Brought [187] hither have been cruelly burned, but the sufferers have likewise had the good fortune to Receive baptism, which I administered to them before their deaths. One of them, among others, made me Return to him when he was already half burned, to make him pray to God once more. I was greatly touched at seeing him make the sign of the Cross in the midst of the flames, and humbly profess amid that butchery that he died a christian. We always have to contend against the jugglers, who are bitterly opposed to us because we discredit them by showing that all the juggleries that they make use of to Cure the sick are nothing but foolish and senseless tricks. This was made manifest recently in their Attempt to Cure a girl who had become so crazy that she ran about the streets. In order to Succeed, they persuaded her parents that she had seen 9 feasts in dreams; and that, if they gave these, she would be cured. The parents agreed to this, and from all sides gathered great heaps of meat to fulfill properly those dreams.

Our noble disciples of Esculapius, whose Design was to fare Well and to eat their fill, made a large circle of Bark in which the crazy girl was put. They placed 7 or 8 persons around The Circle, who rattled small gourds filled with peas. The jugglers also entered the Circle, wherein they Burned tobacco—some in honor of the Stag, others in honor of the owl, others in honor of the bear,—all imitating the voice of the animal to which they offered their kind of sacrifice. Afterward, He Among them who was best versed in The art of jugglery made incisions in the pa-

tient's temples, whence he sucked blood; this he Spat out, sometimes with bears' teeth, [189] sometimes with human Hairs or Stag's bristles which he had Concealed in his mouth, bringing them out thus as if they had been spells that had been cast upon her. Hearty Thanks were tendered to these Worthy physicians, but the crazy girl became no wiser from their treatment. Accordingly it was but the prelude to the 9 feasts, of which they were to have the largest share.

The first 2 began with a ceremony quite usual among these people, in which all who had dreamed of some Article during the year came to Sing in the crazy girl's Cabin, and to have Their dreams divined in order that they might be fulfilled. That festival lasted 2 days, and all who wished to be relieved of the need that they had for corn, for meat, for mats, for Robes of bear or Tiger skins, and for other similar things, had only to say that they had dreamed of these, and they were at once given to them. A woman was impertinent enough to Sing that she had dreamed of my cassock, and that she would die if I did not give it to her. I had no difficulty in Replying to her nonsense, and to him who came to bring me word of it. I took the opportunity to disabuse them of that silly belief that the fulfillment of their dreams prolongs life.

The 3rd Feast was a Masquerade of people dressed like bears, who Danced in a very surprising Manner.*

The 4th was a sort of quarrel, in which they threw ashes at one another.

The 5th was a Dance, which was performed to a quite Agreeable air.

In the 6th, They Cast spells at one another and Then removed them, in this manner: The guests were covered with feathers from their heads to their feet, [191] and were all masked; and, while they were preparing for the Ceremony, 4 women on one side and 4 on The other Related by Singing, and by shaking their gourds in cadence, that all this action had Been inspired by the Spirit of the dream. Everything being ready, 8 masked men issued from the Cabin, followed by 8 others who all carried

* "'I was mistaken when I told you that the Iroquois wore no masks. They make some very hideous ones with pieces of wood, which they carve according to their fancy. When our people [of Quebec] burned the villages of the Tsonnontouans, a young man made every effort in his power to get one that an outaouac had found in a cabin, but the latter would not part with it. It was a foot and a half long, and wide in proportion; 2 pieces of a kettle, very neatly fitted to it, and pierced with a small hole in the centre, represented the eyes.'" 1—*Letter,* Bechefer to Villermont, Quebec, Oct. 22, 1687:—*Id.,* lxiii, *doc.* clviii, p. 289.

pouches filled with charms; and, when Each had taken his post, they drew up as if in battle array, and danced to the sound of the gourds; 8 on one side and 8 on the other were in line, and Represented a sort of Combat. They made their approaches always in cadence. They all Began, therefore, when these bands were 6 paces apart, to throw Feathered charms at one another. After that, they mingled together, and in the mêlée some were seen to fall half dead, others to Writhe and Roll on the ground; some became either frenzied, or blinded, or attacked by other kinds of diseases, through the violence of the spells cast at them —until the victorious party, by throwing counter-spells, cured the Bewitched ones by counterfeiting vomitings, and by Poultices that they applied to them. Some however remained incurable, and had to be carried to their Houses.

The 7th was a Dance of a Warrior clad as an American from the south.

The 8th and 9th Were not decent, and this compelled me to oppose them by the usual means,—that is, to speak by presents, which I did. . . .

[197] Of the Mission of the Outaouacs in the year 1676.

THE missions of the Outaouacs have within a year Given to The Church 367 persons who have all been baptized with the usual Rites, with the Exception of some sick persons, to whom it was necessary to Administer that sacrament in the Cabins and in the midst of the woods. Of all that number not more than 60 are adults. The remainder are children, most of whom have gone to Heaven since baptism.

The affairs of Christianity have proceeded in these missions this year nearly as in the previous ones. Therefore I shall say Nothing further about them; I shall merely add Extracts from some Letters from the fathers in that quarter, for the Consolation of those who know them. . . .

[201] EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF FATHER LOUIS ANDRÉ, WRITTEN FROM THE BAY DE PUANTS ON THE 20TH OF APRIL, 1676.

THE Bay des Puants, where my mission is situated, comprises 6 tribes Scattered about the foot and along The two sides of the bay. They are more or less distant from one another—Some, 10 leagues; others, 15 or more. This compels me To Be always in the Field,—during The summer, in Canoes; during The winter, on the ice,—to go and instruct them, one after another. . . .

[203] This year, we have among the puants 7 or 8 families from a nation who are neutral Between our Savages and the nadoessi, who are at war. They are called aiaoua, or nadoessi mascouteins.[1] Their village, which lies 200 leagues from here Toward the west, is very large, but poor; for their greatest Wealth consists of ox-hides and of Red Calumets. [205] They speak the language of the puants. I preached Jesus Christ to them. They say that they have no knowledge of The western sea, although they live at a distance of 12 days' journey beyond the great River called Mississipi; but they assert that they have seen Savages who say that they have beheld a great lake very far away Toward the Setting sun. The Water whereof is very bad.

[263] Of the Mission of the good Shepherd at Riviere du loup.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF FATHER MORAIN WRITTEN ON THE 20TH OF JUNE, 1677.

THIS Mission is composed of two tribes—namely, the Gaspesiens and the Etchemins—one of whom has not been Instructed. Consequently, they are very averse to Christianity, and are Exceedingly addicted to drunkenness, to jugglery, and to polygamy. The other tribe—namely, that of the Gaspesiens—have in truth been instructed: but it is so long since they have had a Missionary that they have almost Forgotten The Instruction that they had received, and but few of them know how to pray to God. I shall say of Each tribe what especially concerns it.

The Etechemins are a tribe of about 4 or 500 souls, as far as I can judge, whose country consists of 3 rivers on the south Side as regards the river st. Lawrence—namely, pemptegwet, pessemouquote [Passamaquoddy], and the River st. John. As the latter is the largest of the three, and is one of the finest rivers of Canada after The river st. Lawrence, its banks are also more thickly populated than those of the others. Although they have but one language, it nevertheless has Some variation in proportion as they live Farther away from Here; and as those of pemptegwet are nearer the Abnakis, their language also resembles that of the latter more closely. They [265] are wanderers and nomads, more than any other people in this country, and have intercourse Equally with us and with the English of new England. Those of Pemptegwet are allied in war with the Abnakis against the English. . . .

[271] The Gaspesiens are also a tribe of About 4 or 500 souls, Scattered along the sea-coast from Gaspé to Cape breton. Their language differs from that of the Etechemins; and although they are neighbors, they do not love each other much, and have no close relations with each other. They are Here as in a foreign country; consequently the whole tribe does not gather here. There is only a band of nearly 200 Souls, as I have been told, who follow a Chief who has an affection for this spot. From

What I have seen, They seem to me much more humane and more gentle than the Etechemins, and they are not so inclined to vice. . . . And, although they still retain many Things connected with their superstitions and their Juggleries, I Think that they could easily be weaned from these if they could be made to remain stationary for some time. But they are untiring Hunters, who never stop, and who have not the patience to Remain 8 Days in one place without [273] returning to their Hunting. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxliii, vol. lx, pp. 169-309.]

XLVI

[245] Prayer to the Blessed Virgin, by the Nation of the Hurons in New France, set forth in French; sent to the Chapter of Chartres, with a Collar or Belt of Porcelain Beads, in 1678.

[This group of letters concerns the relations of the Huron church at Lorette with the cathedral of Chartres in France. The first is a prayer to the Virgin Mary, offered with a porcelain (wampum) belt at her shrine in Chartres, by the Lorette Christians (1678). The officials of the cathedral in turn send (1680) a gift to these Hurons—a reliquary containing several precious remains of departed saints; and the thanks of the Indian neophytes for this gift are translated (from Potier's Latin letter) into French "in the native diction of those savages," by Jean de Lamberville. . . .—*Id.*, lxi, pp. 15, 16.]

PRAYER OF THE HURONS OF LORETTE IN NEW FRANCE TO OUR LADY OF CHARTRES.

BLESSED Virgin, what joy we feel that, even before our birth, the town of Chartres built for you a church with this inscription: *To the Virgin who shall bring forth a son.* Oh, how happy are the Gentlemen of Chartres, and how great are their merits for being your first servants! Alas! incomparable mother of God, it is quite the opposite with us poor Hurons; we have the misfortune of having been the last to know and honor you. But can we not, at least, now repair our fault by making up, in some manner, for all the time in which we have not worshiped you? This is, Blessed Virgin, what we are today doing, in connecting ourselves with the Gentlemen of Chartres, that we may have with them only one mind, one heart, and one mouth, to praise you, to love you, to serve you. We entreat them, then, to present to you in our name, and for us all, the services which they have ever rendered you. Yes, it will be they (for we shall hope that they will not refuse us), it will be they, who, in so [247] far as it is possible, will discharge our obligations before you; while their fervor will make amends for our slackness, their knowledge for our ignorance, their riches for our poverty. Furthermore, Virgin mother of God, although you have already

brought forth your son, that will not prevent us from following the example of the Gentlemen of Chartres, in honoring you, even now, under the title of "the Virgin who shall bring forth a son," since it depends only upon you, in remaining always a virgin, to have us for your children. As we honor you here in a chapel like the house in which you have given to God a human life, we hope that you will in it give us spiritual life. Thus it will be that, being always a virgin, you will be also a mother—one who not only has given birth, or is giving birth, but who will always give birth until Jesus is perfectly formed in us all. It is this that we ask in presenting you this collar, as a sign that we are bound to you as your slaves.[1]

[249] Thanks of the Hurons to the Chapter of Chartres, in the Latin language, by the Reverend Father Potier of the Society of Jesus, and Director of that Nation; translated into the native diction of those Savages, by the Reverend Father Lamberville, Jesuit, and former Missionary to Canada, on the 11th of November, 1680.

THE new church of the poor Hurons humbly salutes in *Iessous* [Jesus] the Dean and Chapter of Chartres, of the very ancient and very venerable Church of Chartres. There has been shown to us a large and beautiful *talking bark*, whose voice our fathers who instruct us understand and have explained to us. It is your own voice, and this is what it says: "We promise to tell the great master of our lives that we hope that he will have pity upon all of you, as upon us; and that when we do right, you may be considered to have done right with us." But see how we, an insignificant people, think and wonder. Oh! how happy we are to learn that you, who commit no sin, who are the great friends of the Lord of earth and of heaven, who have all your needs satisfied in abundance, you who stand high in your families and in the councils where you distinguish yourselves by your great minds, consented to think of us who are *ontouagannha*,—that is to say, rude people whom [251] you call savages, who are poor and without sense.

Then we did not cease to wonder that you should so kindly think of us and ask the great master of our lives to introduce us into heaven. You were like those great and influential voices among you who approach, with greater success than ordinary people, him who raises his head higher than the others,—whom you call "king," and we *the high mountain*,[1]—whom you try by your influence to reconcile to his children, at whom he was angry. You wish that this great king of heaven be not angry at us, and that he love us, and, when we die, permit us to enter into the happy land of souls. You are like those great trees,

and we the weak plants which creep upon the ground, which cannot rise except by attaching themselves to the higher trees. We pray you, therefore, that, in uniting us to yourselves, you may raise us even to heaven. You are still speaking to us in this great *white bark;* and you place before us a present of a metal, white and precious, on account both of its weight and its likeness to the chemise of her who brought forth her child without knowing man.[1] There are, you say, in this chemise some bones of the good christians whose souls have gone to heaven after having lived well, by following the voice of the great master of our lives,—the voice which *Iessous* has come from heaven to repeat to us upon earth. When we saw these bones, we thought that you, from your own country, perceived that our cabins, collected in a village, were continually surrounded by nations come from the depths of the earth, to drag us thither and treat us there as slaves in horrible pits, where the fires are never extinguished. You had pity on us, in giving us, in these [253] precious bones, an excellent preservative against the poison which these enemies of our happiness use to corrupt, infect, and ruin us. That nation, come forth from the bowels of the earth, will not be able to endure the presence of these bones, which will serve as a palisade to our village against their attacks. The good spirits who animate these precious bones will come to our help, and enable us to live henceforth peaceably under their shield, and without being troubled by fear.

When the evil spirit, who has come from the clefts of the earth, shall try to corrupt our minds by making us think of leaving our village (which has become holy by the dwelling of these bones among us), and of running about like wandering beasts in the woods, then the remembrance that we are not to abandon our protectors by leaving them alone will hold us, as with a strong cord, in the place where we ought to be attached to the service of *Iessous* and of Mary,—in order that some day we may live in the fine cabins which form the large and beautiful village of *Iessous,* where the holy souls, whose bones we have, always make their abode. Furthermore, by the presence of these bones we can measure the value of your affection for the mother of him who has made heaven and earth, since you give tokens thereof even to this side of the great salt lake,—where it seems that you often say to us by your presents, worthy of you, "Honor Mary as we honor her."

At these two strong proofs of your kind disposition toward us, we say twice, very sincerely, "We thank you"; and we have

strengthened our minds (which, we think, will not lie, aided as they will be [255] by the master of heaven) to do nothing and think nothing which will depreciate the value we place upon being your friends. Yes, more than friends; for you love us as if we were your children, since all of you together were of this opinion, "We adopt and take for our children those to whom we have sent our presents." It is this which exhorts us not to dishonor this title. In doing wrong instead of doing right, we would dishonor it. We have nothing to say to you, and still less to give you, in acknowledgment of the pity that you have for us. This is what we have in mind—to pray the great master of our lives to have pity upon you also, by loving you more and more, on account of your good lives, exempt from doing or thinking evil; and when we learn that any one of you, having enjoyed the earth enough, shall have gone to the land of souls, we will offer for him the prayers that we are accustomed to offer, when we are assembled in the holy cabin, for those who have done us good while they lived upon earth. This is all that our remembrance of your deigning to stoop to us, in the manner which we have just described, is able to offer to your saintly persons, which *Iessous* loves exceedingly,—before whom we are so insignificant, in comparison with you, that he would scarcely deign to look upon us if you did not pray him not to despise us utterly.

Because we do not know how to make the *white bark* speak, or to go to find you, in order to make you understand and see how our voice speaks, we have borrowed the aid of our fathers who instruct us, to relate to you what the council of our assembled Huron nation desires that you should know.

[*Id., doc.* cxlvi, vol. lxi, pp. 243-263.]

XLVII

[249] Remarks Concerning the Tadoussak Mission of the Society of JESUS since 1671, by father François de Crepieul, Jesuit.

[François de Crepieul,[1] the veteran missionary to the Montagnais, writes (April 7, 1686) a series of "Remarks" upon that mission, embodying the results of his long service therein. . . .—*Id.*, lxiii, p. 21.]

From The Cabin of Louÿs Kestabistichit at pastagoutchichiou sipiou, April 7, 1686.

OF the Montagnais who retained two wives, nearly all died in the woods without the Sacraments; among these Ouskan, a chief from a foreign tribe, —dying also without Baptism, which he had asked from the Reverend Father Albanel and from me at Lake St. John, peokwagamÿ,—was killed by the chawanoquois. 2. Henri Kisakwan, who even after Baptism retained a widow, died shortly after. He was a man powerful in speech and in strength. 3. His Young Son Apistabech and his two younger wives died almost the same year in the forest. Three or 4 others all perished, after one or two Years, with their wives and their baptized children,— which fact the greater number remarked, and asked to be united in wedlock; they then remained more constant in the faith, and in lawful marriage. 1 2

I know none of Tadoussak who have two Wives; but All are married before the church, and are constant in The Faith and in their Marriage. 3

Most of those who neglected to confess their sins when they could have done so, have died in the Woods without that sacrament. 4

[Among these were] the chief of the Mÿstassins, [251] Kawistaskawat; The chief of Kwakouchiwets, Ka Mistasihanet; and The chief of the great Lake of the Mÿstas-

sins, Wesibaourat; he was deceived by the Devil, and perhaps carried off, so they say, near Lake peokwagamy Quinogaming, where he had killed his brother. They found nothing but his Jerkin.

Some drunkards, who would not heed the Advice and Rebukes of the Missionary, were deprived of the sacraments. A papinachois chief was killed, with his married Son Jacquechis, in a canoe; they were drowned near Malbaÿe. The Wife of tall charles hanged herself at Tadoussak, while intoxicated, etc. 5

Some Old women, and some other Women, took the discipline in The Woods, although they had not been completely intoxicated. 6

Some Young Women constantly resisted the Libertines and some Frenchmen, although they offered them brandy, etc. Some of these women at once informed The Missionary of it, and begged him to put a stop to those Importunate men. 7

Most of these Women died in a very Christian manner, and with True sentiments of piety,—especially Three papinachois, who had been married with the rites of the Church. 8

I have seen Men and Youths who were most addicted to gaming, and to their amusements, abandon these promptly, and gladly come to Mass, and to the exhortations or prayers. Some even left their meals, and sometimes their platter of sagamité, after eating a spoonful or two. 9

All are very careful also to send their children to prayers and to catechism; and sometimes they compel them to leave their meals, or they chastise them when they fail to attend. 10

[253] Although several Families reside in the same cabin, there is naught but union and charity therein. I have not yet Witnessed any assaults; and I have heard but few quarrels, and those very seldom when they were not in Liquor. They are charitable to one another, and greatly so to the Children. I have seen some take the morsel from their own lips, etc. They are also very charitable to the Sick. I have admired Some of them, and also some Women who, notwithstanding the stench, were even more charitable, especially since they have been Christians. 11

All, as a rule, are very patient in their wandering Life. They endure Hunger, thirst, cold, and fatigue more bravely than We. If a canoe upset, or a Train [1] overturn, they laugh; and I often admire them in the most difficult roads, where the French become angry and swear. 12

They have a horror of Theft, and have but little love for Worldly goods, but much more for health and for life. They are quite content when they have plenty of food and tobacco. The hunters are much more grieved than All the others, when tobacco fails. 13

Jealousy and Calumny are their chief vices,—and, in the case of Some, Drinking and intemperance, when the opportunity presents itself. 14

The Men, and even more the Women and Girls, are very modest; the latter cover themselves decently, whether sitting, or lying down. The young men are more inclined to be filthy in their language. 15

All lead a wandering, penitent, and Humiliating, but patient, peaceful, and innocent life in the Woods—where, during the summer,—in the month of August, and up to the middle of September,—[255] they often fast in spite of themselves, as they also do in the months of December and january, and when the snow is in poor condition. Some have died of Hunger. 16

The Seculars and those who say that, if a Savage did not know that he would become intoxicated, he would not drink, are wrong. This is not the general rule, as I have seen; and I think it untrue in the case of many. I have known Medart, an Esquimaux, to have some liquor still in his possession at Epiphany, when I first wintered there with pierre courpon and Martin Echineskawat. 17

I have known tall charles to keep it better than the French do, and even to Trade it to Others.

I have seen Medartchis, an Etechemin, refuse it,—as did also some Savage women, although they had already drunk some; and there are many who would not take more than a drink or two.

Tall charles at Tadoussak drank some Every Morning as long as his little Keg or case of Bottles lasted; he also took but one drink when he returned from hunting, or from a Journey, and he told every one that this suited him very well.

I have seen Louys Kestabistichit, my host, keep a pint

for more than ten days—and this on more than four or five occasions,—and not touch what I had put in a little bottle to test him, although he knew Where it was.

Many have carried Barrels of Wine and of Brandy to Lake St. John, more Faithfully than Some Frenchmen and than Some of the hired Men. *18*

Some have kept liquor and have Traded it to the Mÿstassins. Louÿs Kestabistichit has assured me that he obtained 24 or 26 beaver-skins for a small [257] keg brought from chegoutimÿ, and then bartered at Kouchaouraganich and Echitamagat,—without any disorder, and to the satisfaction of those Strangers. Gisles Outastak'wano, my Host, did as much at the same Place; and tall charles of Tadoussak at Lake st. john of peokwagamÿ. *19*

I have known a certain canadian who was worse and more importunate for Liquor than a Savage; and who very often helped himself and drank from that belonging to the fathers and to the French, while it was being Transported. *20*

The less one employs the coureurs de Bois, the better it is for the Mission and for The Trade. *21*

It is well thoroughly to test the hired Men before trusting them; and not to let them go often to the cabins, especially those where there are Young Women or marriageable Girls. *22*

It is advisable to prevent them, as much as possible, from having Liquor of their own, and from trading it. *23*

More is gained with All The Savages by Gentleness than by Severity, although this is sometimes necessary; and by patience than by anger, which makes them lose their esteem for the Missionary. *24*

The less one lends to the Savages, the better. *25*

It is well to do good to them, when The opportunity presents itself, and to assist them in their Necessity; they remember and speak of it very frequently. *26*

Nothing is ever lost by caressing the Children, and by occasionally praising the young men and the hunters; by respecting The old people; by honoring The Dead, and praying to God for them, etc. *27*

One must not be discouraged at the start, nor condemn the customs of some poor Savages; they can be won in Time, and with patience. *28*

[259] They are pleased by Visits paid to their cabins, *29*

and consider themselves despised or hated by the Missionary who does not Visit them.

They are likewise pleased to find gratitude, although they are sometimes but indifferently paid for the Journeys that they perform, and are nevertheless satisfied. They must be treated with more attention than the others. 30

When they give anything as a present, it is well not to refuse it, and to reward them for it. They nearly always give more than is given them in return. For instance, I have seen Some of them give ten moose-Tongues, etc., and be well content with a platter of peas, some Indian corn, 2 biscuits, a chunk of tobacco, and a drink of brandy. If Any among the honest Frenchmen are not properly grateful to them, they are held to be Avaricious, and people of but little note. 31

Whatever may be said on this point about the savages, I find them more grateful and more Liberal than many of the French. 32

Those, even among Ours, who say that there is nothing to be done in these Missions are mistaken, and do not speak The truth except as regards themselves, because they will hardly do or undertake anything—or, if possible, would not endure anything. There is certainly something to be done when one wishes, and when one has the slightest Zeal. The Trade in Liquor does not last so long, and it is very easy for the commandants to prevent disorder. There is never any, Wherever The Missionary happens to be. 33

As this kind of Trade cannot be prevented at Tadoussak and at chegoutimÿ, we must do what we [261] can, and endeavor to imitate The preachers of Quebek, and the holy Angels, with respect to sinners, and contemplate the Labors of our fathers among the iroquois, etc. 34

Journeys, and The cabins of the Savages, are Truly schools of Mortification, of patience, and of Resignation. 35

The Fear and The Love of God are very necessary to a Missionary who in The cabins is nearly always with married people; and who sometimes finds himself alone, either in The cabins or on journeys, with young Savage women while the Men are hunting. 36

His life is entirely one of penance and of Humiliation. 37

Prayer, Reading, and writing are very necessary to him 38

at certain Times and Places, and Action almost always at other Times.

He needs great tact in dealing with many of the French, and with The Savages; and much charity, in order to endure Both. *39*

With these two traits he must, so far as lies in his power, pacify Minds, and soothe Quarrels that may arise between The French and The Savages, without taking The part of one more than of The Other. *40*

If he imagine that The Savages are for Him, and that he is not in that quarter for them, he will not make much progress; and he will not long persevere in these arduous Missions—as has been the case with Some. *41*

Unless he has great courage, and resolution to suffer, and some affection for the Savages, he will have hardly any satisfaction. *42*

[263] The best thing for him is to devote himself solely to his Mission, and to leave The commandants, and The clerks appointed for The Trade, to act as they please and as they deem advisable. *43*

Public Rebuke, especially in the case of those Gentlemen, often does more harm than good. Rebuke in private is generally taken in good part, as well as The advice given to the Reverend Father Superior and to Messieurs the Directors. *44*

Civility and Deference, according to their rank, win The commandants and The clerks, when accompanied by a little submission to the Directors, to whom it is often sufficient to represent, and sometimes to cause to be represented by Friends, the needs of The Mission and of the House at the Lake. *45*

One must also avoid complaining of The food, and not speak of it at all before The French and the Savages—who fail not to repeat it afterward, according to their own Ideas, which frequently causes much of the esteem felt for The Missionary to be lost. *46*

One must also avoid being importunate in one's Requests; or showing, by word or by writing, that one is offended at being refused; but one should await the most favorable opportunity or Time. By this one obtains, Sooner or later, all that he claims, *quod saepissimé fui expertus.* *47*

On Journeys, a great deal of patience is needed, and a little condescension for the canoemen,—especially for The Savages, who are unwilling to risk themselves too much. When one is not in haste, the best way is to let them hunt and camp when they wish. 48

[265] When The dogs are on Land for the purpose of hunting, and they await or call them, one must not manifest any displeasure; nor when the children scream or weep. 49

A little Praise—either for being skillful in managing the canoe, in hunting, in carrying; or for taking good care of the canoe and of the packs—often does good, and encourages them greatly, as well as The young Women and Girls; this also pleases the parents, who always show how glad they are. 50

Although fishing, and hunting Hares and Martens, are proper when Necessary and by way of recreation, they nevertheless do great harm to the Missionary who becomes too fond of them. These things cause him to lose much Time, and disturb the exercises of The Mission and The order of The House; and most frequently they scandalize the French as well as The Savages, who discuss them according to their own ideas,—*ut ipse sæpius audivi de patre Antonio et animadverti.* 51

He must be careful not to reproach the Savages because they do not give him presents for the petty Charities that he has done them; and also not to ask for any, without great Necessity. 52

He must be careful not to Search The Sacks of the Engagés, unless he has some reason to suspect them of Theft; and he should not tell the Commandants what he has found, or the number of Martens, etc., that they have trapped, as this does great harm to All and to Himself. The petty trade that they carry on concerns The commandant or The clerks more than The Missionary. These people often have a limited permission, and one offends Both without any good results. 53

[267] If The commandant commit any Fault, it is better to admonish him privately than publicly. 54

Public Rebuke, unless well arranged beforehand and resorted to according to Necessity, embitters Minds against Us. Such indiscreet Zeal does more harm than 55

good. I have seen unpleasant results happen through it to one of Ours.

He must, so far as possible, be ever gay and Affable, and not be too familiar either with Any Frenchman or with Any Savages, whether men or women. *56*

Except in case of Necessity or of strong suspicion, he must be careful not to go at Night into The Cabins, especially where there are Young women and marriageable Girls. They often give a wrong interpretation to this. *57*

He must not be too long in saying prayers, or importune Them, Especially among Strangers. *58*

Let him not marry with the rites of the Church any Frenchman to a Savage woman, without The consent of the parents, and without Monseigneur's approval. *59*

If a Frenchman abuse any Savage woman, let the missionary reprove him privately; and, if the sin be scandalous, let him do so publicly. But, if The Frenchman continue, let the missionary, as soon as possible, inform Monsieur The Director and The Gentlemen, and The relatives; and let him deprive Both of the Sacraments, *ad Tempus*. *60*

[*Id., doc.* clvii, vol. lxiii, pp. 248-267.]

XLVIII

[67] Letter of Father Millet to Some Missionaries in Canada.

[Pierre Milet relates, in a letter to some of his Jesuit brethren, his capture by the Onondagas in 1689, and his experiences among the Oneidas during the succeeding two years. He is seized by the former while on their way to commit the terrible massacre at Lachine. They present him to the Oneidas, among whom are some influential Christian savages, who cause his adoption into a family where the chieftainship is hereditary; he thus becomes virtually a chief of the tribe. . . . He is allowed liberty to live as he chooses, but within the Oneida village.—*Id.*, lxiv, p. 13.]

ONNEIOUT, Octave of
st. Peter and Paul, 1691.

REVEREND FATHERS,

You will be, I am sure, very glad to learn the way in which the Iroquois, and especially the Onneiouts, have preserved my life from my captivity at fort Frontenac to this time. It will I Believe, Console you, and good People will bless God.

I will say but a word of the manner in which I was captured with Surgeon St. Amand, whom I took with me at the Request of the Onnontagues, in order to bleed some of their warriors, as they said, the better to deceive us. They had given us to understand that their people had gone to Montreal to make proposals for peace. The Surgeon was taken to the Cabin of the patients whom he was to attend, and I to that of the sachems and Chiefs, who were assembled there to discuss various subjects, —on which They said they wished to consult me, And have me pray for a pretended dying man, but really to make me a prisoner. I was asked whether the officers and Soldiers did not go out. I answered No, and that I was sent to Learn what they desired of me and the others. "You must pay then for all," they told me; and at once two of the strongest Fellows, who had been selected to arrest me, Sprang on me, seized me by the arms, and took [69] away my breviary and everything else that I had about me. . . . They left me only my Breeches, and even they were demanded by some men of importance, who said that they had

dreamed; But my guard opposed these observers of bad dreams, and rescued me from the hands of Those who wished to massacre me on the spot, and who, Incensed at the ill-treatment they professed to have received from the french through my influence, had Thrown me into the Water, and trampled me under foot. The Attempt of the Iroquois on fort frontenac having failed, because they did not succeed in capturing a frenchman who contrived to get in and warn them of the ambuscade, I was untied from a sapling to which I had been bound, to await them on the banks of the lake; and I was put barehead into a Canoe to take me, in Company with 3 or 400 Iroquois, to [71] an Island two leagues below fort Frontenac, where they awaited the main body of the Irroquois army of 1,400 men.

It was there that I was received with great shouts by the Upper Iroquois, who lined the whole shore to see me Bound and brought as it were, in triumph. Some rushed into the Water to receive me as the Canoe neared the shore, where they made me sing a song, in their fashion, as I did on the Spot, and which they repeated and made me repeat several times for sport:

Ongienda Kehasakchoua—I have Been taken by my Children.

Ongienda Kehasakchoua—I have Been taken by my Children.

To thank me for my song; a honnontouan Struck me with his fist near my eye, leaving the mark of his nails, so that one would have thought it a stroke of a knife. After this I was taken to the Cabins of the Onneiouts, where they did not permit any other insult to be offered me, nor even let them compel me to sing again in the Iroquois style. Some individuals even sent for me and made me pray to God, and sing Hymns of the Church,—either alone or with other french prisoners, who were sometimes brought there, and who sang with me the *Veni Creator Spiritus,* etc.

Toward Evening, we dropped down eight leagues below the fort, and spent two Days there. It was at this place that a woman of honnontouan, whom I did not know, rendered me an important service, by giving me a Kind of english cap, because I was bareheaded and often exposed to the rays of the sun, which had Affected me greatly. This woman afterward, passing by This place, made herself known to [73] me. She is the mother of Andotiennons, a christian at la montagne. God reward her for her Charity, which she rendered me so seasonably and with such a good grace.

From that place The army straggled To Otonniata, where It

remained 3 Days. There a Council of war was held.[1] I was near passing the line, and being Immolated as a public victim. There were 3 frenchmen prisoners with me,—two whom Monsieur de Valrenne had given to go with Onnonaragon to convey to Montreal the first information of the descent of the Iroquois, and who had fallen into the ambuscade laid for them two leagues from the fort; and the Surgeon who was captured with me. The Onnontagues, who had taken up the war-Kettle at the instigation of the English, had surrendered us to the four nations; and They had no one left to Throw into that war-Kettle which was to rouse the courage of the warriors. The Resolution was accordingly adopted to restore us to the disposition of the Onnontannes, so that they might themselves select the one best suited for their purpose; and the lot would probably have fallen on me, both because putting me to death would have been a signal for war without peace, such as they seemed to desire, and because I was generally held up as a great Iroquois and english State Criminal. One Day at noon an Onneiout Chief came for me, and took me, bound as I was, to the Council of all the Irroquois nations assembled on a neighboring Hill. I was placed beside the surgeon, whom I found in the posture of a prisoner of war as well as myself; the two other Prisoners were not there, because Those who had the disposal of them were [75] scattered hunting, and had taken them Along. This is, in my opinion, what broke up the scheme, or what saved me that time from danger. "We are not all assembled," said a Goiogoen sachem; and, after looking at me for some time, He told me to pray to God. I asked him whether it was to prepare to die; and I was told No, and that I should only pray to God in my ordinary way. I accordingly rose and made a prayer in Iroquois, in order that all might Understand it. I did not forget to pray in particular for all my hearers. When the prayer ended, I was made to sit down on the ground; one of my arms was unbound, and I was soon after sent to the Camp of the Onneiouts. I had scarcely reached it before several of the leading men among Them came to express their Joy that I had returned. They had been alarmed for me, and told me, that they had not taken part in the Council held to put me into the hands of the Onnontagués, that only the Chief who had led me there had done it, of his own impulse, without consulting them; but that this should not occur again, and that I should be conducted to Onneiout. In Fact, the Next day They detached two Chiefs with about 30 men to Conduct me, while the army pursued its march toward Montreal.

On my journey I was pretty well treated in all the Cabins of Onneiout; They Themselves prepared a mat for me, and if they had anything good to eat, they gave me my share among the first; but at night They never forgot to put The Rope * around my Neck, feet and hands, and around the Body—for fear, They said, lest God should Inspire me to escape, and they be deprived of the advantage and glory of [77] conducting me to the nation. But I had no such thought, and preferred to die if God willed it, at Onneiout, which was the place of my former mission, rather than in any other place in the world. I was not loaded with anything during The March, Except that toward the end of our journey, one of the two Chiefs who had charge of me, gave me his bag, which was very light, to carry. At the last sleeping place, ten leagues from onneiout, I met a Christian woman named Marie, who in the name of her father and mother gave me a large Rosary strung on tin, with a fine medal of the holy family. She told me to put it on my Neck, which I did. Happy meeting! which filled my Heart with Consolation, and almost made the Young braves who conducted me lose Hope of being able to enjoy themselves seeing me burnt at their arrival, as it was the custom to do with the first Prisoner brought in, when They had determined on war. But they lost it almost entirely, when, two leagues from the town we met another Christian woman, of the first nobility at Onneiout, who awaited me with her daughter, whom I had formerly baptized the same day as herself; and with her husband, who was the second Chief in whose charge I was,—and who having left the army, on Purpose to conduct me more safely, had gone on two Days ahead to notify his wife of my approach. They had all Come there to meet me, with several little refreshments of that country, with which this Christian woman provided me abundantly; and she asked me to whom of Those who accompanied me I wished to be given.** Then she

* "Meanwhile, to make sure of their captives on the way, they [the Iroquois] every evening stretch them out almost entirely naked on their backs, with no other bed than the bare earth, into which are driven four stakes for each of the prisoners, for binding thereto their hands and feet, the latter being open, and the limbs extended in the form of a saint Andrew's Cross. A fifth stake is also driven into the ground and a cord fastened to it, which is tightly wound about the prisoner's neck three or four times. Finally, he is bound around the waist with a belt, a kind of strap that the Savages use for all sorts of purposes; and he who has charge of a captive takes the two ends of the belt and puts them under him while he sleeps, in order to be awakened if his man moves ever so little."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1659-60:—*Id.*, xlv., *doc.* cii, pp. 259, 261.

** "Those [Iroquois] Barbarians are accustomed to give prisoners, whom they do not choose to put to death, to the families who have lost some of their

took the Rope off my Neck, and unbound my arms. She gave me a white shirt and a Blanket of fine stuff that belonged to her daughter. Would [79] any one have believed that among Savages There would be found such generous friendship, and such deep gratitude for having received baptism, as this? It was the eve of st. Lawrence's day, And all the morning I had been preparing myself, as well as I could, for whatever might befall me, and to endure the fire, if need Be, in Imitation of that great saint; But I confess that I could scarcely restrain my tears on beholding the Charity and Heart of these poor Indian Christians. Having recovered a little, I asked whether It was to adorn the Victim, and whether I was to die on my arrival. The good Christian woman told me that nothing had yet been settled, and the Council of onneiout would decide in its own time.

A Warrior had already lent me, at otonniata, a little Jacket, perfectly new, of which they did not wish to deprive me then; and, the Christians having already given me new clothes, they made me continue my journey with the livery of the two most important families of onneiout, that of The bear and that of the tortoise.[1]

Messengers were at once sent to notify the sachems that I was near, in order that they should also come to meet me, and kindle a fire of awaiting within the town; they came, but They were not all in the same state of mind as Those of whom I have just spoken. One sachem, after saluting me in Indian fashion, three times tried to strike me in the face with his fist; But, as My arms were free, I thrice parried The Blow, almost without reflection. And, when the Indian had desisted, they made me sit down near the sachems, And Chief Manchot, the husband of the good Christian woman, who had chosen to conduct [81] me Thus far, harangued them and told them, in the name of the other Chiefs, who followed the army, that I did not come as a Prisoner, but as a missionary who returned to visit my flock; that it was their will that I should be taken to the Council Cabin and put at the disposal of the agoianders, or people who managed the affairs of the country, and not at the disposition of the soldiery or people, as he now placed me in their hands; And, for himself, he withdrew.

relatives in war. These prisoners take the place of the deceased, and are incorporated into that family, which alone has the right to kill them, or to let them live. The others would not dare to offend them; but when they retain some public prisoner, like the Father [Jogues], without giving him to any individual, this poor man is every day within two finger-lengths of death."—Lalemant's *Relation*, 1647:—*Id.*, xxxi, *doc.* lxiii, p. 53.

A Sachem of the bear family, a great friend of the English, then made a strong speech, declaring that I belonged to the side of the governor of Canada, who was overthrowing The Iroquois Cabin [1] and who had completely burned the towns of the Tsonnonwa. He said so much that I feared that the fire which was there was kindled to burn me before I entered the town, as They sometimes do; but his speech at the close grew milder, and he said that, as the Chiefs had recommended that I should be taken to the Council Cabin, which is a privileged Cabin, I must be taken there. This Commission was entrusted to a man of the nation called Skannehokwie, from the country of the Loups, and naturalized among the Iroquois.

I passed that bad country [*sc.* road] under the Guidance of this protector, who carefully kept aloof several Drunkards who wished to Insult me and stop me on the way. I was Astonished to see the number of people who appeared on all sides; and in this Company I was made to enter the Council Cabin, which had become A Cabin of War by the Intrigues of the english and other Enemies of the faith.

It was The Cabin of our good Christian woman, [83] for She received me there with great welcome; but it was soon afterward necessary to conceal me, drunken men and women coming from all sides to assail us and utter a thousand Insults against those who protected me,—Hurling stones against the Cabin, and threatening to overthrow everything and to set it on fire. "Since war," they said, "is begun, we must not be deprived of the first fruits that come to us." The good Christian woman, Gouentagrandi, told me that she suffered great distress, when war was sung in her Cabin, rather than in some other, in order to be able to save my life more easily, or to Preserve that of the governor of Canada or any other frenchmen of rank, if they had the misfortune to be taken prisoner. And, in fact, She has not only Preserved me, but she has also preserved several other french, both in her Cabin and in others; and it may be said that, if any good has been done or is now done in this mission, it is to this good woman after God that the first Praise is due.

On two other Days after the fury of the drunkards had passed, my friends wished to have my case Decided, and my fate settled, before matters became more exasperated, in case any Iroquois were killed at monreal, where they had gone in war. I was taken to the place where the chiefs of the two families, the Tortoise and the bear, had assembled to decide on my lot. Both concluded that they must wait for the return of the Warriors, and Know

more particularly their Intentions and those of the Onnontaguez before coming to any determination; that meanwhile The town should be assigned as my prison, and that I might visit what Cabins I Chose. I remained in this State About three weeks, where I had nothing [85] to suffer except from the drunkards, who were importunate and made various threats. In the visits which I made I was generally called *Genherontatie*—"The dead or dying man who walks"; and Those who returned from orange, a little english town, brought no tidings favorable to me. . . .

[87] The Iroquois army which made the Attack on (Lachine) Having returned, It was found that three of this nation had remained there,—among others, a leading Chief who got drunk and was killed in a Cellar. He would not allow himself to be taken. This had Irritated the Irroquois Warriors, who, not satisfied with the prisoners whom they had brought, demanded that I should be presented with the others, as Being also a Prisoner. Our Christians, Fearing that the Warriors, who love Carnage and glory in killing men might cut off one of my fingers or [89] commit some other outrage on me, to open the way to my death, concealed me more carefully than Ever; they made me sleep sometimes in one Cabin, sometimes in another, and sometimes even in the Fields, so that the warriors And drunkards could not find me. Above all others, my protectress Combined prudence with her Zeal to extricate me from the danger I was in. With this view she went to meet her relatives, who were some of the most influential warriors, in order to anticipate them. She told them how She had preserved me Till that time, and that she Was determined to continue to do so with all her might; that no ill treatment could be done to me that she would feel deeply herself, that she would not bring me forward till the sachems assembled to decide the fate of all the Prisoners, And till I had been set at liberty. They replied that she had done well, and that, so far as they cared, she might adhere to her resolution.

At last the Day came when our sentence was to be pronounced. We Were four who ran a risk of being burned. We all Appeared to be given or to be put in place of the Irroquois who had Been killed by the french, And then to be Judged in a final tribunal. While they were Examining our case, I had time to hear the confessions of my comrades in misfortune and give them absolution. Two of them were burned; for my own part, I could only commend myself to the providence and the mercy of God. I was sent back to different Councils or from tribunal to tribunal,—because, on the one Hand, I passed among our Irroquois

as a great criminal and great deceiver, who had caused their fellow-countrymen to be seized under the pretext of a st. John's day [91] festival; and on the other, I was protected by our christians, some of whom were the most notable in the country, and they could not put me to death without afflicting them.

Many, However, thought that I would never get off; the Rosary had already been taken off my Neck, and my face had been painted red and black, as a victim to the demon of war and Irroquois wrath. But the family to which all had been already referred having assembled again, where the most important women were allowed to attend, a friendly act was done me by giving me instead of a Chief who had died long ago of disease, rather than for one of those who had been killed in the attack on the french at a place called la Chine above Montreal, or who had been arrested as prisoners at fort frontenac and transported to france, who were reckoned as numbered with the dead. This Chief was named Otasseté, which is an ancient name of the first founders of the Irroquois republic.[1] The one named Gannassatiron, who by this donation became sole master of my life, used it very obligingly; He Consulted only the warriors of his family, and asked advice only from the two Christians who protected me most, and who of course Concurred At once with him in the assurance of life which He gave me by these words: *Satonnheton Szaksi*—"My elder brother, you are resurrected." At the same time, he had two of the leading sachems summoned to Report it to them; these sachems made fine speeches and congratulations, exhorting me to uphold the Interests of their nation more than I had yet done. Some Days after, a feast was given to the notables of the town. The host of Father de Lamberville, named Garakontié, [93] brother of the Chief of the Onnontagué nation, and brother of the famous Garakontié who first bore that name, was invited to the Ceremony, where a new name was given to me, as an authentic mark that the Onneiouts had adopted me and naturalized me as an Irroquois. My rosary had also been restored to me; and, to crown my little happiness, Gannassatiron, fearing that I might feel hunger in his cabin, where There was not much corn, put me in that of my protectress, who is of the same family,—where I had already remained for 3 Weeks, and where I had been so well defended, And where all the Important Councils are held. It is there that we celebrate the holidays and sundays, and where a mat has been prepared for me, and a little Grotto, which is dedicated to Our dying lord, *christo morituro.*

The English were not pleased with the decision of the Onneiouts in my favor; They at first reproached my main Protectors Tegahoiatiron and his wife, who had gone to trade with Them, and had given them a little note which an Irroquois had made me Write with Charcoal, in the presence and at the Request of my Protectress, to buy some goods for him which he ordered of an English friend of his. The English, displeased at their sparing my life, and wishing to use this opportunity for my ruin, At once mounted their horses to go promptly and report to all the Irroquois nations that I had written very bad things. The Christian woman, who Knew how reluctantly I had Consented to Write the note, because I clearly foresaw that ill-Minded heretics would make trouble out of it, asked to see the note and recognizing it, "Is this," She said, "the bad things that have been Written to you? It was I who made him Write them [95] there, And I know that he mentions only such and such things in it. You must have a very badly formed Mind to tell so many lies, to make all this long talk about a wretched note, of which I Know the Contents, and to slander in this way a poor Unfortunate man." She shut their mouths that time, and her Husband added: "If you are at war with the french, fight them as much as you like; but do not bring false charges against a Man who belongs to us, and whose business is very different from that of war."

This did Not prevent the English from appealing from the decision of the Onneiouts to the Irroquois of Annié and Onnontagué. Their Mounted men made several Journeys about the Matter, as well as for their great war project, but to No purpose. So far as I was concerned, all their Intrigues and their Solicitations served only to teach them that, the Indians having Once given a person his life, It was not their Custom to deprive him of it. . . .

[99] The Fish—That is the name of the Governor of Manath or new York—[1] has earnestly exhorted the Irroquois not to Listen to me, and especially to beware of my Letters. His side must be weak indeed, If my pen can demolish it; But It must be that the Spirit of God is working, And I Believe that it will be the sins of the English, rebels to their King, rather than my pen, which will overthrow them. Here We See and Hear of so many ill-devised plans emanating from the English, that the Irroquois, when They Are not Intoxicated, Seem much more reasonable than They.

[101] The Onneiouts having adopted me for one called Otas-

seté, who in his lifetime Was a member of the Council, And who was regarded from all antiquity as having been one of the Main-stays of the Nation, They oblige me sometimes to attend the Councils, if only to know what the matter in question is, to explain it to them—at least, when these are Important affairs that concern the country.

It Annoys the English, And Those who uphold their Interests, to see me there, and They would much like to Exclude me, Or deprive me of voting or being chosen to any position. The true Onneiouts, on the other hand, and Those who still support The cause of faith and their country, give me all the authority there that they can. And, as the honor of God and the Church is often intermingled in public affairs of this kind, I am myself compelled to speak on many occasions which regard the Service of God; because the Indians, who depend on the English for their trade, generally dare not say anything that can displease them, And I know hardly any one except our good Susanne Gouentagrandi who speaks to them boldly, and who maintains thoroughly her rank of agoianders for the faith And for the land of Onneiouts. . . .

[*Id., doc.* clxii, vol. lxiv, pp. 66-107.]

XLIX

[159] Letter by Father Jacques Gravier in the form of a Journal of the Mission of l'Immaculée Conception de Notre Dame in the Ilinois country.

[This is Jacques Gravier's report (dated February 15, 1694) to his superior at Quebec, Bruyas, of the mission among the Illinois tribes. Returning to them from the Miamis, in April, 1693, Gravier dedicates his new chapel at the French fort near Peoria. The savages residing at this place send, in May, envoys to secure an alliance with the Missouri and Osage tribes. . . .

About June 20, the envoys sent to the Sioux tribes return, with deputies from those tribes. Gravier longs for aid in his mission, that he may visit these new tribes and instruct them. He relates some instances of the opposition made to his labors by the Peoria chief, who is a leading medicine-man, and by others of that craft. . . . He describes certain of the superstitious observances that he has seen among these savages. . . .—*Id.*, lxiv, pp. 16, 17.]

February 15, 1694.

My Reverend Father,

I have much pleasure in giving you information respecting the condition of this mission of the *Ilinois*, in order that you may be able to see, by this sort of journal that I send you, all that has occurred in it since the month of March of the previous year; and how great a blessing we might expect in this mission, were fervent laborers sent hither. After having been among the *Oumiamis* during the winter, on the ice, I found the Ilinois—who had, some months before, left the places we call *Kiskaskia* and *Kouir akouintauka*. . . .

About the end of the Same Month of April, I [161] blessed the new chapel, which is built outside the fort,[1] at a spot very convenient for the savages. On the eve before blessing the chapel and the cross, which is nearly 35 feet high, I invited the french to be good enough to be present. They promised to be there, and to manifest in public the honor in which they held it. They showed the savages by 4 volleys from their guns their veneration for this symbol of salvation.

About the middle of May the deputies of the savages of this village, accompanied by two frenchmen, went to seek the alliance of the *Missouri* and of the Osages. These french Merchants,

with the view of carrying on an advantageous trade with those tribes, made some proposals of peace to them; to these they agreed solely out of complaisance to the french, through consideration for whom they became reconciled with the Osages. I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there for the glory of God among the *Tamaroua* and the *Kaoukia,* who are *Ilinois;*[1] and to sound the *Missouri* and *Osages,* in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them with respect to christianity,—for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize. But, as there are among them some libertines who do not love the Missionary's presence, because they wish to continue their evil conduct, I contented myself with telling them that I would cheerfully have undertaken the journey with them, as its difficulties and fatigues would have been agreeable to me while working for the interests of God. . . .

[169] About the 20th of June, the French and the savages who had left here during the previous month to seek the alliance of the *Osages* and *Missouris,* in the expectation of the great profits that they would derive from the trade with the latter, came back with two chiefs from each village, accompanied by some [171] elders and some women. Although these Merchants, in all the dealings of any extent that they have with savages, care very little about telling them of God and of the Missionary, the visitors all came, nevertheless, to see me, and I welcomed them as heartily as I could. . . . The *Osages* and the *Missouris* do not appear to be as quick-witted as the *Ilinois;* their language does not seem very difficult. The former do not open their lips, and the latter speak still more from the throat than they.

A young *Peouareoua* man—baptized long ago and well instructed, but who compelled me during the previous year to forbid him entrance to my lodging, and to threaten him with expulsion from the church—led his countrymen to believe that his chagrin would induce him to say and do everything that might be asked from him against Christianity. The chief of the *Peoareoua* and of all the jugglers, with some of his relatives, —of the same party, and among the most notable persons of the village,—omitted nothing to embitter his mind against the Neophytes and against the Missionary. "Thou wouldst not believe us," his relatives said to him; "thou wouldst attach thyself to the Black Gown, [173] and he has . . . thee. We do not thus despise thee; we have pity on thee, and thou shalt have a share in our feasts. Let the *Kaskaskia* pray to God if they

wish and let them obey him who has instructed them. Are we *Kaskaskia?* And why shouldst thou obey him, thou who art a *Peouareoua?* Since he has vexed thee, thou must declare publicly that thou abandonest prayer, that it is worthless. "I shall hold a feast," said the *Peouareoua* chief, "and I shall invite all the old men and all the chiefs of bands; thou also wilt be invited. After speaking of our medicines and of what our grandfathers and ancestors have taught us, has this man who has come from afar better medicines than we have, to make us adopt his customs? His Fables are good only in his own country; we have ours, which do not make us die as his do." These discourses and other similar ones gave great pleasure to the libertine, whose name was Antoine; but he could not long withstand the reproaches of his conscience, whatever the enemies of the faith might say to make him completely renounce christianity. In vain they assured him that I had toads, wherewith I compounded poisons for the sick. Convinced as he was of the contrary, he took up my defense; and, impelled by salutary remorse for his sin, he came to me to be reconciled to God. He then related to me all that those charlatans, who were enraged against me, had done and said to make me odious to the Nation. He told me that one of those jugglers had wrapped up a live toad in several folds of ragged linen, in which it had suffocated; and had crushed it, to use it as an active poison, in order to make me perish by the same venom with which, he said, I caused the death of [175] the Sick when I approached them, through the mere smell of a toad. All this was based upon the fact of his having heard me say that I was surprised to see the children handling toads as freely as they did, because we would not touch them thus in our country; and because a toad carried death with it. This empiric rises, therefore, and goes to the middle of the cabin to pick up the bundle of rags in which he has wrapped up his toad; he uncovers it and says to the old men assembled there: "My brothers, you will see that this Antoine will bring about his own death if he merely smells of this cloth, which will be the cause of his decease." "Let me die," said Antoine, "I shall be content to do so to expose your malice; I will smell your toad." All observed profound silence, not doubting that he would at once die. He actually smelled of it several times, and lifted the toad up to his nose. "And still I am not yet dead," he said to the Juggler. "Thou wilt die shortly," the latter replied to him. He again smelled of the toad several times and remained in the cabin for over two hours. The juggler, irri-

tated at seeing his poison without effect, hung his head and said not another word—being quite ashamed and also quite surprised that Antoine did not die, and still more at hearing him say that those who were not christians would be dammed. The old men withdrew, saying to Antoine: "We are convinced that *Assapita*" —that is the Juggler's name—"has not told the truth, and we are glad to see that you are not dead." This was kept very secret, for I did not hear it spoken of; and the young man told me of it only long after it had happened. This Neophyte—who for 6 or 8 years was covered with [177] scrofulous ulcers, and who could barely drag himself about—died after making a good confession, and I have reason to hope that God has had pity on him. Disease broke out in this village in the month of August,—that is, after they had begun to eat new corn, squashes, water melons, and other half-ripe fruit. Many children and young people were sick, and I had not as free access to all of them as I would have wished. Some are so prejudiced by the jugglers that, through fear that I may give them medicine, they say that they are quite well and disapprove of my frequent visits. They cry out against me as if I were the cause of the disease, and of the mortality—although, in fact, but few people die. . . .

[185] As there are always people here who dwell amid the fields, at a distance of more than a league from the village, until they depart for their winter quarters, I continued my short excursions from the month of July to the 24th or 25th of September. After saying mass and prayers very early in the morning, I went to visit alternately those who were in their corn and squash fields. At a distance of a league from the village is a small one, on a hill whose base is bathed by a river, constituting a landscape very agreeable to the sight. I gathered together those who were there; and in order to inform them of my arrival, I called out, as I was in the habit of doing in the village, that all were to come to prayer. I said the [187] prayers in the cabin of the most notable man in the village,—a juggler by profession, who nevertheless manifested a very zealous desire that his people should honor and attend catechism twice a week. Some were scandalized at my entering the dwelling of this man, who was reported to exhibit the Manitous in the cabin every night, and to sing in their honor until daylight; and who had, according to their custom, given a very superstitious feast. In fact, having gone there one day when I was not expected, I saw 3 or 4 serpent-skins hung up, with some painted feathers, and the skins of various very pretty small birds. I pretended not to have

seen anything; I strongly inveighed against jugglery, and against those imaginary spirits that have neither body nor soul. They did not make their appearance after that; but, a few days afterward, I saw a little dog suspended at the end of a pole stuck into the ground. I had never seen anything of the kind since I had been among the Ilinois. I was astonished, for I was not yet convinced by actual experience that they offered sacrifices to their Manitous, or that they thus hung up dogs or other animals to stay diseases. All that they are in the habit of doing consists in saying at their feasts: "My Manitou, I prepare for thee, or I give thee, food." But the cooks eat everything, and offer nothing, or put nothing aside for the Manitou. I asked what was meant by the little dog hanging on the pole. I was told that it had died of a Disease; and that, to prevent the children from touching it, it had been put where they could not reach it. An old man, who saw very well that I was not satisfied with this explanation, told me that it was to appease the lightning, [189] because one of his children had been ill on a day when there had been a great deal of lightning.* After pointing out, in the presence of many persons, the uselessness of this superstition, I pulled the pole out of the ground and flung it, with the dog, upon the grass, and continued my visits; for, after making the savages pray to God, I visited from time to time all whose fields were in that quarter. My walk always covered fully three leagues, over a very good road; and the distance seemed short to me, owing to the stay that I made at the various places where I halted. . . .

[*Id., doc.* clxvi, vol. lxiv, pp. 158-237.]

*". . . On the Following day, I arrived at the Camp just abandoned by the savages whom I was Seeking, and with whom I was to spend the winter [the Amicouet or Beaver nation, near lake Erie]. I saw evidences of the successful Hunt they had had: the Remains of the bears, the Deer, and the Turkeys that they had killed, and of the pike and other fish that they had taken. This caused our people to rejoice; but I was much grieved to see a large Dog suspended at the top of a painted pole, as a sacrifice to the sun. We Overturned everything, Broke the pole, and cast the Dog into the river, with the scalp of an extraordinarily large and hideous bear which had also been immolated."—Nouvel, *Relation,* 1676-77:—*Id.,* lx, *doc.* cxliii, p. 219.

L

[65] Letter of Father Julien Binneteau of the Society of Jesus to a Father of the same Society.

[Julien Binneteau,[1] who is stationed in the Illinois mission, writes to a friend (about January, 1699) regarding his difficulties with the Indian medicine-men. . . . Binneteau mentions a visit that he has made to the Tamaroa savages, who live on the banks of the Mississippi. He describes the mild climate of Illinois, and the fruits and the game animals that abound there; also the life led by the savages, their hunting of the buffalo, and their manner of preserving its flesh for food. The women do nearly all the work, while the men live in idleness, which "is the cause of all their debauchery."—*Id.*, lxv, pp. 13, 14.]

From the Ilinois country, [January,] 1699.

My Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

God continues to be served here, in spite of the opposition of the devil, who raises up people bitterly hostile to Christianity. We call them Jugglers here. In public they perform a hundred mummeries full of impiety; and talk to the skins of animals, and to dead birds, as divinities. They claim that medicinal herbs are gods, from whom they have life, and that no others must be worshiped. Every day they sing songs in honor of their little manitous, as they call them. . . .

[71] I am at present spending the winter with a portion of our savages who are scattered about. I have recently been with the Tamarois, to visit a band of them on the bank of one of the largest rivers in the world—which, for this reason, we call the Missisipi or "the great river." More than seven hundred leagues of it have been found to be navigable, without discovering its source. I am to return to the Ilinois of Tamaroa in the spring. There is a very great difference between this climate and that of Québec,—where the cold lasts a long time, and a [73] great quantity of snow falls; whereas here, as a rule, the snow remains but a very short time. We have hardly felt the cold during the whole of this month of January. Vines climb all around the trees, up to their tops; the grapes are wild, and are not nearly as good as those of France. There are an infinite number of nut- and plum-trees of various kinds; also some small apples. We find here two other kinds of fruit-trees that are not known

in France; they are Assimines and Piakimines.[1] Their fruit is good. We in this country go without all our other delicious fruits of France. Game is plentiful, such as ducks, geese, bustards, swans, cranes, Turkeys. Ox, bear, and deer furnish the substantial meats that we eat in the game country. The ox of these regions is of a blackish brown, and is the animal called "buffalo" in Europe; it has a large hump on the nape of the neck, and very thick hair, like the wool of our sheep in France; this makes good bed-coverings.* We also see other animals, such as wildcats, lynxes, and tree-rats; the female of the latter carries her young in a sort of pouch under her belly.[2]

The life led by our savages is as follows: They start on their hunt about the end of september. All walk, or proceed in pirogues, to the wintering-place. From there the most active men, women, and girls go into the interior, to seek the ox; this animal is dangerous, and boldly rushes at him who attacks it, especially when wounded; it snorts furiously and its glaring eyes are terrible. When the savages have killed one, they remove

*"I send you a piece of bread which has come from a place 500 leagues from here. It comes from the ilinois country; it is made from medlars or services, and has a very good taste.[3] The fur that you will see in the package is that of the ox, which has a mane like that of a horse, hanging on the front of its head."—*Letter,* Chauchetière to his brother, Villemarie, Aug. 7, 1694:—*Id.,* lxiv, *doc.* clxiv, pp. 137, 139.

"The contents of the box that I am sending you are as follows:

"24 bark dishes of various sizes.

"2 wooden spoons.

"A small gourd full of copal balsam, which was brought to me from the Akansa country on the Mississipi, half-way between fort st. Louis and the sea.

"Seeds of 3 kinds of watermelons, from the Ilinois country.

"Seeds of Canadian watermelons, which grow without requiring any care, like squashes in france; they need not be planted as early as the others.

"Squash seeds from the Ilinois country.

"Nuts from the Ilinois country.

"A piece of porphyry from the quarry on the island of st. Pierre.

"Pieces of bark, on which figures have been marked by teeth.

"A stone dagger, the handle of which is wanting; it consists merely of a piece of wood of no particular shape, and you can have one set in it.

"Another and smaller dagger.

"A stone knife.

"The daggers and the knife are of the kind still used by the Ilinois at the present day, although they have iron ones.

"Some black sand which is found in considerable quantities near 3 rivers. This sand is almost all iron,—as may easily be seen, because a loadstone lifts nearly all of it. There is however a little silver, as has been ascertained by tests that have been made.

"A small quantity of the root that the Ilinois and chaouanons mix with the tobacco that they smoke.

"Two pieces of marcasite, quantities of which are found here."—*Letter,* Bechefer to Villermont, Quebec, October 22, 1687:—*Id.,* lxiii, *doc.* clviii, pp. 289, 291.

the flesh, especially that from the ribs, and divide it in halves. This meat is afterward spread for some time on a wooden grating, three or four feet high, under which a bright [75] fire is kept up; it is then rolled, and, dried in this manner, it keeps for a long time without becoming tainted. These pieces are called the tenderloins, and are in great demand in the village when the hunters return. This hunt ends about Christmas. The savages come back loaded with these tenderloins, and it is wonderful what heavy loads the men and women carry on the march. The remainder of the time until the month of march is passed in the winter quarters, where the women are continually occupied. The men go, from time to time, to hunt for deer or bear, and spend the rest of the time in gaming, dancing, singing *partisque fruuntur*. They are all gentlemen, the sole occupation of whose lives consists in hunting, in fishing, and in war.

The life that the savages lead in the village is about the same as that in their winter quarters. The women alone till the soil, and sow; they do this carefully, and consequently the corn is very fine and abundant. The idleness of the men is the cause of all their debauchery, and of their aversion to the christian religion. Balls are held here, as in France; while in a cabin the dancers move about to the cadence of a kind of drum, you hear, on the other hand, some old woman singing.

I am almost forgetting to tell you of our gardens. One of their finest ornaments is what we call the watermelon, which grows to an extraordinary size. It has a very sweet taste, and differs from our melons because it does not turn yellow. These melons are eaten without salt, and are harmless even when eaten in quantities.

The above, my Reverend Father, is a short description of the climate and of the customs of our [77] Ilinois. The young children always give us great hopes for the future. They are wonderfully eager to be instructed; and their desire to obtain a needle, a red bead, or a small cross or medal, makes them try to give correct answers, and they learn a great deal in a short time.

I remain,
My reverend Father,
Your very humble and very
obedient servant in Our Lord,
JULIEN BINNETEAU,
of the Society of Jesus.

[*Id., doc.* clxxii, vol. lxv, pp. 64-77.]

LI

[101] Relation or Journal of the voyage of Father Gravier of the Society of JESUS in 1700, from the Country of the Illinois To the Mouth of the Mississipi River.

Written to Father de Lamberville and Sent from Fort Mississipi, 17 Leagues from its discharge into the Mexican Gulf or sea, on The 16th of February, 1701.

[In September, 1700, Jacques Gravier left Chicago for a voyage down the Mississippi to Iberville's new fort thereon. This journey is described by him in a letter (dated February 16, 1701) to Jacques de Lamberville. . . . He describes the course of the river; the bluffs, mines, and other features of the region; and the wild animals with which the country abounds. . . . Below the St. Francis River, the Frenchmen meet a band of Arkansas savages, who hospitably entertain them. . . . At the Tonica River, Gravier halts to visit the Seminary priest Davion, whom he finds ill with fever. He gives various interesting particulars about the tribes of that district, but his efforts to discover their religious rites and superstitions are futile. . . . They have a small temple, in which fire is always kept burning. During Gravier's visit to Davion, the latter's colleague, St. Cosme, arrives at Tonica; he gives a disheartening account of the Natchez mission, where he is stationed. Among these people human sacrifices are practiced, and they are fire-worshipers. . . .—*Id.*, lxv, pp. 15, 16.]

My Reverend Father,

Pax Christi.

I received on my return from Michilimachinack the letter that you did me the honor of writing to me by way of the Mississipy, Addressed to Father Aveneau, who sent it to me at Chikagoua—whence I started in 1700, on the 8th of September, to come here. I arrived too late among the Illinois of the strait—of whom Father Marest has charge—to prevent the migration of the Village of the Kaskaskia, which has been too precipitately made, in consequence of uncertain news respecting the Mississipi settlement. I do not think that the Kaskaskia would have thus separated from the Peouarooua and from the other Illinois of the strait,* if I could have arrived sooner.[1] I reached them at least soon enough to conciliate their minds to

*". . . the Ilinois of Détroit,—otherwise the Peoarias . . ."—*Letter*, Jean Mermet: Among the Caskaskias, March 2, 1706:—*Id.*, lxvi, *doc.* clxxx, p. 51.

some extent, and to prevent the insult that the Peouaroua and the Mouingoueña were resolved to offer the Kaskaskia and the French when they embarked. I addressed all the Chiefs in full Council, and, as they continue to retain some respect and good will for me, they parted very [103] peaceably. But I augur no good from this Separation which I have always opposed, for I foresaw but too well the evil consequences that would result from it. And may God grant that the road from Chikagoua to the strait be not closed, and that the entire Illinois mission may not suffer greatly thereby. I admit to you, my Reverend Father, that my heart is heavy at seeing my former flock thus divided and scattered; and I shall never see it again, after having left it, without having some new Cause for affliction. The Peouaroua, whom I left without a missionary (for Father Marest has Followed the Kaskaskia), promised me that they would preserve the Church, and await my return from Mississipi—whither, I told them, I was going solely for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of all that was said of it. This gave them great pleasure; they promised me that they would never leave their Village until I should inform them to what place the great Chief who is at the lower end of the River wished them to remove. I am very doubtful whether they will keep their word. After journeying four days with the Kaskaskia, I went on ahead with Father Marest, whom I left ill among the Tamarouha, where Father Pinet performs in peace all the Duties of a Missionary. Meanwhile, Monsieur Bergier, who works very well with us, has charge of the French only, which is a great relief for Father Pinet.[1] I left the Tamarouha on the 9th of October to come here, at the lower end of the Mississipi, to the assistance of father du Ru.[2] I was accompanied by 5 Canoes manned by frenchmen. For my part, I had in my Canoe only brother Guibert, and a Frenchman who was ill with tertian fever. At 2 Leagues from the [105] village I found the Tamarouha, who have taken up their winter quarters in a fine Bay, where they await the Metchigamia,—who are to come more than 60 leagues to winter there, and to form but one village with them. One of our missionaries will visit them every 2nd day throughout the winter and do the same for the Kaoukia, who have taken up their winter quarters 4 leagues above the village. We made only 4 leagues the 1st day, because one of our Canoes was split by a snag hidden in the water, and we had to halt in order to repair it. On the 10th day, after proceeding a league, we discovered the River Miaramigoua, where the very rich lead mine is situated, 12 or 13 leagues from Its

mouth. The ore from this mine yields 3 fourths metal. .[1] [107] . . There are a great many Islands and Shoals along the course of the Mississipi river, From the Tamarouha to the Oubachi River; this river keeps its course well from North to South, but, at a distance of 3 or 4 leagues from Oubachi it begins to turn to the North-Northwest, and does nothing but meander. We were enabled to judge of its course by the route that we followed on the 15th. Father Marquette (who was 1st to discover it, nearly 30 years ago) puts it in his journal as being, at a distance of 3 leagues from Ouabachi, at 36 degrees and 47 minutes. We encamped in sight of that River, which flows from the South and discharges into the Mississipi. At its Mouth it forms a wide basin, 2 arpents from Its discharge. It is called by the Illinois and by the Oumiamis the River of the Akansea, because the Akansea formerly dwelt on it. Is is said to have 3 branches: one coming from the Northeast, which flows at the rear of the country of the Oumiamis, called the River St. Joseph, which the savages properly call Ouabachi; The 2nd comes from the Iroquois country, and is what they call the Ohio; the 3rd from the South-Southwest, on which Are the Chaouanoua. As all 3 unite to fall into the Mississipi, the stream is commonly called the Ouabachi; but the Illinois and other Savages call it the River of the Akansea. . . .

[109] Now, to resume our journey, We started on the 16th of october from the Mouth of the Ouabachi, in very fine weather; and we found the Mississipi less rapid than above Ouabachi. As we had a great quantity of meat, we hastily dried a portion of the best of it and the great heat compelled us to throw away the remainder. We saw so great a number of [111] wood-pigeons that the sky was quite hidden by them. We traveled all day in a South-Southeasterly direction; and 5 leagues below Ouabachi, On the South side, we found lofty Sand-cliffs, where an iron mine is said to exist. The pretended scales of iron attached to the Stones are not what they are believed to be, and what I was told. They are nothing but veins of earth, hard and apparently petrified, which have in truth the Color of Iron, but have no weight and break easily. I took a piece of it, in order to show that, if there be an iron mine there, one cannot judge of it by that earth. A short distance below, we began to discover Canes on the Hills. They are covered with evergreen Leaves from the base to the summit, which ends in a small tuft of Leaves. They are not more than 7 or 8 feet high at the edge of the Hills; but they are 20, 30, and 40 feet high in the woods,

especially below the Akansea. The 18th. In 3 hours' traveling we have Gone around the Compass; And, after running to the east-Southeast for a short time, we again Went half around the compass in a Cove of over 2 Leagues, which one cuts across when the waters are high. The 19th. We rejoined the 2 Canoes that had left us, And about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we found on the North side—3 or 4 leagues farther down, beyond a small prairie—an Echo that repeats 5 words distinctly, and begins repeating what has been said only after the last word has been pronounced.

The 20th. Very Hot. We slept in sight of high rocky bluffs called fort prud'homme, because when Monsieur de la Salle was on His voyage of discovery, he remained intrenched there with his people [113] through fear that Prudomme, who had lost his way in the woods, had been killed by the Savages, and that he himself would be attacked. During the previous year, a great many Bears were killed here. On the 22nd and 23rd, the rain detained us on a great Sand-bank, from which we reached an Island on which was some petrified wood. I know not whether there is a spring or vein of water possessing that virtue, as there is in Auvergne, on the Confines of Bourbonnois—a mineral spring, that petrifies the leaves of Trees that fall into it; or whether it is the sun that blackens and hardens small pieces of decayed wood that lie on the Sand after the high waters. At all events, I have seen large and small pieces of it. There can be no doubt of it, for there are some that are not yet petrified, and are partly wood and partly black stone, that break quite easily and exfoliate on breaking. A blacksmith who was of the party took the petrified wood for mineral Coal; but, besides the fact of its not being so heavy, He was convinced of the contrary when he threw it into the fire. The 24th. We found a quantity of grapes, but much fewer than I had been told; and they are neither as good nor as large as those found on the River of the Ilinois, And especially on the River of the Miamis, where they are found in greater quantities.

The 25th. So heavy a rain fell that we were compelled to ascend the Hill, which was over 30 feet high, and to transport thither our Cabin. The 26th. We passed, on the South, the Riviere a Mayot, called thus after a savage of the Loup nation who was with Monsieur de la Salle on his voyage of discovery. That River does not seem very wide; [115] but it is said to be a good Hunting-ground, and that the Chikacha come down as far as its Mouth, from which they are distant only 3 days' journey

inland, to the south.[1] A league or 2 lower, we found a pirogue of Taögria; these Belong to the loup nation, and carry on a considerable trade with the English. There were only 6 men in it, with a woman and a Child; they were coming from the Akansea. He who seemed most notable among them could say only a few words of Ilinois, and spoke the Chaouanoua tongue. He made me sit on a Bearskin spread in front of his Traveling Cabin, and offered me some sagamité to eat. He afterwards told me, as news, that Father de Limoges (whom he called Captain Pauiongha) had upset while in his Canoe, and had lost everything; and that the Kappa akansea had supplied him with provisions and a Canoe, to continue his voyage.[2] I gave him a Knife and half a box of vermillion; he made me a present of a very large piece of meat, the produce of his hunting. A league from the spot where we had left him, we killed 4 does. We did not expect such good fortune, and we neither killed nor saw a single animal from the riviere a Mayot to the sea. The 27th. We passed the river St. françois, at the point of a bend to the North 18 leagues from the Akansea.

The 29th. On leaving our Camp, we ran in a westerly direction, and then we headed Southwest. Toward noon, we came upon 4 pirogues of Akansea; when my Canoe approached the bank, an old man entered the water and carried me upon his Shoulders to the land. The Chief made me sit on a large Bearskin, and the french on Willow branches, which he had caused his young men to cut. He made me a [117] present of 2 loaves of piakimina, which I distributed among the french. And, as I was grieved because they would not listen to me when I wished to speak of God, I withdrew to pray for them while the Kettles were boiling. I was Served with a dish of Sagamité made of green indian corn; and another of whole ears of green corn, seasoned with excellent squashes. I gave a small present to the Chief of the Party; and on the 30th we Encamped a league lower down, half a league from the old Village of the Akansea (where they formerly received the Late Father Marquette), which is now recognized only by its old outworks, for not a Cabin remains. The 31st. We arrived, about 9 o'clock in the morning, at the Village of the Kappa Akansea, who are on the 24th degree, according to Father Marquette's calculation. The Village is half a league from the water's edge. Monsieur de Montigny had erected a Cross on the Hill, which is very steep and 40 feet high. After saluting the Cross, and chanting the *Vexilla Regis* with the French, we gave notice to the Akansea by 3 Gunshots;

and in less than ten minutes, at the most, two Young men appeared with Swords in their hands,—closely followed by the Chief of the Kappa and that of the Tourima,[1] and 20 or 30 well-formed young men with their Bows and arrows. Some had swords and 2 or 3 English guns, which had been given by the person who, the year before, had brought a quantity of goods to them to alienate them from the french, and especially from the Missionaries—against whom he bore malice, for he had boasted that he would put in irons and kill the 1st that he should meet. The french, who Seized him, found material for making a pair of manacles with [119] iron chains, and prevented him from Doing any of the evil that he intended to Do. He had already 2 Concubines among the Kappa. However, the Chiefs invited me to go to their village, which consists of 40 Cabins. A number of the french accompanied me, while the others kept the Canoes at anchor. They took me to the Cabin of the Chief, who made me sit down on a mat of Canes adorned with figures, and at the same time they put on the fire the Kettle, containing green indian corn seasoned with a large quantity of dried peaches. They brought me from another Cabin a large dish of Ripe fruit of the Piakimina, which is almost like the medlar of France. The dish was handed to the Chief to give to me. As it is the most delicious fruit that the savages have from the Ilinois to the sea, the Chief did not fail to begin his feast with it. After tasting a little of it, I had the dish carried to brother Guibert and to the frenchmen, who sat opposite me. I did the same with the Sagamité. I observed that all who entered the Cabin remained standing at the door, and advanced only when the Chief told them to do so and to sit down. There was a metchigamikoué woman who acted as my interpreter, and who confirmed the news of Father de Limogés's wreck with the loss of all that he had. She gave him her supply of corn and Squashes, to assist him on his journey to the Natchés; and the Chief gave him an earthen pot, after regaling him as well as he could. I asked him whether he remembered having formerly seen in their village a frenchman, clad in black, and dressed as I was. He replied that he remembered it very well, but that it was so long ago that he could not count the years. I told him that it was more than [121] 28 years ago. He also told me that they had danced to him the Captain's Calumet—which I did not at first understand, for I thought that he spoke of the Calumet of the Ilinois, which the Kaskaskia had given to Father Marquette to carry with Him in the Mississipi country, as a Safeguard; but I have found, in the

Father's journal, that they had indeed danced the Calumet to him. He afterward caused me to be asked in how many days I would start, and, when I told him that I had landed merely to greet him in his Cabin, And that I was about to reëmbark, He begged me to remain at least a day, that he might have provisions prepared for me; and he said that all the young men of His village were much pleased to see me. I replied to his compliment, and said that I was anxious to reach my destination. I had previously inquired Whether there were any sick people; but my Interpreter gave me to understand that there were none. Finally, after much going and coming, and many consultations with his people, the Chief of the village asked me to remain until the following day, because he wished with his young men to sing the Chief's Calumet for me. This is a very special honor, which is paid but seldom, and only to persons of distinction; so I thanked him for His good will, saying that I did not consider myself a Captain, and that I was about to leave at Once. My answer pleased the French, but was not very agreeable to all the others who, in Doing me that honor, hoped to gain presents from me. The Chief escorted me to the Water's edge, accompanied by all his people; and they brought me a quantity of dried peaches, of Piachimina, and of Squashes. I Gave the Chief a present of a little lead and powder, a box [123] of vermilion wherewith to daub his young men, and some other trifles, which greatly pleased him; and I told him that I thanked him for the kindness that he had Shown to Father de Limoges. After I had embarked, They fired four Gunshots, to which the people who were with me replied. At 2 Leagues from the Village, there is a small River by which They go in Canoes in the springtime, behind the Hills, To the doors of their Cabins. Since I have spoken above of the Calumet, you will be pleased if I here tell you something about it. There is nothing among these Indians that is more mysterious or more reverenced. No such honors are paid to the crowns and scepters of Kings as those that they pay to it. It seems to be the God of Peace and of war, the arbiter of life and of death. It suffices for one to carry and to show it, to walk in safety in the midst of Enemies, who in the hottest of the Fight lay down their weapons when it is displayed. That is why the Illinois gave one to the late Father Marquette, as a safeguard among the tribes of the Mississipi through whom he must pass on his voyage, when he went to discover that river and the nations that dwell along It.

There is one Calumet for Peace and one for war, and they are

distinguished solely by the Color of the feathers that adorn them. Red is the sign of war. They use it also to terminate their quarrels, to strengthen their alliances and to speak to Strangers. It is a sort of Pipe for smoking Tobacco, made from a red stone polished like marble, and bored out in such manner that one end serves for holding the tobacco, while the other fits upon the stem. The latter consists of a hollow stick about two feet long, as [125] large as an ordinary cane. Hence the french have called it "calumet," from a corruption of the word Chalumeau, because it resembles that instrument—or, rather, a long flute. It is ornamented with the heads or Necks of various birds, whose plumage is very handsome. They also add long feathers of red, green, or other colors with which it is entirely Covered. They esteem it chiefly because they look upon it as the Calumet or Pipe of the sun; and, in fact, they offer it to the sun to smoke when they wish to obtain a Calm, or rain, or fine weather. They scruple to bathe at the beginning of the Hot weather, or to eat new fruit, before they have danced the calumet—that means that the Chief, holding it in his hands, sings airs to which the others respond, while dancing and making measured gestures to the sound of certain Instruments shaped like small Drums.[1]

On the 1st of November, nearly all the French received the Sacraments, and, after celebrating the Feast to the best of our ability, we continued our voyage and discovered the River of the Akansea, 8 leagues from the Village of the Kappa. The Sittèoui Akansea are 5 leagues above Its Mouth, and are much more numerous than the Kappa and the Tourima; these Are the 3 villages of the Akansea. That River, which is to the North of the Mississipi, is very fine; it divides into 3 branches at a League from the Village of the Ousitteoui; it runs to the Northwest, and, by ascending it, one reaches the River of the Missouris, by making a portage. They count 60 Leagues from the Kappa to the River of the Toumika; And on the 3rd day we passed the pointe coupée, which Is halfway. We afterward [127] remained at anchor during a 6 days' rain, and did not proceed very Far. The 7th. A heavy fog came on, and the rain compelled us to Encamp on a hill more than 40 or 50 feet high. About 7 o'clock in the Evening, we were Surprised by a furious squall that lasted over an hour, and gave every one plenty of occupation in saving the Canoes and baggage; it threatened, at every moment, to crush us by the trees that fell all around us. When the wind fell, the rain was so heavy for two days that I have never seen anything like it. Our people killed a Crocodile, three brasses long. This

is an animal of the color of a Toad, shaped like a Lizard. It is Often found on land, and although it walks very slowly, no one approaches it unless he is well armed. The scales with which it is covered are proof against small shot, and a ball is needed to pierce them. I know not how the savages do so who have only arrows, unless it be that these slip under The scales from the rear. Its mouth is very large, and is armed with two rows of teeth, longer than those of a Bear. To see it, and hear it gnash its teeth, frightens one. It is said that the tongue is good to eat, but I have never had the curiosity to taste any of it, or any other part of the body, which most of the Savages consider a great treat. From time to time, some of them lose their lives by risking themselves in diving to catch it after it is wounded. Many of these animals are larger than this one was.

On the 13th day, after the mass of the blessed Stanislas, we set out; and on the following day we reached the river of the Tounika. I left the 5 Canoes containing the frenchmen at the mouth, which is on the South side of the Mississipi. I embarked in my [129] Canoe to visit Monsieur Davion, a missionary priest, who was sick. I left my Canoe 4 leagues from the River, at the foot of a Hill where there are 5 or 6 Cabins. The Road by land, which is 2 leagues long, is fairly good. I found Piakimina-trees loaded with fruit, and many Coupal-trees that yielded gum. We passed on our Route through Canes that were 40 feet high, and as thick as one's arm. The stalks of the corn that we call indian corn are more than 15 or 20 feet high, as are also the sunflowers, and thick in proportion. We saw 5 or 6 hamlets, consisting of but few Cabins; and I was Astonished that Savages who so seldom see Frenchmen should manifest so little curiosity—except at Monsieur Davion's village, where all the people escorted me to the house of that devoted missionary, whom I found ill in bed with fever. He arose on the following day, to receive communion at my mass, and went out, for the first time, to visit some Cabins with me. He spoke to me with much frankness about His mission, which he is beginning to establish; and God blesses his Zeal and the study that he has made of the language, which he is beginning to speak better than might usually be expected from a person of His age. In his mission, 3 different languages are spoken; the Ïakou, with 30 Cabins; the Ounspik, with 10 or 12 Cabins; and the Toumika, who are in 7 hamlets, consisting in all of 50 or 60 small Cabins. He devotes himself entirely to the last-named language; and, as the Toumika are the most numerous, the Mission bears their name.[1] They are very docile; polygamy

is rare among them; but their caprice and the custom of the country authorize divorce for almost nothing,—the result being that [131] the village is but little populated, and I saw hardly any children there. The girls are not lewd or bold, as among the Natchiés and Taensa. They acknowledge nine Gods: the sun, Thunder, fire, the Gods of the east, of the South, of the North, and of the West, of the Sky, and of the Earth. In every Cabin is a tall Post that holds it up; at the foot of this are 2 or 3 small earthen pots near the fire, from which they take a little ashes to place in those pots, through I Know not what superstition. That is the post of the spirit or genie. They are so secret regarding all the mysteries of their Religion that the Missionary can discover nothing about them. The women wear a gown made of a tissue from the mulberry-tree, which they spin like hemp and flax. It is a strong and thick cloth. Their Skirt is very decent, extending from the waist to below the knees; it has a fringe that is very neatly worked,—as is also their mantle, which is either quite plain, or worked in lozenges, or in squares, or in ermine; they usually wear it over one shoulder, and seldom over both. The men and women do not grease or oil their Hair, as do our savages of Canada, but perhaps both are mistaken. The meat of bears, of Deer, and of all kinds of animals is very scarce in their villages. The women wear their Hair in a heavy plait on their backs, reaching to below the waist; they also make a crown of it around Their heads, which are flat, like those of the men. The mothers are careful to compress the heads of their children, while in the cradle, to make them flat. Most of the men wear their hair long, and their only covering is a scanty Deerskin. They, as well as the women, sometimes wear cloaks made of Turkey feathers or of Muskrat skins, well woven [133] and well worked. The men here Do what peasants do in france; they till and hoe the soil; they sow and harvest; they cut wood and bring it to the cabin; they dress the skins of Deer and of oxen, when they have any. They dress them better than do any other Savages whom I have seen. The women do only household work, and make the earthen vessels and their clothes. Their Cabins are round and arched; they are lathed with Canes, and plastered with Mud from the bottom to the top, both inside and out, and have a good roof of straw. There is no opening but the door; and however little fire there may be,—the Smoke therefrom Issues only by the door, —It is as hot in them as in a vapor bath. At Night, a lighted torch made of dried Canes serves them as a Light, and keeps all the Cabin warm. Their beds are made of round Canes [1] raised

on 4 posts 3 feet high; and a Reed mat serves as a Mattress. Nothing can be cleaner than their Cabins. One never sees in them either clothes, or bags, or Kettles, or hatchets, or guns; They carry everything with them, and their sole wealth consists of fairly well-made earthen vessels—especially small varnished jars, as pretty as any that can be seen in france.[1] Their granaries are near their Cabins; they are made like Dove-cotes, built on four large posts 15 or 16 feet high. These are very smooth and well polished, so that the mice may not climb them; and thus they protect Their corn and Squashes—which are even better than those of the Ilinois—against those vermin. There are no peaches in this village, as among the Akansea; but there are such quantities of piakimina that whole families go together to the woods to gather it, As [135] among the Ilinois whole families go together to Hunt the wild ox, which is seldom seen in this country. There they live for a month in the woods on that fruit, besides pounding and drying great quantities of it, which they keep for a Long time. They have only a small temple erected on a mound of earth; they enter it, so Monsieur Davion told me, only when going to war or returning thence; and do not utter all the yells of the Taensa and Natchés when they pass in front of their temple, in which an old man always keeps fire burning. Monsieur de St. Cosme, who had heard that Monsieur Davion was dying, arrived from the Natchés mission. Before my departure, they both confirmed the news of the Wreck of Father de Limoges—who, out of all that he possessed, saved only his Chalice and his Crucifix. They gave him all that he needed to enable him to reach fort Mississipi, and were greatly edified by the joy and fortitude that he manifested in the great loss that he had suffered of all the outfit of his Mission,—praising God, They told me, for having thus deprived him of all that he possessed. Monsieur de St. Cosme informed me that the Natchés were far from being as docile as the Tounika. They are polygamous, thievish, and Very depraved—the girls and women being even more so than the men and boys, among whom a great reformation must be effected before anything can be expected from them. The customs of the Taensas, who speak the same language, are the same. Their village is 20 leagues from the River of the Toumika; it is 4 leagues inland. After Traveling a league, one reaches a lake where there are always a great many Crocodiles. It must be crossed in a Canoe to reach the village, [137] which is more closely built than that of the Tounika.[2] Last year the temple was reduced to ashes, by the lightning falling on such combus-

tible material as the Canes with which it was covered. The old man who was its Guardian said that the spirit was angry because no one had been killed in it at the death of the last Chief and that he must be appeased. There were 5 women Cruel enough to throw their Children into the fire, in full view of the french who related this to me,—or, rather, they gave them to the Old man, who cast them into the fire. He did so while uttering Invocations, and singing with the women during the barbarous ceremony; and had it not been for the French, many more Children would have been burned. The Chief's Cabin was turned into a temple, and the 5 unnatural mothers were carried there in triumph, as if they were 5 heroines. At the point of the bend where the village stands, the River is barely an arpent and a half in width, and forms a strait, where the current is difficult to ascend. It is at that place that Monsieur de la salle says there is a whirlpool, into which the trees are precipitated roots upward, and reappear only half a league lower down. This I did not see; perhaps it only happened when he passed, or occurs only occasionally.

After enduring heavy showers during the night, which would have deluged our baggage had I slept as soundly as did our Canoemen, we had very fine weather while proceeding to the Natchés, who are South of the Taensas, from whom they are distant 20 leagues. After ascending a low hill, we came upon a well-traveled highway leading to a rather steep hill, which is more than half covered during [139] the high Waters. At the top of this hill is a fine prairie; the Road most used leads to the Village where the temple is; others, which intersect it right and left, lead to various hamlets. There are only 4 cabins in the one where the temple is; it is very Spacious and covered with plaited canes, which are renewed every year with great ceremonies, which it would take too long to relate here. They begin by a fast that lasts four days, accompanied by vomiting until Blood comes. There are neither windows nor Chimney in the temple and one can see only a little by the light of the fire; and even then the door, which is very low and Very narrow, must be open. I imagine that the obscurity of the place inspires them with respect. The old man who is the guardian keeps the fire lighted all the time, and takes very good care not to let it go out. It is in the middle of the temple, in front of a sort of Mausoleum in the Savage fashion. There are 3, which are 8 or 9 feet long, about 6 feet wide, and 9 or 10 feet high. They are supported by 4 large posts, covered with Cane mats in quite neat Columns, And sur-

mounted by a ceiling of Canes interlaced. This would be very graceful, were it not all darkened by smoke and covered with Soot. There is a large Mat that Serves as a curtain to hide a large table, covered with 5 or 6 Cane Mats, on which stands a great Basket; it is not permitted to open this, because the Spirit of Each nation in this quarter reposes, it is said, with that of the Natchez. I am annoyed with myself for not having opened the Basket, although I would have pained the Old man by drawing back the curtain and trying to touch that Basket. There are others in the 2 other mausoleums, in which, they say, are the bones [141] of their Chiefs, whom they revere as divinities. The rarest object that I saw there is a small piece of rock Crystal, which I found in a small Basket. I observed many small Earthen pots, dishes, and cups, and some small, well-made Cane baskets. In these food is served to the spirits of the dead Chiefs, and the guardian of the temple finds it to his Advantage. After inspecting everything in the temple, I saw, either there or elsewhere, neither the gold, nor the silver, nor The precious stones, nor the Riches, nor the nine brasses of fine pearls mentioned by the author of a relation, printed under the name of Monsieur de Tonty, but which he disavowed to *him* [Monsieur Iberville] who reproached him with all the falsehoods with which it is filled.[1] What The writer dares to mention as having been seen by Monsieur de Tonty, in a small cupboard imbedded in the wall and plastered with mud, is also a fable; and I neither saw nor tasted there the exquisite liquors of which he speaks. These are all Things that have been invented by the same author, in order to embellish his story. It is true that the Chief's wife has some small pearls; but they are neither round nor well-pierced,—with the exception of 7 or 8, which are as large as small peas, and have been bought for more than they are worth. After a careful search, there were found none of the riches or rarities that have been reported to exist in the Temple and in the village. The frenchmen whom Monsieur D'Iberville left there to learn the language told me that, at the death of the last Chief, they had killed two women, 3 men, and 3 Children; They strangled them with a Bowstring; and that cruel ceremony is performed with great pomp, for the wretched victims Consider themselves [143] highly honored in accompanying their Chief by means of a violent death. For the great Chief who died some months previously, There were but 7. His wife, who was more cautious than the others, would not Follow him; and began to weep when they wished to make her accompany her Husband. When Monsieur de Montigni,

who has left this country to go to Siam, was informed of their custom, he made them promise to put no more people to death. They gave him, as a pledge of their word, a little slave girl, whom they had resolved to kill, had he not forbidden it. But, in order to keep their cursed custom without his noticing it, the woman Chief, whom they call *Ouachil Tamail*, "the Sun woman" (who is always the sister and not the wife of the great Chief), persuaded him to withdraw to a distant Village so that his head might not be broken by the noise that would be made at a Ceremony whereat all the people would be present. Monsieur de Montigni, who suspected nothing, Believed her and withdrew; but, in his absence, They put to death those whom they considered necessary to act as Cooks for the Chief, and to Serve him in The other world. However, the Old men alone enter the temple to yell, as I have seen them do after kindling the fire. All the men who pass in front of the temple lay down their Burdens, stretch their arms toward the temple, and utter loud yells; and, if they have little Children, They hold them in their arms and, turning toward the temple They make them touch the earth 3 times with their foreheads. They utter the same yells when they pass before the Chief or the woman Chief, or speak to them, or offer them food, drink, or tobacco. This woman Chief is very intelligent, and [145] enjoys greater Influence than one thinks. Her brother is not a great genius; he has been married 9 times, without a single Woman being able to live with him; they have all left him, and now he lives quite alone. The Women are all very neatly clad, and are decently covered To the middle of their Legs, with a cloak that descends below the knees. Most of them have black teeth, which is considered beautiful among them; they blacken them by chewing the Ashes of tobacco mixed with wood ashes, and rubbing them with these every morning. The corn was not yet gathered in. The 1st harvest in this quarter is in the month of June; and the 2nd, which is more abundant, is only at the end of November. Besides the fact that they offer the first-fruits of their crop to the temple in that Village, the woman Chief had the corn gathered in for the temple, and no one dares to refuse what her emissaries wish to take. That harvest is gathered for the Chief and the woman Chief, and to supply food for the spirits of the departed Chiefs; but all the people take part in the feast that is given them during 6 days. This is accompanied with the usual yells, the Shouts, and the Ceremonies that they will not explain to the Missionaries, to whom, for all answer, They say, *noukou*—which means, "I Know not why it is done." Every-

thing depends upon the Commission of the Chiefs, who have too much Interest in passing among their people for Spirits to embrace Christian humility very soon.

We left that village of the Natchez on the 24th and the 25th of November. We discovered the Hills of the houmas to the South of the Mississipi, which forms a bay that one enters by leaving the main [147] Channel to the right. There is a good league and a half from the point of disembarkation to the Village of the houmas,—over a very bad Road, for one has to ascend and descend, and walk half bent, through the Canes. The village is on the crest of a steep mountain, precipitous on all sides. There are 80 Cabins in it, and in the middle of the Village is a fine and very level open space, where, from morning to night, young men exercise themselves. They run after a flat stone, which they throw in the air from one end of the square to the other, and try to Make it fall On two Cylinders, which they roll wherever they think the stone will fall.

There is nothing fine about the temple except the Vestibule, which is embellished with the most pleasing and best executed grotesque figures that one can see. These Are four Satyrs, two of which are in relief,—all four standing out from the wall, and having on their heads, their hands, and their legs,—for fillets, bracelets, Garters, baldrics, and belts,—snakes, mice, and Dogs. The colors are black, white, red, and Yellow; and are applied so well, and with such absence of confusion, that they constitute an agreeably surprising spectacle. The Old man who keeps up the fire—the name of which, he told us, was *Louak ouloughé*—the "sacred fire"—showed us the bones of the woman Chief who died last year. That woman had so distinguished herself by the blows that she inflicted upon their enemies, having in person led several war-parties, that she was looked upon as an Amazon, and as the mistress of the whole village. Greater honor was paid to her than to the great Chief; for she occupied the 1st place in all the Councils, and, when she walked about, was always [149] preceded by four young men, who sang and danced the Calumet to her. She was dressed as an Amazon; she painted her face and Wore her Hair like the men. In this village they know nothing of all the yells that are usually uttered among the Natchés when they pass before the temple—opposite which is a Chapel 50 feet long that Father du Ru caused to be built last spring; also a great Cross 35 or 40 feet high, that he caused to be erected in the public place of the village. Father de Limoges had arrived there three days before, in order to settle there and to labor for the Con-

version of the houmas, who seemed to me to be very docile. The Great Chief is very reasonable, and says that he acknowledges but one spirit who has made all. I counted 70 Cabins in the village, which I visited with Father de Limoges, who chose to give me the first-fruits of his mission in the baptism that I administered to a Child 3 days old. I gave him the name of St. Francis Xavier, the Patron of the mission; God took him to Paradise a few days afterward, there to labor for the Conversion of his parents and of his Countrymen.

On the 3rd of december, we celebrated the Festival of that great Saint as solemnly as we could; and I Chanted the first high mass that was ever heard in the village. I was Surprised at the little Curiosity that they manifested. If the Mississipi country be settled, and this mission be not taken from us, There is reason to hope that we shall do well here, on account of the docility of these poor people. The women and the girls are more modest than Among the neighboring Tribes. May God be pleased to convert them, and make the road to Their village Impracticable for certain French libertines. All that they do [151] for their sick is to suck them Until Blood comes. I saw one in the hands of the old Medicine-men; one whistled and played on a gourd; another sucked; while the third sang the Song of the Crocodile, whose skin served him as a drum. As they are Satisfied with their Squashes and their corn, of which they have an abundance, They are indolent, and hardly ever Hunt. They have nevertheless the reputation of being warriors, and are feared by the neighboring tribes. They are not cruel; and, far from putting to death any slaves whom they may capture, as soon as the latter enter the village the women weep over Them, pity them for having been taken, and afterward treat them better than their own children. When any of their people go out Hunting, the women begin to weep, as if they were about to lose them; And, when they return from Hunting, They weep with joy at seeing them once more. There are few Villages in france where there are more hens and Cocks than in that of the houmas, because they never kill any, and will not even eat any of those that their Dogs quite often kill. When one wishes to obtain chickens from them, He must not say that he intends to kill or eat them. They would give them with reluctance; but they willingly sell those fowls when they are not killed in their presence, or when they are told that they will be taken away to be reared as with them. The hens have little chickens at all times, And in the month of december there were some in all the

Cabins, since they keep Warm in the Cabins,—which the people are Careful to keep clean, and which they sweep out 2 or 3 times a day.[1] The Children, the men, and the young men are dressed like the Tounika. The [153] women wear a fringed skirt, which covers them from the Waist to below the knees. When they go out of their Cabins they wear a Robe of Muskrat skins, or of Turkey's feathers. Their faces are tattooed with figures, and they wear their hair plaited like the Tounika And Natches, and blacken their teeth as Those tribes do. Although all savages have a great dread of cold, when there is the slightest frost (for there is no winter here) They all bathe, both great and small, and come out of the water quite chilled with cold. An Old man Calls out at daybreak when it freezes. This kind of bath sometimes brings on a Bloody Flux, which carries off many of them. However, Father de Limoges is beginning to Make Himself understood, and will do good in this mission. He related to me his wreck, in which he lost everything; and the loss is greater than can be believed—more than one Mission will suffer by it. While allowing themselves to drift at night with the Current, their Canoe struck a tree which had stuck in the middle of the Stream. This Upset the canoe, and it remained on its Side full of water; and, had he not promptly caught hold of the tree, He would have been drowned while half asleep. He lost everything except his Chalice, which he saved by pulling it, I know not how, from Its box. That was all that he could save, and it is almost a miracle that he was able to Save himself, after struggling for his life for nearly three hours, by means of a branch of a tree swept down by the current, to which he fastened himself with his 2 canoemen. He allowed Himself to drift with the Current, which at last carried the tree to land; and, after drying themselves without a fire in the wind and Sun, as well as they [155] could, They made a Raft out of 3 or 4 pieces of driftwood, which they lashed together with withes. They traveled for three whole days On this new Canoe, always half submerged, and Without eating anything during all that time except some Wild purslane, quite raw. That Dear Missionary told me that he then remembered to good purpose St. Francis Xavier, who had struggled for his life in the Waters for as many days, upon a piece of plank. On the 4th Day, they observed the fire of some Akansea who were hunting. He and his two companions were very humanely treated by them. They gave them food, and took them to Their village, where the Father found His Canoe, which had been stopped by a Barrier of driftwood. He has since been

equipped with everything necessary for his mission among the houmas. I started from there on the 4th of December, and, after 3 Leagues of Navigation, we found on the North side of the Mississipi the red River, about which so much is said. If the 3rd attempt which the french have made there within 7 or 8 months be successful, the Missionaries will have there a passage by which to reach the various nations along that river, which flows in a Southeasterly direction. They nearly all live only in small hamlets, Like the Natchés, which makes persons who wish to convey a great Idea of all Those Tribes say that there are villages without end, and of 3 or 4, 5 or 6 leagues in extent—trying to make hamlets of 3 or 4 Cabins, separated from one another according to the convenience of the land, pass for so many villages of the same tribe. Monsieur de Bienville, who has penetrated the farthest of all, has told me that the whole country is flooded in the months of [157] march and april; that there were small eminences among the Natchitoch that were quite populous, and that corn grew thereon to the height of one's shoulder. At the end of march, Monsieur de St. Denis is to go as Far as the Kadodakio; and instead of going toward the Senis, whither the Assassins of Monsieur de la Salle had fled, He is to go To the left, and push on as far as the Kiouahau, the most remote tribe that we know of, where it is hoped that mines will be found. He is to return here at the end of this month; and, if he finds no silver mines, they have nothing less than what they Seek in the settlement of the Mississipi—which floods all the lands to a distance of more than 80 leagues from Its Mouth, with the exception of a few small Districts.[1]

On the 10th, we said the mass of St. francis Xavier, to commence the devotion of the ten fridays. On the following Day, we arrived at the Cross that marks the village of the Baiougoula, on the North side of the Mississipi, and 40 Leagues from the houmas. As the Waters have been extraordinarily high this year, they have undermined the Hill for a length of over 10 feet, so that the Cross has fallen with The soil that has crumbled away. I Did not go to the village, and it was only on my return from Bilocchi that I visited the Baiougoula. Their Chief caused the Chief of the Mougoulacha to be massacred, with more than 200 men of that tribe, who were very well disposed toward the French, and who lived in the same Village with the Baigougoula as the Piouaroua do with the Kaskaskia. The blood of so many Innocents cries for vengeance; consequently God is beginning to punish them by famine and disease and they must fear that the

houmas and the Kolapessas will [159] avenge the murder of all their allies. I have never seen anything So beggarly.[1] I Know a few words of their language; but, as more than two-thirds of them were away from the village, whence hunger had driven them, I remained there only 4 days. . . . Since we have left the Natches, we have lived only on Indian corn with a few Squashes —For it is a long time since either wild oxen, Deer, or bears have been seen in this quarter; and, if we have found a few bustards or wild geese, they have been so lean that they were as tasteless as wood. This has caused our Canoemen very often to sigh for the River of the Ilinois, And the beauty of the country and of the landing-places; [161] and for the numbers of wild oxen and Deer, and all Kinds of fat and excellent Game. The navigation of the Mississipi is very slow and tedious, and very difficult—especially in ascending it. It is also very troublesome on account of the gnats and other insects called Mosquitoes, midges, And black flies; the heavy rains; the excessive Heat; the wretched landing-places,—where one must wade in mud and clay, Often half-way up one's Legs,—and the bad food. Unless one set out with a Canoe half full of provisions, he must expect to fast long; and I find it difficult to believe that our savages up above and in the Illinois Country come here to seek for merchandise from so great a distance, with so many difficulties and so many risks. The Pirogue of the Baiougoulas that we met traveled no more than 3 or 4 leagues a day. They were badly clad for the Season, For they had only half a Deerskin to protect them against the cold. There was even an old woman so destitute that she had only a little moss wherewith to Cover herself. Many old people among these savages have no other clothing. At last, on the 17th of december, I reached fort Mississipi, after 68 Days of navigation in descending the river. This first post is on the South side of the river, 18 leagues from Its mouth; there is neither fort, nor bastion, nor intrenchments, nor redouts,—it consists of only a battery of 6 pieces of Cannon, and of 6 or 8 placed on the edge of the Hill; and of 5 or 6 Cabins detached from one another and roofed with palm-leaves. The Commandant, Monsieur de Bienville, has there a small and very neat house. I observed, on arriving, that the men were commencing to suffer from hunger, and that flour was beginning to fail. This compelled me to [163] live on the same food as do the Savages, so as not to be a burden upon any one; and to content myself with Indian corn, without meat or fish, Until the arrival of the ships, which are not expected here before the end

of march. If the Mississipi country be settled, the fort will be transported to—or, rather, will be erected among—the Baiougoulas, 40 leagues higher up; for the high Waters flood the place —to such an extent that the men spent 4 months in the water; and frequently had to wade mid-Leg deep in it outside of their Cabins, although the Savages had assured them that this spot was never inundated. The wheat that had been sown was already quite high, when the inundation caused by a heavy sea, in the month of August, carried it away. The Garden did not succeed any better; and, besides, there are great numbers of black snakes that eat the lettuce and other vegetables down to the roots. As to the Fort of Bilocchi, 30 leagues from here, not only is the air purer, but the country is more open, and all kinds of Garden produce can be grown.[1] Deer abound in the immediate vicinity, and there is very good hunting; and—to temper the Heat, which would otherwise be excessive—every day, an hour or two before noon, a wind blows from the sea which is called "the breeze," and it cools the air. Only the water is not good there. It is supplied by a small spring, for the water in the Bay is more than Brackish, and is not drinkable. This Bay, which gives the fort its name, takes its Own from the Bilocchi Savages, who Are nearest to it, and is called the Bay of Bilocchi. . [169] . . I arrived there on the last Day of the year 1700, and was well received by the Governor. I found Father du Ru there. . [171] . . I came back to this fort 4 days ago. The arrival of the ships, which are expected from day to day, will enable me to decide what I shall do; whether to await the arrival of Monsieur d'Iberville,[2] or to return to the Ilinois by the first Canoes. However, no ship can enter the Mississipi river if she draws more than 9 or 10 feet of water, For there are only eleven at its Mouth. The Entrance once passed, there is not a Ship that cannot sail a long distance up the River. There are from 15 to 16 brasses of Water here; most of the store-ships, which draw only 9 feet, could go far up, For the English ship that Monsieur d'Iberville found last year 8 leagues from here drew still [173] less water. The Captain had for his guidance Monsieur de la Salle's Relation, and some other very incorrect memoirs that mention The mouth of the river. That Englishman, who was talking about it to Monsieur de Bienville, congratulated himself upon having found the entrance to the Mississipi. One of those who have written of it is an apostate, who presented to King William the Relation of the Mississipi, whither he never went; and, after a thousand falsehoods and ridiculous

boasts, He pretends to establish the first claims and the incontestable right of King William to the Mississipi, etc.[1]

He depicts in His Relation Monsieur de la Salle wounded, with two balls in his head, turning to Father Anastase, a Recollet, to ask for absolution,—(which he certainly could not have had time to do,) for he was killed outright, without saying a word,—and other similar false statements. I know not what the Court will decide with reference to the Mississipi, if no silver mines be found there; For they seek not lands to cultivate. There are but few districts, to a distance of 80 leagues from here, that are not flooded by the great overflow of the Mississipi. The mines that have been sought for have not yet been found; but little heed is paid to the lead mines, which are very plentiful toward the Ilinois country, and higher up the Mississipi toward the Scioux. There are, in truth, many souls to be won to Jesus Christ along the Mississipi, and still more inland and along the red River. But there are more people in the Ilinois mission alone than I have seen among the Tounika, the Baiougoula and the houmas; and more than there are Among the Bilocchi, the Colapessas, and all the savages of the River mobile, who Are between [175] Fort Bilocchi and that of the Spaniards and the Pansacolas. . . . It is said that there are numerous tribes up the River of the mobilians, where I have not been.* When Monsieur de la Salle came by sea to look for the mouth of the Mississipi, he went past without noticing it, until he had sailed 15 leagues beyond it; and, being unwilling to show that he had been mistaken, He pushed on To a place 80 leagues from here, where he built a fort. Then, with the design of proceeding in triumph to the Ilinois country, he went from his fort to the Senis, Savages who dwell Inland; and it was from their village that Monsieur Cavelier, the priest, set forth, after His Brother's

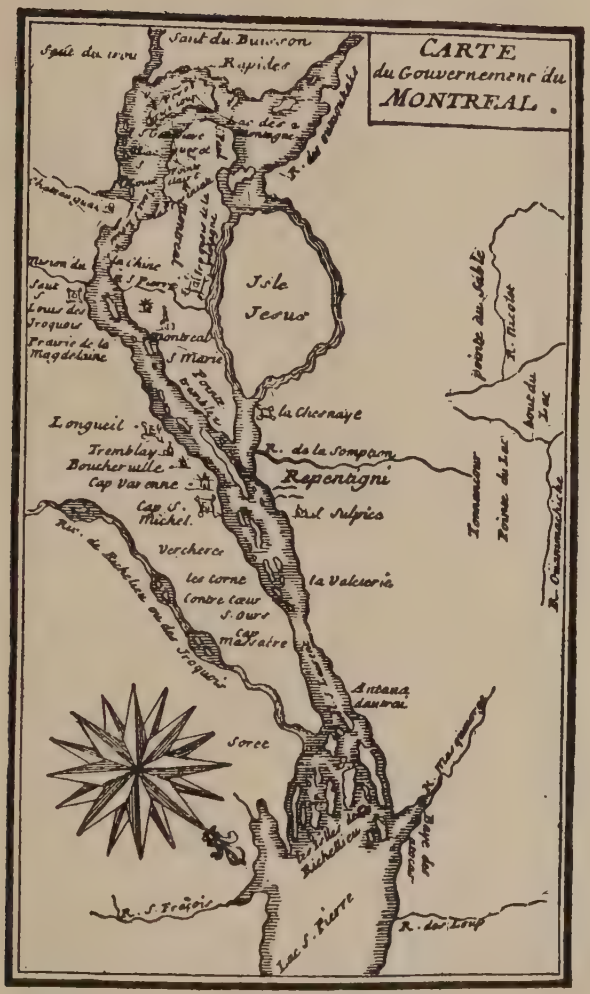
*"I Know not Whether the time for which Reverend Father Goui leads us to hope, is near; but I do know that the people here are greatly dissatisfied with these gentlemen; monsieur de la vante, who is hated by nearly every one; monsieur le mere, the chaplain of the fort, who neither chants, nor preaches, nor visits a single Soldier,—who thinks of nothing but eating, and for whom naught but contempt is felt; monsieur huvé, who Knows not a single word in the Savage tongue, although he has been here 4 years. He has, it is true, been for some time in the apalaches' village, 4 leagues from Here; but he Knows not a word of their language, and he hears confessions, baptizes, marries, and administers Communion and extreme unction, Without understanding the savages. What would be said if a jesuit were to do as much. The Apalaches have driven him away twice,—both because he does not learn their language, and because he is very particular about his food, for they have given him a house and a chapel, and they feed him."[2]—*Letter upon the Affairs of Louisiana;* Gravier, Fort St. Louis of Louisiana, Feb. 23, 1708:—*Id.*, lxvi, *doc.* clxxxiii, p. 131.

tragic death, to go across the country to the Akansea, thence in a pirogue to the Ilinois, and finally to Kebec—where he, with 4 others, embarked to return to france. The Spaniards shortly afterward made themselves masters of the fort of Monsieur de la Salle, in which more than 150 persons died of hardships and disease. The Spaniards took away the remainder of the french whom they found there, and afterward came to the Senis country, where they left 20 men with 3 Cordeliers; from that place also they took away two frenchmen whom they found there, who are now at fort Bilocchi. It is from those two Frenchmen that our people learned what had become of the sorry remnants of that great expedition of Monsieur de la Salle—who had 400 men with him when he left St. Domingo to seek for the mouth of the Mississipi. Among the senis the [177] murderers of Monsieur de la salle became savages like them, after some of them had killed one another.[1] Such, my Reverend Father, are the precise details of my voyage, of all that I was able to learn on the way, and of all that I have seen and noticed and heard here from the Commandant, Monsieur de Bienville, brother of Monsieur d'Iberville, who has explored most of this country. I may add that it is to the willows, and not to the mulberry-trees, that the silkworms attach themselves when they spin their cocoons in this country. No settlement could be established in a place where there are more Mosquitoes than here. There are some nearly all the year round. To be sure, they gave us a short truce of 7 or 8 days; but at this very moment They are stinging me badly. . . . I have much to suffer from these Troublesome Flies Up to the month of may, and still longer, while ascending the river; for I shall not be able to do so until the mosquitoes will be So abundant that we shall not be able to rest at night, or to land in the Daytime to cook some Indian corn, without being devoured by [179] them. God Be praised for everything. I must be content with all, whatever it may cost me,—provided this voyage of over a thousand Leagues, which I have undertaken for the good of our missions in the upper country, may be of some use to them, as well as my delay, which is caused through my desire to ascertain the truth. Pray to God for us, my Reverend Father; and believe that

I am with much respect,
My Reverend Father,
Your very humble and very
Obedient Servant,
JACQUES GRAVIER.

Since this letter was written,—a year ago, last february, that of the present year, 1702.—The french have abandoned the two posts mentioned above, both that of Mississipi and that of the bay of Bilocchi, to establish themselves on The river called the mobile, from the name of the savages who have their village there, and are called mobilians. That river falls into the sea 15 leagues this side of Bilocchi. There are 2 islands at a short distance from its mouth, that form a port for ships; and, on ascending in Shallops a distance of 14 leagues up the mobile, there is a Regular fort built by Monsieur d'Iberville, with houses for the soldiers and for some frenchmen who have come from Canada. The soil is very good. The plan of a town has been traced out, which will be settled by french Colonies that will be sent there, if the court Deem expedient. There are some indian villages at distances of one, two, and 3 days' journey from fort mobile, whom the new missionaries may instruct in our Holy Religion.[1]

[*Id., doc.* clxxv, vol. lxv, pp. 100-179.]



MONTREAL AND ITS ENVIRONS, IN 1722

From La Ptherie's *Histoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale* (Amsterdam, 1723; Paris, 1753)

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LXVII.*]

LII

[67] Letter from Father Gabriel Marest, Missionary of the Society of JESUS, to Father de Lamberville of the same Society, Procurator of the Mission of Canada.

[*ca.* 1706.]

[This is a letter from Gabriel Marest to Jean de Lamberville, describing the Hudson Bay region, and the Iberville expedition thither in the autumn of 1694. . . .

Marest relates what he has been able to learn about these tribes, the most important and numerous of whom are the Assiniboines and Crees. He mentions various interesting particulars about these people, their country and their language; he thinks that the Assiniboines resemble the Flemings, and the Crees the Gascons. . . .—*Id.*, lxvi, pp. 13, 14.]

My Reverend Father,

The peace of Our Lord.

It is rather late to ask me for news of Hudson's bay. I was in far better condition to tell you of it when I went back to France on my return from the prisons of Plimouth. All that I can do now is to send you an extract from the little Journal which I wrote at that time, and of which I have kept a copy. It begins with our departure from Quebec, and ends with the return of the two vessels which carried us to that bay. . . .

[105] As early as the month of October the river *sainte Thérèse* was wholly frozen over, as far as three or four leagues above the Fort, where there are some islands which render the channel narrower; but we did not begin to cross it, opposite the Fort, until the 13th of November. The river *Bourbon* was not entirely frozen over until the night of January 23 and 24, 1695. . . . The ice in the river *sainte Thérèse* began to break up on the 30th of May, and in the river *Bourbon* only on the 11th of June. On July 30, we embarked to go with our two vessels from the roadstead to the mouth of the river *sainte Thérèse,* in order to await the English vessels which are wont to arrive there at about that time. But we waited for them in vain; not one of them appeared.

On my arrival, I had resolved to learn the language of the Savages; for that purpose I had intended to employ two of them who had lived, during the winter, in a cabin near the Fort. But my frequent trips from one river to the other had prevented my doing so; besides, the man was a slave from another Tribe, who knew only imperfectly their Tongue; the woman, who deeply hates the French, spoke to me only through caprice, and often deceived me. Nevertheless, the visits that I made had, at least, some good effect. I had gained the confidence of this poor man, and I began instructing him to the best of my ability. He fell sick; he asked me for baptism, and I had the satisfaction of administering it to him before he died. I will now mention [107] what I was able to learn about the Savages of that Country.

There are seven or eight different Tribes who come to the Fort; and in the year 1695 possibly three hundred or more Canoe-loads of them came to trade. The most distant, the most numerous, and the most important of these Tribes are the *Assiniboëls* [Assiniboines] and the *Kriqs*—or, otherwise, the *Kiristinnons* [Crees]; indeed, it is necessary to learn only the languages of these two Tribes. The language of the *Kriqs,* which is *Algonquin,* and that of the Savages nearest to the Fort are the same, with the exception of a few words, and some slight differences of accent. The language of the *Assiniboëls* is very different from this latter; it is the same as that of the *Scioux,* to whose country my brother has made two journeys.[1] It is even asserted that these *Assiniboëls* are a *Scioux* Tribe who have been separated from that nation for a long time, and who since then have constantly made war upon them. The *Kriqs* and the *Assiniboëls* are allied together; they have the same enemies, and undertake the same wars. Many *Assiniboëls* speak *Kriq,* and many *Kriqs, Assiniboël.*

The *Kriqs* are numerous and their Country more vast; they are spread as far as Lake superior, where many go to trade. I have seen some of them who have been at the *Sault Sainte Marie* and at *Michilimakinak;* and some who have gone as far as *Montréal.* The river *Bourbon* flows as far as the Lake of the *Krigs;* [2] it takes twenty or twenty-five days to go there from here; it takes thirty-five or forty to go to the land of the *Assiniboëls.*

These Savages are well formed; they are tall, [109] robust, alert, and hardened to cold and fatigue. The *Assiniboëls* have on their bodies deep lines, which represent serpents, birds and various other objects; these are imprinted by puncturing the skin with small pointed bones, and filling these punctures with the

dust of pounded charcoal. They are serious, and appear very phlegmatic. The *Krigs* are more vivacious—always in motion, always dancing or singing. Both tribes are brave, and delight in war. The *Assiniboëls* have been compared to the Flemish, and the *Krigs* to the Gascons; Their dispositions really have some resemblance to those of these two Nations. These Savages have no Villages or fixed dwelling. They are always wanderers and vagabonds, living by hunting and fishing. Nevertheless, in the summer they assemble near the Lakes, where they remain two or three months; and afterward they go to gather wild oats, of which they lay in a store.

The Savages who are nearest to this point live only by hunting; they continually range the woods, without stopping in any place, either in winter or summer, unless they have good sport; but in that case they build cabins on the spot, and remain therein until they no longer have anything to eat. They are often compelled by want of forethought, to go three or four days without taking any food. Like the others, they are inured to cold and accustomed to fatigue; nevertheless, they are base, cowardly, idle, churlish, and wholly vicious.

As for the Religion which they profess, I believe that it is the same as that of other Savages; I cannot yet precisely say in what their Idolatry consists. I know that they have some sort of Sacrifices, and they are great jugglers; like other Savages they use [111] a pipe, which they call a *calumet:* they smoke in honor of the Sun, and also in honor of absent persons; they have smoked in honor of our Fort and of our Vessel; yet I cannot tell you anything positive concerning the ideas that they may hold of the Deity, not having been able to examine them thoroughly. I will only add that they are extremely superstitious, and very dissolute; and that they live in polygamy, and in a great aversion to the Christian Religion. . . .

[117] Besides the Tribes who come to the *Sainte Thérèse* river for trade, there are still others, farther North; in a climate even colder than this—as the *Ikoviriniouckss* who are about a hundred leagues from here; but they are at war with the Savages of this Country and have no intercourse with the Fort. Farther on are found the *Eskimaux;* and, near the *Ikoviriniouckss,* another great Tribe who are allied to them, and are called the *Alimouspigut.* This is a numerous Tribe; they have Villages, and extend even back of the *Assiniboëls,* with whom they are almost always at war.

I do not yet speak the language of the Savages well, and, never-

theless, none of them have come to the Fort to whom I have not spoken of God. I had a secret delight in declaring him to these poor people who have never heard of him; many have listened willingly to me; they knew at least, that I came for a purpose different from that of the other Frenchmen. I told them that I would go into their Country, that I might make them know the God whom I adored; they were much pleased at this, and invited me to do so. I have still more difficulty in understanding the Savage tongue than in speaking it. I already know the greater number of the words; Monsieur de la Mott has supplied me with a good many, and an Englishman who knows the language very well has given me many more. I have made a Dictionary of all these words according to our alphabet, and I believe that, considering the short time that I could spend among the Savages, I had begun to speak their language easily and to understand it. I have translated the sign of the Cross, the *Pater*, the *Ave*, the *Credo*, and the Commandments of God. I have baptized only two adult Savages, who [119] died shortly after. I have also baptized three children, two of whom have gone to Heaven, and if I had been able to go among them, I could have helped more of them to go there.

Our two vessels set out at the beginning of September, 1695, to go back. As it was probable that they would go directly to France, I preferred to remain at the Fort with the eighty men who were left there in garrison, and who, besides, had no Chaplain. I was convinced that, having more leisure after the departure of the Vessels, I could thoroughly learn the language of the Savages, and be enabled to begin a Mission among them. God did not deem me worthy; the English came to besiege us, and took us captive. On crossing to France, I gave you the details of this affair, with the history of our imprisonment. It would be useless to repeat it here. I am, with participation in your holy sacrifices, etc.

GABRIEL MAREST, Missionary.

[*Id., doc.* clxxxi, vol. lxvi, pp. 66-119.]

LIII

[219] Letter from Father Gabriel Marest, Missionary of the Society of JESUS, to Father Germon, of the same Society.

[A letter (dated November 9, 1712) from Gabriel Marest to a brother Jesuit in France, Barthélemi Germon, gives a full account of the Illinois country and its people; and of the mission which the Jesuits have long conducted there. . . .—*Id.*, lxvi, pp. 19, 20.]

At Cascaskias, an Illinois village, otherwise called "the Immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin"; November 9, 1712.

My Reverend Father,

The peace of Our Lord.

I wish that I could give you some information concerning our Missions, that might correspond to the idea which you perhaps have formed of them. What is heard every day in Europe of those immense Countries studded with Towns and Villages, in which an innumerable multitude of Idolators present themselves in crowds to the zeal of the Missionaries, would give room to believe that things here are upon the same footing. Such is very far from being the fact, my Reverend Father; in a great extent of Country, scarcely three or four Villages are found. Our life is passed in threading dense forests, in climbing mountains, in crossing lakes and rivers in canoes, that we may overtake some poor Savage who is fleeing from us, and whom we do not know how to render less savage by either our words or our attentions.

Nothing is more difficult than the conversion of these Savages; it is a miracle of the Lord's mercy: we must first make men of them, and afterward work [221] to make them Christians. As they are absolute masters of themselves without being subjected to any Law, the independence in which they live enslaves them to the most brutal passions. It is true, there are Chiefs among them, but the Chiefs have no authority; if they should use threats, far from making themselves feared, they would see themselves abandoned by the very men who had chosen them for

Chiefs. They gain consideration and respect only while they have, as is said here, wherewith to fill the kettle,—that is to say, wherewith to make feasts for those who are obedient to them.

From this independence springs every sort of vice that rules them. They are indolent, traitorous, fickle, and inconstant; deceitful and naturally thievish,—so much so, as to boast of their skill in stealing; brutal, and without honor; taciturn; capable of doing everything when you are liberal toward them, but at the same time thankless and ungrateful. To do them any good gratuitously is only to uphold them in their natural pride; they become thereby more insolent; they say, "I am feared; I am sought." Thus, however desirous we may be to give them pleasure, we are compelled to make them value the little services that we render them.

Gluttony and the love of pleasure are, above all, the vices most dominant among our Savages; they are habituated to the most indecent acts before they are even old enough to know the shame that is connected with them. . . .

[223] Our Illinois inhabit a very pleasant country. Nevertheless, it is not so enchanting as it is represented to us by the Author of the new relation of southern America which has appeared under the name of Monsieur the Chevalier de Tonti. I have heard it said of Monsieur de Tonti himself that he disavowed this work, and that he recognized in it only his own name, which is at the beginning.[1]

It must, however, be admitted that the Country is very fine; the great rivers which water it, the vast and dense forests, the delightful prairies, the hills covered with very thick woods,—all these features make a charming variety. Although this Country is farther South than Provence, the winter here is longer; the cold weather, however, is somewhat mitigated. During summer the heat is less scorching: [225] the air is cooled by the forests and by the number of rivers, lakes, and ponds with which the Country is intersected.

The Illinois river empties into the Mississipi near the 39th degree of latitude; it is about 150 leagues long, and is seldom easily navigable until toward spring. It flows Southwest, and comes from the Northeast or East-Northeast. All the plains and prairies are overspread with oxen, roebucks, hinds, stags and other wild beasts. There is a still greater abundance of small game. We find here, especially, multitudes of swans, cranes, bustards, and ducks; the wild oats, which grow freely on the plains, fatten them to such an extent that they very often die,

their fat suffocating them. Turkeys are likewise found here in abundance, and they are as good as those of France.

This Region does not end with the Illinois river; it still stretches along the Mississipi, on both sides, and is about two hundred leagues in length, and more than a hundred in breadth. The Mississipi is one of the most beautiful rivers in the world: in recent years a shallop ascended it as far as 800 leagues, where waterfalls prevented its going farther.

Seven leagues below the mouth of the Illinois river is found a large river called the *Missouri*—or more commonly *Pekitanoui;* that is to say, "muddy water,"—which empties into the Mississipi on the West side; it is extremely rapid, and it discolors the beautiful water of the Mississipi, which flows from this point to the Sea. The Missouri comes from the Northwest, not far from the mines which the Spaniards have in Mexico, and is very serviceable to the French who travel in that country.

About 80 leagues below, on the side of the Illinois [227] river, —that is to say on the Eastern side (for the Mississipi generally flows from North to South),—empties still another beautiful river called *Ouabache.* It comes from the East-Northeast. It has three branches, of which one goes to the Iroquois, the second stretches toward Virginia and Carolina, and the third to the *Miamis.*[1] It is said that mines of silver are found here; what is certain is, that there are in this Country mines of lead and tin; and, if miners by trade should come to dig the ground, they would perhaps find here mines of copper and other metals.

Besides these large rivers which water so extensive a Country, there are also a great many small streams. It is on the East bank of one of these rivers that our Village is situated, between the river *Ouabache* and the *Pekitanoui.* We are in the 38th latitude. We see herds of oxen and bears, which feed along the banks of the river *Ouabache.* The flesh of young bears is a most delicious food.

The swamps are filled with roots, some of which are excellent, as are the potatoes and others, of which it is useless to note here the barbarous names. The trees are very tall and very fine: there is one to which has been given the name of cedar of Lebanon; it is a lofty, very straight tree, which shoots out its branches only at the top, where they form a sort of crown. The *Copal* is another tree, from which issues a gum that diffuses an odor as agreeable as that of incense.

Fruit-trees are not very numerous here; we find apple-trees and wild plum-trees that would perhaps produce good fruit, if

they were grafted; there are many mulberry trees, of which the fruit is not so [229] large as of those of France and there are different kinds of nut-trees. The pecans (it is thus that the fruit of one of the Nut-trees is called) have a better flavor than our nuts in France. Peach-trees from the Mississipi have been brought to us; they come in very good condition. But among the fruits of the Country those which seem to me the best, and which would certainly be appreciated in France, are the *Piakimina* and the *Racemina*. The latter are perhaps twice as long as the finger and about as large as an infant's arm; the former resemble medlars somewhat except that the crown is smaller. We also have grapes, but they are only indifferently good; they must be gathered from the tops of the trees. Sometimes we have been compelled to make wine of them, for lack of having any other in saying Mass. Our Savages are not accustomed to gather fruit from the trees; they think it better to cut down the trees themselves; for this reason, there are scarcely any fruit-trees in the vicinity of the Villages.[1]

It seems that a Country as beautiful and as extensive as this ought to be overspread with well-populated Villages; nevertheless, counting our own there are only three—of which one is more than a hundred leagues from here, where there are eight or nine hundred Savages; and the other is on the Mississipi, 25 leagues from our Village. The men are generally of tall stature, very lithe, and good runners, being accustomed from their tenderest youth to hunt wild beasts in the forests. They wear only a girdle, the rest of the body being wholly bare; as for the women, they, in addition, cover the bosom with a deer-skin. But both are modestly clothed when they come to Church; they envelop the body in a large [231] skin, or rather they are dressed in a robe made of several skins sewed together.

The Illinois are much less barbarous than other Savages: Christianity and intercourse with the French have by degrees civilized them. This is to be noticed in our Village, of which nearly all the inhabitants are Christians; it is this also which has brought many Frenchmen to settle here, and very recently we married three of them to Illinois women. These Savages do not lack intelligence: they are naturally inquisitive, and turn a joke in a fairly ingenious manner. Hunting and war form the whole occupation of the men; the rest of the work belongs to the women and girls,—it is they who prepare the ground which must be sowed, who do the cooking, who pound the corn, who set up the cabins, and who carry them on their shoulders in the jour-

neys. These cabins are composed of mats made of flat rushes, which they have the skill of sewing together in such a way that the rain cannot penetrate them when they are new. In addition to this, they are busied in working up the hair of the oxen and in making it into leggings, girdles, and bags; for the oxen here are very different from those of Europe; besides having a great hump upon the back, near the shoulders, they are also wholly covered with a very fine wool, which takes the place of that which our Savages would obtain from sheep, if there were any in the Country.

The women thus occupied and humbled by work are thereby more disposed to accept the truths of the Gospel. It is not the same toward the lower part of the Mississipi, where the idleness which prevails among the women give opportunity for the most [233] shocking irregularities, and wholly indisposes them to the way of salvation.

It would be difficult to say what the religion of our Savages is: it consists solely of certain superstitions, by which their credulity is gratified. As all their knowledge is limited to the knowledge of animals, and of the needs of life, so it is to these things that all their worship is limited. The charlatans, who have a little more intellect than the others, win their respect by skill in deceiving them. They persuade them that they are honoring a sort of Spirit, to whom they give the name of *Manitou:* and, to hear them speak, it is this Spirit who governs all things, and who is the master of life and of death. A bird, an ox, a bear,—or, rather, the plumage of birds, and the skins of these beasts,—such is their *Manitou:* they expose it to view in their cabins, and they offer to it sacrifices of dogs or other animals.

The warriors carry their *Manitous* in a mat and they invoke them incessantly, that they may obtain victory over their enemies. The charlatans likewise have recourse to their *Manitous* when they compose their medicine, or when they treat the sick. They accompany these invocations with chants, dances, and frightful contortions in order to make it believed that they are shaken by their *Manitous:* and, at the same time, they shake their patients, in such a way that they often cause their death. In these various agitations, the charlatan names sometimes one wild beast and sometimes another; then he begins to suck the part of the body in which the patient feels pain; after having sucked it for some time he suddenly rises, and drops upon the sick man the tooth of a bear or some other animal, which [235] he had held concealed in his mouth. "Dear friend," he exclaims,

"thou wilt live, this is what was killing thee": after which he says, applauding himself, "Who can resist my *Manitou?* is it not he who is the master of life?" If the sick man happen to die, he immediately has all ready a trick for laying this death to another cause, which occurred after he had left the patient. But, on the contrary, if the sick man recover his health, then it is that the charlatan is esteemed; that he himself is looked upon as a *Manitou:* and that, after having been well paid for his trouble, they also bring to him all that is best in the Village, in order to regale him. . . .

[237] The French had come to establish a fort on the river *Oubache;* they asked for a Missionary and Father Mermet [1] was sent to them. This Father believed that he ought also to labor for the conversion of the *Mascoutens,* who had set up a Village on the borders of this same river; this is a Tribe of Savages who understand the Illinois language, but who because of the extreme attachment which they have for the superstitions of their Charlatans, were not very much inclined to listen to the instructions of the Missionary.

The course that Father Mermet took was to perplex, in the presence of this people, one of these Charlatans, who worshiped the ox as his great *Manitou.* After having insensibly led him so far as to avow that it was not the ox which he adored, but an ox *Manitou* which was under the earth, which animated all oxen, and which restored life to his sick [239] people, he asked him if the other animals—like the bear, for instance, which his comrades worshiped—were not likewise animated by a *Manitou* which is under the earth: "Without doubt," answered the Charlatan: "But if that be so," returned the Missionary, "men ought also to have a *Manitou* which animates them." "Nothing is more certain," said the Charlatan. "That is sufficient for me to convince you that you are not very reasonable," replied the Missionary; "for, if man who is on the earth be the master of all animals, if he kill them, if he eat them, it must be that the *Manitou* which animates men is also master of all the other *Manitous;* where then is your intelligence, that you do not invoke him who is master of all the others?" . . ,

[273] It is not without reason that they feared a party of warriors; * they would have had no quarter from them. Either

* Marest, on "friday of Easter week in the year 1711," set out from Cascaskias, via "the Village of the Peouarias," for *"Michillimakinac,"*—that is to say, to "more than 300 leagues from here," with no other company than three savages who, the night before their departure, had heard "that the Country was infested by hostile bands."—*Ed.*

their heads would have been split, or else they would have been taken prisoners, to be burned afterward by a slow fire, or to be cast into the kettle. Nothing is more frightful than the wars of our Savages. Ordinarily their parties consist only of twenty, thirty or forty men; sometimes these parties are of only six or seven persons, and these are most to be feared. As their entire skill lies in surprising their enemy, the small number facilitates the pains that they take to conceal themselves, in order that they may more securely strike the blow which they are planning. For our warriors do not pique themselves upon attacking their enemy in front, and when he is on his guard,—for that they would need to be ten to one; and, moreover, on those occasions, each one avoids being the first to advance. Their method is to follow on the trail of their enemy, and to kill some one of them while he is asleep,—or, rather, to lie in ambush in the vicinity of the Villages, and to split the head of the first one who comes forth,—and, taking off his scalp, to display it as a trophy among their countrymen. This is the way in which they do it.

As soon as one of these warriors has killed his enemy, he draws his knife, makes a cut around the head, and tears from it the skin with the hair, which he carries in triumph to his Village. For several days this scalp is hung from the top of his cabin, and then all the people of the Village come to congratulate him upon his valor, and bring presents to show him the interest that they take in his [275] victory. Sometimes they are satisfied with making the enemy prisoners; but they immediately tie their hands and compel them to run on before at full speed, fearing that they may be pursued, as sometimes happens, by the companions of those whom they are taking away. The fate of these prisoners is very sad; for often they are burned by a slow fire, and at other times they are put into the kettle, in order to make a feast for all the fighting men. . . .

[289] It was about the end of August when I embarked to return to my Mission at *Cascaskias*, which is 150 leagues distant from the village of the *Peouarias*. On the very first day after our departure, we found a *Scioux* canoe which was broken in some places, and was drifting; and we saw a camp of warriors, in which we judged, at a glance, that there were possibly a hundred persons. We were justly frightened, and were upon the point of turning back to the Village that we had left, and from which we were only ten leagues distant.

These *Scioux* are the most cruel of all the Savages; we were lost if we had fallen into their hands. They are great warriors,

but it is principally upon the water that they are formidable. They have only small bark canoes, made in the form of a gondola; these are scarcely larger than the body of a man, and can hold only two or, at most, three persons. They paddle kneeling, using the paddle sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, —that is to say, [291] making three or four dips of the paddle on the right side, and then as many on the left side,—but with so much dexterity and swiftness that their canoes seem to fly over the water. After having examined everything attentively, we judged that these Savages had struck their blow and were retreating; nevertheless, we kept on our guard, and traveled more slowly, in order not to meet them. But, when we had once reached the Mississipi, we went on by hard paddling. At last, on the 10th of September, I arrived at my dear Mission in perfect health, after five months' absence. . . .

[*Id., doc.* clxxvii, vol. lxvi, pp. 218-295.]

LIV

[133] Letter from Father Sébastien Rasles, Missionary of the Society of JESUS in New France, to Monsieur his Brother.

[This is a letter from Rale[1] to his brother (dated October 12, 1723), giving a sketch of his missionary life in New France. He describes the cabins, clothing, adornment, occupations, and canoes of the Abenakis. . . .

Rale, like his predecessors, finds the Indian languages exceedingly difficult, either to understand or to learn. He describes those of the Abenakis and the Hurons, and gives specimens of these, and of other tongues. After spending nearly two years among the Abenakis, Rale is assigned to the Illinois mission. After a journey full of danger and privation, he reaches Mackinac too late in the season to proceed farther; he accordingly spends the winter there, and labors in that mission. He gives a curious account of the legends current among the Ottawas regarding their origin and the creation of the world, and of their superstitious belief in manitous.

In the spring of 1692, Rale proceeds to his field. He describes the great Illinois village, the feast with which those savages greeted him, and their eloquence; their dress, occupations, and dances; their weapons and hunting, and the abundance of game in their country,—especially the buffalo, of which animals they kill over 2,000 every year. Rale describes the methods of war pursued by these savages, and the cruel torments inflicted upon their captives. After two years' stay with the Illinois, Rale is recalled to Quebec (1694) in order to undertake the Abenaki mission in Maine, which he has since that time served. . . .—*Id.*, lxvii, pp. 16, 17.]

NARANTSOUAK,
this 12th of October, 1723.

MONSIEUR AND VERY DEAR BROTHER,
The peace of Our Lord.

I can no longer refuse the affectionate entreaties which you have made, in all your letters, that I would inform you somewhat in detail of my occupations, and of the character of the Savage Tribes in the midst of which Providence has placed me for so many years. I do it the more gladly because, in complying with such earnest desires on your part, I satisfy even more your affection than your curiosity.

It was the 23rd of July in the year 1689, when I set sail from la Rochelle; and, after a fairly prosperous voyage of three months, I arrived at Quebec on the 13th of October in the same

year. I devoted myself at first to learning the language of our Savages. This language is very difficult; for it is not sufficient to study its terms and their signification, and to acquire a supply of words and phrases,—it is further necessary to know the turn and arrangement that the Savages give them, which can hardly ever be caught except by familiar and frequent intercourse with these tribes.

I then went to dwell in a Village of the *Abnakis* [135] Tribe which is situated in a forest, and only three leagues from Quebec. This village was inhabited by two hundred Savages, nearly all of whom were Christians. Their cabins were ranged almost like houses in cities; an enclosure of high and closely set stakes formed a sort of wall, which protected them from the incursions of their enemies.

Their cabins are very quickly set up; they plant their poles, which are joined at the top, and cover them with large sheets of bark. The fire is made in the middle of the cabin; they spread all around it mats of rushes upon which they sit during the day and take their rest during the night.

The clothing of the men consists of a loose coat of skin, or perhaps a piece of red or blue cloth. That of the women is a covering which extends from the neck to the middle of the leg, and which they adjust very decently. They put on the head another covering which descends as far as the feet, and serves them as a cloak. Their leggings reach from the knee only to the ankle. Socks made of elk-skin, and lined inside with hair or with wool, take the place of shoes. This foot-gear is absolutely necessary for the purpose of adjusting their snowshoes, by means of which they walk easily on the snow. These snowshoes, made in lozenge shape, are more than two feet long and a foot and a half broad. I did not believe that I could ever walk with such appliances; but when I made a trial of them, I suddenly found myself so skillful that the Savages could not believe that that was the first time when I had used them.

The invention of these snowshoes has been of great use to the Savages, not only for traveling over [137] the snow,—with which the ground is covered during a great part of the year,—but also for hunting wild beasts, and especially the elk. These animals, larger than the largest oxen of France, walk only with difficulty on the snow; therefore it is easy for the Savages to overtake them, and often with an ordinary knife fastened to the end of a stick they kill them, and live upon their flesh. After having dressed the skins, in which the Savages are skillful, they

sell them to the French and the English,—who give them in exchange loose coats, blankets, large kettles, guns, hatchets, and knives.

To have an idea of a Savage, picture to yourself a tall, strong man, agile, of a swarthy complexion, without a beard, with black hair, and with teeth whiter than ivory. If you wish to see him in fine array, you will find his only ornaments to be what are called "rassades": these are a sort of shell-work, or sometimes of stone, fashioned in the form of small beads, some white, some black,—which are strung in such a way that they represent different and very exact figures, which have their own charm. It is with these strings of beads that our Savages tie and braid their hair, above the ears and behind; they make of them earrings, necklaces, garters, and belts, five or six inches broad; and with this sort of finery they value themselves much more than does a European with all his gold and precious stones.[1]

The occupation of the men is hunting or war. That of the women is to remain in the village, and with bark fashion baskets, pouches, boxes, bowls, dishes, etc. They sew the bark with roots, and with it make various articles, very neatly wrought. [139] The canoes are also made of a single sheet of bark, but the largest can scarcely hold more than six or seven persons.

It is in these canoes made of bark—which has scarcely the thickness of an écu—that they cross the arms of the sea, and sail on the most dangerous rivers, and on lakes from four to five hundred leagues in circumference. In this manner I have made many voyages, without having run any risk. Only it once happened to me, in crossing the river saint Lawrence, that I suddenly found myself surrounded by masses of ice of an enormous size; the canoe was cracked by them. The two Savages who were piloting me immediately cried out: "We are dead men; all is over; we must perish!" Notwithstanding, they made an effort, and jumped upon one of those floating cakes of ice. I did likewise; and, after having drawn the canoe out of the water, we carried it to the very edge of the ice. There we were obliged again to enter the canoe, in order to reach another cake of ice; and thus by jumping from cake to cake we at last came to the bank of the river, without other inconvenience than being very wet and benumbed with cold.

There is nothing equal to the affection of the Savages for their children. As soon as they are born, they put them on a little piece of board covered with cloth and with a small bearskin, in which they are wrapped, and this is their cradle. The mothers

carry them on their backs in a manner easy for the children and for themselves.

No sooner do the boys begin to walk than they practice drawing the bow; they become so adroit in this that at the age of ten or twelve years they do [141] not fail to kill the bird at which they shoot. I have been surprised at it, and I would scarcely believe it if I had not witnessed it.

The thing which most shocked me when I began to live among the Savages, was being obliged to take my meals with them; for nothing could be more revolting. When they have filled their kettle with meat, they boil it, at most, three-quarters of an hour, —after which they take it off the fire, serve it in basins of bark, and distribute it among all the people who are in their cabin. Each one bites into this meat as one would into a piece of bread. This spectacle did not give me much appetite, and they very soon perceived my repugnance. *Why dost thou not eat?* said they. I answered that I was not accustomed to eat meat in this manner, without adding to it a little bread. *Thou must conquer thyself,* they replied; *is that a very difficult thing for a Patriarch who thoroughly understands how to pray? We ourselves overcome much, in order to believe that which we do not see.* Then it was no longer a time to deliberate; we must indeed conform to their manners and customs, so as to deserve their confidence and win them to Jesus Christ.

There meals are not regular, as in Europe; they live from day to day. While they have any good food they use it, without being troubled as to whether they will have any at all for following days.

They are devoted to tobacco; men, women, and girls, all smoke the greater part of the time. To give them a piece of tobacco pleases them more than to give them their weight in gold.

In the beginning of June, or when the snow is [143] almost wholly melted, they plant *skamounar;* this is what they call "Turkey wheat" or "Indian corn." Their manner of planting it is to make with the finger, or with a little stick, separate holes in the ground, and to drop into each one eight or nine grains which they cover with the same soil that had been taken out to make the hole. Their harvest is made at the end of August.

It was in the midst of these Tribes, which are considered the least rude of all our Savages, that I served my Missionary apprenticeship. My chief occupation was the study of their language; it is very difficult to learn, especially when one has no other masters than Savages. They have several sounds which are

uttered only by the throat, without making any motion of the lips; *ou,* for instance, is of this number, and that is why in writing we indicate it by the figure 8, in order to distinguish it from other letters. I spent part of the day in their cabins, hearing them talk. I was obliged to give the utmost attention, in order to connect what they said, and to conjecture its meaning; sometimes I caught it exactly, but more often I was deceived,—because, not being accustomed to the trick of their guttural sounds, I repeated only half the word, and thereby gave them cause for laughter.

At last, after five months of continual application, I succeeded in understanding all their terms; but that did not enable me to express myself to their satisfaction. I had still much progress to make before catching the form of expression and the spirit of the language, which are entirely different from the spirit and form of our European languages. In order to shorten the time, and thus enable me [145] sooner to perform my duties, I selected a few Savages who had most intelligence and who used the best language. I repeated to them in a clumsy manner some passages from the catechism, and they gave them to me again, with all the nicety of their language; I immediately wrote these down; and, by this means, in a reasonably short time I had made a dictionary, and also a Catechism which contained the precepts and Mysteries of Religion.[1]

It cannot be denied that the language of the Savages has real beauties; and there is an indescribable force in their style and manner of expression. I am going to quote you an example. If I should ask you why God created you, you would answer me that it was for the purpose of knowing him, loving him, and serving him, and by this means to merit eternal glory. If I should put the same question to a Savage, he would answer thus, in the style of his own language: "The great Spirit has thought of us: 'Let them know me, let them love me, let them honor me, and let them obey me; for then I will make them enter my glorious happiness.' " If I desired to tell you in their style that you would have much difficulty in learning the Savage language, I would express myself in this way: "I think of you, my dear brother, that he will have difficulty in learning the Savage language."

The Huron language is the chief language of the Savages, and, when a person is master of that, he can in less than three months make himself understood by the five Iroquois tribes. It is the most majestic, and at the same time the most difficult, of all Sav-

age tongues. This difficulty does not come alone from the gutteral sounds, but still more [147] from the diversity of accents; for often two words composed of the same letters have totally different significations. Father Chaumont, who lived fifty years among the Hurons, composed a Grammar of that language which is very helpful to those who come without experience to that Mission. Nevertheless a Missionary is fortunate if he can, even with this aid, express himself elegantly in that language after ten years of constant study.

Each Savage Tribe has its own special tongue; thus the Abnakis, the Hurons, the Iroquois, the Algonkins, the Illinois, the Miamis, and others, have each their own language. There are no books to teach these languages, and even though we had them, they would be quite useless; practice is the only master that is able to teach us. As I have labored in four different Missions of the Savages,—to wit, among the Abnakis, the Algonkins, the Hurons, and the Illinois,—and as I have been obliged to learn these different languages, I will give you a specimen of each, so that you may perceive how little resemblance there is between them. I choose a stanza from a hymn to the blessed Sacrament, which is usually sung during Mass at the elevation of the blessed Host, and which begins with these words: *O Salutaris Hostia.* The following is the translation, in verse, of this stanza into the four languages of these different Tribes.

In the Abnakis Tongue

Kighist wi-nuanurwinns
Spem kik papili go ii damek
Nemiani wi kwidan ghabenk,
Taha saii grihine.

[149] *In the Algonkin Tongue*

Kwerais Jesus tegousenam
Nera weul ka stisian
Ka rio vllighe miang
Vas mama vik umong.

In the Huron Tongue

Jesous outo etti x'ichie
Outo etti skuaalichi-axe
J chierche axérawensta
D'aotierti xeata-wien.

In the Illinois Tongue

Pekiziane manet we
Piaro nile hi Nanghi
Keninama wi ou Kangha
Mero winang ousiang hi.

This signifies in French: "O saving Victim, who art continually sacrificed, and who givest life, thou by whom we enter into Heaven, we are all tempted; do thou strengthen us."

When I had remained nearly two years among the Abnakis, I was recalled by my Superiors: they had assigned me to the Mission of the Illinois, who had just lost their Missionary. I then went to Quebec, whence, after I had devoted three months to studying the Algonkin language, I set out on the 13th of August in a canoe for the land of the Illinois; their Country is more than eight hundred leagues distant from Quebec. You may well believe that so long a journey in these uncivilized regions cannot be made without running great risks, and without suffering many inconveniences. I had to cross lakes of an immense extent, on which storms are as frequent [151] as on the Sea. It is true we had the advantage of landing every night; but we were happy if we found some flat rock on which we could pass the night. When it rained, the only way of protecting ourselves was to keep under the overturned canoe.

We ran still greater hazards on the rivers, especially on the places where they flow with extreme rapidity. Then the canoe flies like an arrow; and, if it happen to touch any of the rocks, which are very numerous there, it is broken into a thousand pieces. That misfortune befell some of the people who were accompanying me in other canoes; and it was by a special protection of divine goodness that I did not meet the same fate, for my canoe several times went up on those rocks, but without receiving the least injury.

Finally one risks suffering the most cruel torture from hunger, for the length and difficulty of this sort of journey permits him to carry only a bag of Indian corn. It is supposed that hunting will supply food on the way; but, if there be a lack of game, one runs the risk of fasting many days. Then the only resource is to seek a sort of leaf which the savages call *Kenghessanach,* and the French *Tripes de roches.* You would take them for chervil, of which they have the shape except that they are much larger. They are served either boiled or roasted; in this latter manner I have eaten them, and they are less distasteful than in the former.

I had not suffered much from hunger when I reached Lake Huron; but the case was different with my fellow-travelers, the bad weather having scattered their canoes, they were not able to join [153] me. I arrived first at *Missilimakinak,* whence I sent them provisions without which they would have died from hunger. They had passed seven days without any other food than the flesh of a crow, which they had killed rather by chance than by skill, for they had not strength to stand upright.

The season was too far advanced for continuing my journey to the Illinois, from whom I was still distant about four hundred leagues. Thus I was obliged to remain at *Missilimakinak,* where there were two of our Missionaries—one among the Hurons, and the other with the *Outaouacks.* These latter are very superstitious, and much attached to the juggleries of their charlatans. They assume for themselves an origin as senseless as it is ridiculous. They declare that they have come from three families and each family is composed of five hundred persons.

Some are of the family of *Michabou,*—that is to say, of "the Great Hare." They affirm that this Great Hare was a man of prodigious height; that he spread nets in water eighteen brasses deep, and that the water scarcely came to his armpits. They say that one day, during the deluge, he sent out the Beaver to discover land; then, as that animal did not return, he dispatched the Otter, which brought back a little soil covered with foam. He then proceeded to the place in the Lake where this soil was found, which made a little island; he walked all around it in the water, and this island became extraordinarily large. Therefore, they attribute to him the creation of the world. They add that, after having finished this work, he flew away to the Sky which is his usual dwelling-place; but before quitting the earth [155] he directed that, when his descendants should die, their bodies should be burned, and their ashes scattered to the winds, so that they might rise more easily to the Sky. But he warned them that, should they fail to do this, snow would not cease to cover the earth, and their Lakes and Rivers would remain frozen; and, as thus they could not catch fish, which is their ordinary food, they would all die in the spring-time.

Indeed, when, a few years ago, the winter had lasted much longer than usual there was a general consternation among the Savages of the Great Hare family. They resorted to their customary juggleries; they held several assemblies in order to deliberate upon means of dissipating this unfriendly snow, which was persistently remaining on the ground: when an old woman

approaching them, said: "My children, you have no sense. You know the commands that the Great Hare left with us, to burn dead bodies, and scatter their ashes to the winds, so that they might more quickly return to the Sky, their own country; but you have neglected those commands by leaving, at a few days' journey from here, a dead man without burning him, as if he did not belong to the family of the Great Hare. Repair your fault at once; be careful to burn him, if you wish that the snow should disappear." "Thou art right, our Mother," they answered, "thou hast more sense than we; and the counsel thou hast given us restores us to life." Immediately they sent twenty-five men to go to burn this body; about fifteen days were consumed in this journey, during which time the thaw came, and the snow disappeared. Praises and presents were heaped upon the old woman who [157] had given the advice; and this occurrence, wholly natural as it was, greatly served to uphold them in their foolish and superstitious belief.[1]

The second family of the *Outaouacks* maintain that they have sprung from *Namepich,*—that is to say, from the Carp. They say that the carp having deposited its eggs upon the bank of a river, and the sun having shed its rays upon them, there was formed a woman from whom they are descended; thus they are called "the family of the Carp."

The third family of the *Outaouacks* attributes its birth to the paw of a *Machoua,*—that is to say, of a Bear; and they are called "the family of the Bear," but without explaining in what way they issued from it. When they kill one of these animals, they make it a feast of its own flesh; they talk to it, they harangue it, they say: "Do not have an evil thought against us because we have killed thee. Thou hast intelligence, thou seest that our children are suffering from hunger. They love thee, and wish thee to enter into their bodies: is it not a glorious thing for thee to be eaten by the children of Captains?" [2]

It is only the family of the Great Hare that burns dead bodies; the two other families bury them. When a great Captain has died, an immense coffin is prepared; after having laid therein the body, clothed in the man's handsomest garments, they put in it with him his blanket, his gun, his store of powder and lead, his bow, his arrows, his kettle, his dish, his provisions, his war-club, his calumet, his box of vermilion, his looking-glass, his porcelain collars, and all the presents which were made at his death, according to custom. They fancy that with this [159] equipment he will make his journey to the other world more successfully,

and will be better received by the great Captains of the Tribe, who will lead him with them into a place of delights.

While they are arranging everything in the coffin, the relatives of the dead man are present at the ceremony, weeping after their manner,—that is to say, chanting in a mournful tone, and swinging in harmony a rod to which they have attached several little bells.

Where the superstition of these tribes appears the most extravagant is in the worship that they pay to what they call their *Manitou:* as they hardly know anything but the animals with which they live in the forests, they imagine that there is in these animals,—or, rather, in their skins, or in their plumage,—a sort of spirit who rules all things, and who is master of life and death. According to them, there are *Manitous* common to the whole tribe, and there are special ones for each person. *Oussakita,* they say, is the great *Manitou* of all the animals that move on earth or fly in the air. He it is who rules them; therefore, when they go to the hunt, they offer to him tobacco, powder, and lead, and also well-prepared skins. These articles they fasten to the end of a pole, and, raising it on high, they say to him: "*Oussakita,* we give thee something to smoke, we offer thee something for killing animals. Deign to accept these presents, and do not permit the animals to escape our arrows: grant that we may kill the fattest ones, and in great number, so that our children may not lack clothing or food."

They call the *Manitou* of waters and fishes *Michibichi:* [161] and they offer him a somewhat similar sacrifice when they go to fish, or undertake a voyage. This sacrifice consists of throwing into the water tobacco, provisions, and kettles; and in asking him that the water of the river may flow more slowly, that the rocks may not break their canoes, and that he will grant them an abundant catch.

Besides these common *Manitous,* each person has his own special one, which is a bear, a beaver, a bustard, or some similar animal. They carry the skin of this animal to war, to the hunt, and on their journeys,—fully persuaded that it will preserve them from every danger, and that it will cause them to succeed to all their undertakings.

When a Savage wishes to take to himself a *Manitou* the first animal that appears to his imagination during sleep is generally the one upon which his choice falls. He kills an animal of this kind, and puts its skin—or its feathers, if it be a bird—in the most conspicuous part of his cabin; he makes a feast in its

honor, during which he addresses it in the most respectful terms; and thereafter this is recognized as his *Manitou*.

As soon as I saw the coming of spring I left *Missilimakinak*, that I might go to the country of the Illinois. I found on my way many Savage Tribes, among them the *Maskoutings*, the *Sakis*, the *Omikoues*, the *Ouinipegouans*, and the *Outagamis*, and others. All these Tribes have their own peculiar language; but, in all other respects, they do not differ in the least from the *Outaouacks*. A Missionary who lives at the bay des Puants, makes excursions, from time to time, to the homes of these Savages, in order to instruct them in the truths of Religion.

[163] After forty days of travel I entered the river of the Illinois, and, after voyaging fifty leagues, I came to their first Village, which had three hundred cabins, all of them with four or five fires. One fire is always for two families. They have eleven Villages belonging to their Tribe. On the day after my arrival, I was invited by the principal Chief, to a grand repast, which he was giving to the most important men of the Tribe. He had ordered several dogs to be killed; such a feast is considered among the Savages a magnificent feast; therefore it is called "the feast of the Captains." The ceremonies that are observed are the same among all these Tribes. It is usual at this sort of feast for the Savages to deliberate upon their most important affairs,—as, for instance, when there is question either of undertaking war against their neighbors or of terminating it by propositions of peace.

When all the guests had arrived they took their places all about the cabin, seating themselves either on the bare ground or on the mats. Then the Chief arose and began his address. I confess to you that I admired his flow of language, the justness and force of the arguments that he presented, the eloquent turn he gave to them, and the choice and nicety of the expressions with which he adorned his speech. I fully believe that, if I had written down what this Savage said to us, off hand and without preparation, you would readily acknowledge that the most able Europeans could scarcely, after much thought and study, compose an address that would be more forcible and better arranged.

When the speech was finished, two Savages, who performed the duty of stewards, distributed dishes [165] to the whole company, and each dish served for two guests; while eating, they conversed together on indifferent matters; and when they had finished their repast they withdrew,—carrying away according to their custom, what remained on their dishes.

The Illinois do not give those feasts that are customary among many other Savage Tribes, at which a person is obliged to eat all that has been given him, even should he burst. When any one is present at such a feast and is unable to observe this ridiculous rule, he applies to one of the guests whom he knows to have a better appetite, and says to him: "My brother, take pity on me; I am a dead man if thou do not give me life. Eat what I have left, and I will make thee a present of something." This is their only way out of their perplexity.

The Illinois are covered only around the waist, otherwise they go entirely nude; many panels with all sorts of figures, which they mark upon the body in an ineffaceable manner, take with them the place of garments. It is only when they make visits, or when they are present at Church, that they wrap themselves in a cloak of dressed skin in the summer-time, and in the winter season in a dressed skin with the hair left on, that they may keep warm. They adorn the head with feathers of many colors of which they make garlands and crowns which they arrange very becomingly; above all things, they are careful to paint the face with different colors, but especially with vermilion. They wear collars and earrings made of little stones, which they cut like precious stones; some are blue, some red, and some white as alabaster; to these must be added a flat piece of porcelain which finishes the collar. The Illinois are [167] persuaded that these grotesque ornaments add grace to their appearance, and win for them respect.

When the Illinois are not engaged in war or in hunting, their time is spent either in games, or at feasts, or in dancing. They have two kinds of dances; some are a sign of rejoicing, and to these they invite the most distinguished women and young girls; others are a token of their sadness at the death of the most important men of their Tribe. It is by these dances that they profess to honor the deceased, and to wipe away the tears of his relatives. All of them are entitled to have the death of their near relatives bewailed in this manner, provided that they make presents for this purpose. The dances last a longer or shorter time according to the price and value of the presents,—which, at the end of the dance, are distributed to the dancers. It is not their custom to bury the dead; they wrap them in skins, and hang them by the feet and head to the tops of trees.

When the men are not at games, feasts, or dances, they remain quiet on their mats, and spend their time either in sleeping or in making bows, arrows, calumets, and other articles of that sort.[1]

As for the women, they work from morning until evening like slaves. It is they who cultivate the land and plant the Indian corn, in summer; and, as soon as winter begins, they are employed in making mats, dressing skins, and in many other kinds of work,—for their first care is to supply the cabin with everything that is necessary.

Among all the Tribes of Canada, there is not one that lives in so great abundance of everything as do the Illinois. Their rivers are covered with swans, [169] bustards, ducks and teal. We can hardly travel a league without meeting a prodigious multitude of Turkeys, which go in troops, sometimes to the number of 200. They are larger than those that are seen in France. I had the curiosity to weigh one of them, and it weighed thirty-six livres. They have a sort of hairy beard at the neck, which is half a foot long.

Bears and deer are found there in great numbers; there are also found countless numbers of oxen and of roebucks; there is no year when they do not kill more than a thousand roebucks, and more than two thousand oxen; as far as the eye can reach are seen from four to five thousand oxen grazing on the prairies. They have a hump on the back, and the head is extremely large. Their hair, except that on the head, is curly and soft, like wool; their flesh is strong in its natural state, and is so light that, even if it be eaten wholly raw, it causes no indigestion. When they have killed an ox that seems to them too lean, they are satisfied to take its tongue and go in search of one that is more fat.

Arrows are the principal weapons that they use in war and in hunting. These arrows are barbed at the tip with a stone, sharpened and cut in the shape of a serpent's tongue; if knives are lacking, they use arrows also for flaying the animals which they kill. They are so adroit in bending the bow that they scarcely ever miss their aim; and they do this with such quickness that they will have discharged a hundred arrows sooner than another person can reload his gun.

They take little trouble to make nets suitable for catching fish in rivers, because the abundance [171] of all kinds of animals which they find for their subsistence renders them somewhat indifferent to fish. However, when they take a fancy to have some, they enter a canoe with their bows and arrows; they stand up that they may better discover the fish, and as soon as they see one they pierce it with an arrow.

Among the Illinois the only way of acquiring public esteem and regard is, as among other savages, to gain the reputation

of a skillful hunter, and, still further of a good warrior; it is chiefly in this latter that they make their merit consist, and it is this which they call being truly a man. They are so eager for this glory that we see them undertake journeys of four hundred leagues through the midst of forests in order to capture a slave, or to take off the scalp of a man whom they have killed. They count as nothing the hardships and the long fasting that they must undergo, especially when they are drawing near the country of the enemy; for then they no longer dare to hunt, for fear that the animals, being only wounded, may escape with the arrow in the body, and warn their enemy to put himself in a posture of defense. For their manner of making war, as among all Savages, is to surprise their enemies; therefore they send out scouts to observe the number and movements of the enemy, and to see if they are on their guard. According to the report that is brought to them, they either lie in ambush, or make a foray on the cabins, war-club in hand; and they are sure to kill some of their foes before the latter can even think of defending themselves.

The war-club is made of a deer's horn or of wood, [173] shaped like a cutlass with a large ball at the end. They hold the war-club in one hand, and a knife in the other. As soon as they have dealt a blow at the head of their enemy, they make on it a circular cut with a knife, and take off the scalp with surprising quickness.

When a Savage returns to his own country laden with many scalps, he is received with great honor; but he is at the height of his glory when he takes prisoners and brings them home alive. As soon as he arrives, all the people of the village meet together, and range themselves on both sides of the way where the prisoner must pass. This reception is very cruel; some tear out the prisoners' nails, others cut off their fingers or ears; still others load them with blows from clubs.

After this first welcome, the old men assemble in order to consider whether they shall grant life to their prisoners, or give orders for their death. When there is any dead man to be resuscitated, that is to say, if any one of their warriors has been killed, and they think it a duty to replace him in his cabin,—they give to this cabin one of their prisoners, who takes the place of the deceased; and this is what they call "resuscitating the dead."

When the prisoner has been condemned to death, they immediately set up in the ground a large stake, to which they fasten him

by both hands; they cause the death-song to be chanted, and—all the Savages being seated around the stake, at the distance of a few steps—there is kindled a large fire, in which they make their hatchets, gun-barrels, and other iron tools red-hot. Then they come, one after another, and apply these red-hot irons to the different parts [175] of his body; some of them burn him with their live brands; some mangle the body with their knives; others cut off a piece of flesh already roasted, and eat it in his presence; some are seen filling his wounds with powder and rubbing it all over his body, after which they set it on fire. In fine, each one torments him according to his own caprice; and this continues for four or five hours, and sometimes even during two or three days. The more sharp and piercing are the cries which the violence of these torments make him utter, so much the more is the spectacle pleasing and diverting to these barbarians. It was the Iroquois who invented this frightful manner of death, and it is only by the law of retaliation that the Illinois, in their turn, treat these Iroquois prisoners with an equal cruelty.

What we understand by the word *Christianity* is known among the Savages only by the name of *Prayer*. Thus, when I tell you in the continuation of this letter that such a savage Tribe has embraced Prayer, you must understand that it has become Christian, or that it is about to become so. There would be much less difficulty in converting the Illinois, if Prayer permitted them to practice Polygamy; they acknowledge that prayer is good, and they are delighted to have it taught to their wives and children; but, when we speak of it to them for themselves, we realize how difficult it is to fix their natural inconstancy, and to persuade them to have only one wife and to have her always.

At the hour when we assemble, morning and evening, to pray, all persons repair to the Chapel. Even the greatest Jugglers—that is to say, the greatest enemies to Religion—send their children [177] to be instructed and baptized. This is the greatest advantage that we have at first among the Savages, and of which we are most certain,—for, of the great number of children whom we baptize, no year passes that many do not die before they have attained the use of reason; and, as for the adults the greater part are so devoted and attached to Prayer that they would suffer the most cruel death rather than abandon it.

It is fortunate for the Illinois that they are very far distant from Quebec; for brandy cannot be taken to them, as is done elsewhere. Among the Savages this liquor is the greatest obstacle to Christianity, and is the source of countless numbers of

the most enormous crimes. It is known that they buy it only in order to plunge themselves into the most furious intoxication; the disturbances and the melancholy deaths which are witnessed every day ought indeed to outweigh the profit that is made in the trade of so fatal a liquor.

I had remained two years with the Illinois, when I was recalled, that I might devote the remainder of my days to the *Abnakis* Tribe. This was the first mission to which I had been appointed on my arrival in Canada, and apparently it is the one in which I shall finish my life. . . .

[195] The Village in which I live is called *Nanrantsouack,*[1] and is situated in the continental region between Acadia and new England. This Mission is about eighty leagues from *Pentagouet,* and it is a hundred [197] leagues from *Pentagouet* to Port Royal. The river of my Mission is the largest of all those that water the territories of the Savages. It ought to be marked on the map under the name of *Kinibeki;* this has led the Frenchmen to give these Savages the name of *Kanibals.* This river empties into the sea at *Sankderank,*[2] which is only 5 or 6 leagues from *Pemquit.* After having ascended the river 40 leagues from *Sankderank* you reach my Village, which is on the height of a promontory. We are, at most, only two days' journey from the English settlements; it takes us more than a fortnight to go to Quebec; and that journey is very difficult and arduous. It was natural that our Savages should trade with the English, and there are no advantages that these latter have not offered to them, for the purpose of winning them and gaining their friendship; but all their efforts have been useless; and nothing has been able to detach them from their alliance with the French. . . .*

At the time when war was on the point of breaking out between the European Powers, the English Governor, who had

* "Of all the Savages of New France, those who have rendered, and who are in a condition to render, the greatest services are the Abnaquis. This nation is composed of five Villages, which in all make five hundred men bearing arms. Two of these Villages are situated along the River St. Lawrence near three Rivers,—one below that town, which is called the Village of St. Francois.

"The other three villages are in the region of Acadia, and are called Naïrañtzwak, upon the river Canibekki [Kennebec]; Panawaniské, upon the river Pentagouet [Penobscot]; and Medoktek, upon the River St. John. The village of Nanrantzwak is nearest to New England, that of Medoktek is nearest to Acadia, and that of Panawanské is almost in the middle.

"These three villages have their different routes by which to go to Quebec in a few days, each one by its own river. It is this which renders their situation so important as regards Canada, of which they are the strongest defences."—Loyard: *Upon the Present Condition of the Abnaquis:—Id.,* lxvii, *doc.* cxciv, p. 121.

recently arrived at Boston, asked our Savages to give him an interview on an island [199] in the sea, which he designated.[1] They consented, and begged me to accompany them, that they might consult me about the crafty propositions that would be made to them—so as to be sure that their answers should contain nothing contrary to Religion, or to the interests of the Royal service. I followed them, and my intention was to keep wholly within their quarters, in order to aid them by my counsel without appearing before the Governor. As we—numbering more than two hundred canoes—were approaching the island, the English saluted us by a discharge of all the guns of their vessels; and the Savages responded to this salute by a like discharge of all their guns. Then, the Governor appearing on the island, the Savages landed in haste; thus I found myself where I did not wish to be, and where the Governor did not wish that I should be. As soon as he perceived me, he came forward a few steps to meet me; and, after the usual compliments, he returned to the midst of his people, and I to the Savages.

"It is by command of our Queen," he said to them, "that I come to see you: she desires that we should live in peace. If any Englishman should be imprudent enough to do you wrong, do not think of avenging yourselves upon him, but immediately address your complaint to me, and I will render you prompt justice. If we should happen to have war with the French, remain neutral, and do not take part in our differences; the French are as strong as we, therefore leave us to settle our quarrels with each other. We will supply all your wants, we will take your peltries, and we will give you our goods at a reasonable price." My presence prevented his [201] saying all that he intended; for it was not without a design that he had brought a Minister with him.

When he had finished speaking, the Savages withdrew for the purpose of deliberating together upon the answer that they should make. During that time, the Governor, taking me aside, said to me: "Monsieur, I beg you, do not influence your Indians to make war upon us." I answered him that my Religion and my office of Priest were a security that I would give them only exhortations to peace. I was still speaking, when I suddenly found myself surrounded by about twenty young warriors, who were fearing that the Governor intended to carry me off. In the meantime the Savages advanced, and one of them made the following reply to the Governor:

"Great Captain, thou tellest us not to join ourselves with the

Frenchman, in case thou declare war upon him; know thou that the Frenchman is my brother. We have the same prayer, he and I; and we are in the same cabin with two fires; he has one fire, and I have the other. If I see thee enter the cabin on the side of the fire where my brother the Frenchman is seated, I watch thee from my mat, where I am seated by the other fire. If, in watching thee, I perceive that thou carriest a hatchet, I shall think, 'What does the Englishman intend to do with that hatchet?' Then I stand up on my mat, to behold what he will do. If he raise the hatchet to strike my brother the Frenchman, I take my own, and I run toward the Englishman to strike him. Could I see my brother struck in my cabin, and I remain quiet on my mat? No, no, I love my brother too well not to defend him. Therefore, I say to thee, Great Captain, do nothing to my brother, and I shall [203] do nothing to thee; remain quiet on thy mat, and I shall remain at rest on mine."

Thus ended our conference. A short time afterward some of our Savages came from Quebec, and announced that a French vessel had brought news that war was raging between France and England. Immediately our Savages, after having deliberated according to their custom, ordered the young men to kill dogs for the purpose of making the war-feast, and to find out those men who were inclined to enlist. The feast took place, the kettle was put on, they danced, and 250 Warriors were present. After the feast they set a day for coming to confess. I exhorted them to be as devoted to prayer as they were in their own Village; to observe strictly the Laws of war, to practice no cruelty, to kill no person except in the heat of combat, to treat humanely those who should surrender themselves prisoners, etc.

The manner in which these tribes make war renders a handful of their warriors more formidable than a body of 2 or 3,000 European soldiers would be. As soon as they have entered the enemy's country, they divide into separate companies,—one of thirty warriors, another of forty, and so on. They say to some: "To you is given this hamlet to eat" (that is their expression), to others: "To you is given this village," etc. Afterward the signal is given to strike all together, and at the same time in the different places. Our two hundred and fifty warriors spread themselves over more than twenty leagues of country, where there were villages, hamlets, and houses; and, on the appointed day they made simultaneous attacks, very early in the morning. [205] In one single day they ruined all the English; they killed more than two hundred, and took a hundred and fifty prisoners,

while on their side only a few warriors were wounded, and these but slightly. They returned from this expedition to the Village, each of them having two canoes laden with booty that he had taken.

During the whole time while the war continued, they carried desolation into all the country that belonged to the English; they ravaged their Villages, their Forts, and their Farms; they took away great numbers of cattle, and seized more than six hundred prisoners. Moreover, those Gentlemen—rightly persuaded that I, by upholding my Savages in their attachment to the catholic Faith, was drawing more and more closely the bond which unites them to the French—have employed all sorts of wiles and artifices to separate them from me. There are no offers or promises which the English have not made to them, if they would but deliver me into their hands,—or at least send me away to Quebec, and take in my place one of their Ministers. They have made several attempts to surprise me and to have me taken away; they have even gone so far as to promise a thousand pounds sterling to the man who should bring them my head. You may well believe, my dear Brother, that these menaces are not enough to intimidate me or to slacken my zeal; I shall be only too happy if I become their victim, and if God deem me worthy to be loaded with irons, and to shed my blood for the salvation of my dear Savages.

When the first news came of the peace that had been made in Europe, the Governor of *Boston* sent word to our Savages that, if they were inclined to [207] assemble in a place which he named for them, he would confer with them upon the present juncture of affairs. All the Savages repaired to the appointed place, and the Governor spoke to them thus:

"O thou, *Naranhous* man! I inform thee that peace has been declared between the King of France and our Queen; and that, by the treaty of peace, the king of France cedes to our Queen Plaisance and Portrail [Port Royal], with all the adjacent country. Therefore, if thou wilt, we shall live in peace, thou and I; formerly we were at peace, but the suggestions of the Frenchman made thee break it, and it was to please him that thou camest to kill us. Let us forget all those wretched affairs, and let us cast them into the Sea, so that they may no longer be seen, and that we may be good friends."

The Orator responded in the name of the Savages: "It is well that the Kings should be at peace; I am very glad, and I no longer have any difficulty in making peace with thee. It is not

I who have been striking thee for twelve years; it is the Frenchman who has used my arm to strike thee. It is true, we were at peace, I had even hurled away my hatchet, whither I know not; and while I was in repose upon my mat, thinking of nothing, some young men brought me a message that the Governor of Canada sent me, and which said to me: 'My son, the Englishman has struck me, help me to avenge myself; take thy hatchet and strike the Englishman.' I who have always listened to the word of the French Governor—I sought my hatchet, but I found it all rusty; I put it in order, and hung it to my belt, that I might come to strike thee. Now, when the Frenchman tells me to lay it down, I [209] throw it far away, that we may no longer see the blood with which it is reddened. Therefore, let us live in peace, I am agreed.

"But thou sayest that the Frenchman has given Plaisance and Portrail, which are in my neighborhood, with all the adjacent country; he may give thee all that he will. As for me, I have my own land, that the Great Spirit has given me on which to live; as long as there shall be a child of my tribe, he will fight to retain it." Thus everything was settled amicably; the Governor made a great feast for the Savages after which each retired.

The happy event of the peace and the tranquillity which we were beginning to enjoy, suggested to our Savages the thought of rebuilding our Church, which had been ruined in a sudden foray that the English made while our people were absent from the Village. As we are very far distant from Quebec, and much nearer to Boston, the Savages sent there a few of the chief men of the Tribe to ask for laborers, promising to pay them liberally for their work. The Governor received them with great demonstrations of friendship, and showed them every kind of attention. . . .

[213] Indeed, Monsieur the Governor had no sooner heard about the ruin of our Church than he sent us Workmen to rebuild it. It has a beauty that would make it favorably regarded in Europe, and I have spared nothing in its decoration. You could see by the details which I gave you in the letter to my nephew that, in the depths of these forests and among these Savage Tribes, divine Service is performed with much propriety and ceremony. I am very attentive to this, not only when the Savages remain in the Village, but also when they are obliged to live at the Seashore,—where they go twice every year, for the purpose of finding provisions. Our Savages have so destroyed

the game of their Country that for ten years they have no longer either elks or deer. Bears and Beavers have become very scarce. They seldom have any food but Indian corn, beans, and squashes. They crush the corn between two stones, reducing it to meal; afterward they make of it a porridge, which they sometimes season with far or with dried fish. When they are without corn, [215] they search the cultivated fields for potatoes, or even for acorns, which they value as highly as corn; after having dried these, they roast them in a kettle with ashes, in order to take away their bitterness. As for me, I eat them dry, and they take the place of bread.

At a certain season, our people go to a river not very far distant, where during one month the fish ascend the river in so great numbers that a man could fill fifty thousand barrels with them in a day, if he could be equal to that work. These fish are a sort of large herring, very agreeable to the taste when they are fresh; they crowd upon each other to the depth of a foot, and are drawn up as you would draw water. The Savages put them to dry for eight or ten days, and they live upon them during the whole time while they are planting their fields.

They plant corn only in the spring, and do their last tilling about Corpus Christi day; after that, they consider to which place by the Sea they shall go to seek food until the time of harvest, which generally takes place shortly after the Assumption. After having conferred together, they send to beg me to come to their Assembly. As soon as I arrive, one of the number speaks thus, in the name of all the others: "Our father, what I say to thee is what all those whom thou seest here say to thee; thou knowest us, and thou knowest that we are in need of provisions. We have scarcely been able to give the last work to our fields, and we have no other resource until harvest, but to go to the shore of the Sea in search of food. It would be hard for us to give up our Prayer; therefore we hope that [217] thou wilt be disposed to accompany us, so that, while seeking for food, we shall not interrupt our Prayer. Such and such men are going to take thee in their canoe, and what thou hast to carry shall be distributed among the other canoes. Thou hast heard what I have to say to thee." I have no sooner responded *kekikberba* (this is a savage expression which means, "I hear you, my children; I grant what you ask"), than all cry out at the same time, *ouriounie,* which is an expression of thanks. Immediately after this, they set out from the Village. . . .

[219] When the Savages have come to the end of their jour-

ney, they busy themselves on the very next day in erecting a Church, which they cover with their sheets of bark. I carry with me my Chapel and everything that is necessary to adorn the chancel, which I cause to be hung with silks and handsome calicoes. Divine Service is performed as it is in the Village; and in truth they, with all their bark cabins, which they erect in less than an hour, constitute a sort of Village. After the Assumption, they leave the Sea, and return to the village to gather their harvest. They have from it something to live upon, although in a very wretched way, until after All Saints' day, when they return a second time to the Sea. At that season they have very good food. Besides large fish, shell-fish, and fruit, they find bustards, ducks, and all sorts of game, with which the Sea is covered at the place where they encamp—which is divided into a number of small islands. The hunters who go out in the morning to hunt ducks and other kinds of game sometimes kill a score at a single shot. At the Purification,—or, at the latest, on Ash Wednesday, —they return to the Village; it is only the Hunters who separate from the people and go to hunt bears, elks, deer, and beavers.

These good Savages have often given proofs of the most sincere attachment to me,—especially on two occasions when, being with them at the Seashore, they became greatly alarmed on my account. One day, when they were engaged in hunting, the report suddenly went forth that a party of English had burst into my quarters and carried me away. They instantly assembled, and the result of their [221] deliberation was that they should pursue this company until they overtook them, and should snatch me from their hands, even should it cost them their lives. They forthwith sent two young Savages to my quarters, although it was late at night. When they entered my cabin, I was occupied in writing the life of a Saint in the Savage tongue. "Ah, our father," they exclaimed, "how glad we are to see thee!" "I am likewise very glad to see you," I responded; "but what brought you here in such frightful weather?" "We have come to no purpose," they said; "we were assured that the English had carried thee away, and we came to look for their tracks. Our Warriors will not long delay coming to pursue them, and to attack the Fort,—where, if the news had been true, the English would doubtless have imprisoned thee." "You see, my children," I replied to them, "that your fears are unfounded; but the friendship that my children show me fills my heart with joy; for it is a proof of their attachment to Prayer. Tomorrow you shall depart immediately after Mass, in order to undeceive our

brave Warriors, as soon as possible, and free them from all uneasiness."

Another alarm, equally false, threw me into great perplexity, and exposed me to danger from hunger and distress. Two Savages came in haste to my quarters to inform me that they had seen the English at the distance of half a day's journey. "Our father," said they, "there is no time to lose; thou must go away; thou wouldst risk too much in remaining here; as for us, we shall wait for the enemy and perhaps we shall go to meet them. The runners are setting out at this very moment to watch [223] for them; but, as for thee, thou must go to the Village with these people whom we have brought to conduct thee thither. When we have learned that thou art in a place of safety, we shall be at ease."

I departed at daybreak with ten Savages who served me as guides; but, after a few days' journey, we came to the end of our small stock of provisions. My guides killed a dog which was following them, and ate it; afterward they were reduced to their sealskin pouches, which they also ate. It was not possible for me to touch them. Sometimes I lived upon a kind of wood which they boiled, and which when cooked is as tender as half-cooked radishes—excepting the heart, which is very hard and is thrown away; this wood has not a bad flavor, but I had extreme difficulty in swallowing it. Sometimes they found attached to trees certain excrescences of wood, which are as white as large mushrooms; these are cooked and reduced to a sort of porridge; but it is very far from having the flavor of porridge. At other times they dried by a fire the bark of green oak, then they pounded it and made it into porridge; or perhaps they dried those leaves that grow in the clefts of rocks and are called "rock-tripe"; when these are cooked they make of them a very black and disagreeable porridge. I ate of all these, for there is nothing which hunger will not devour.

With such food, we could make but short stages each day. In the meantime, we came to a Lake which was beginning to thaw, and where there were already four inches of water on the ice. We were obliged to cross it with our snowshoes on; but as these snowshoes are made of strips of skin, as soon as they were wet they became very heavy and [225] rendered our walking much more difficult. Although one of our men went in advance of us to sound the way, I suddenly sank knee-deep; another man, who was walking by my side, suddenly sank waist-deep, crying out: "My father, I am a dead man!" As I was approaching him to

give him my hand, I myself sank still deeper. Finally it was not without much difficulty that we extricated ourselves from this danger, on account of the impediment caused us by our snow-shoes, of which we could not rid ourselves. Nevertheless, I ran much less risk of drowning than of dying from cold in the middle of this half-frozen Lake.

New dangers awaited us the next day at the crossing of a river, which we were compelled to pass on floating cakes of ice. We went over safely, and at last reached our Village. At once I had them dig out some Indian corn that I had left at my house; and I ate of it, wholly uncooked as it was, to appease my pressing hunger, while those poor Savages were making every effort to entertain me well. And, in truth, the repast which they were making ready for me, however frugal and little appetizing it may appear to you, was, in their opinion, a veritable feast. They served me at first a dish of porridge made of Indian corn. For the second course, they gave me a small piece of bearmeat, with acorns, and a cake of Indian corn baked in the ashes. Finally, the third course, which made the dessert, consisted of an ear of Indian corn roasted before the fire, with a few grains of the same roasted in the ashes. When I asked them why they had made me such a fine feast, they answered: "What, our Father! for two days thou hast eaten nothing [227] could we do less? Alas, would to God that we could very often regale thee in this manner!"

While I was endeavoring to recover from my fatigue, one of the Savages who had camped on the Seashore, and who was ignorant of my return to the Village, caused a new alarm. Having come to my quarters, and not finding me, nor any of those who had camped with me, he did not doubt that we had been carried away by a party of Englishmen; and, going on his way in order to inform the people of his own neighborhood, he came to the shore of a river. There he stripped the bark from a tree on which he drew with charcoal the English surrounding me, and one of the number cutting off my head. (This is the only writing of the Savages, and they understand each other by figures of that kind as well as we understand each other by our letters.) He immediately put this sort of letter around a pole, which he set up on the shore of the river, so that passers-by might be informed of what had happened to me. A short time after, some Savages who were paddling by the place in six canoes for the purpose of coming to the Village, perceived this sheet of bark: "Here is some writing," said they, "let us see what it says.

Alas!" exclaimed they on reading it, "the English have killed the people in our Father's neighborhood; as for him, they have cut off his head." They immediately loosened the braids of their hair, which they left to hang carelessly over their shoulders; and seated themselves around the pole, until the next day, without speaking a single word. This ceremony is among them a mark of the greatest affliction. The next day, they continued their way to within half a league of the [229] Village, where they stopped; then they sent one of their number through the woods to the Village, in order to ascertain whether the English had come to burn the fort and the cabins. I was reciting my breviary while walking beside the fort and the river, when this Savage came opposite to me on the other shore. As soon as he saw me he exclaimed: "Ah, my Father, how glad I am to see thee! My heart was dead, but it lives again on seeing thee. We saw a writing which said that the English had cut off thy head. How glad I am that it told a lie!" When I proposed sending him a canoe that he might cross the river, he responded: "No, it is enough that I have seen thee; I shall retrace my steps and carry this pleasant news to those who are waiting for me, and we shall very soon come to join thee." Indeed, they came that very day.

I believe, my dearest Brother, that I have satisfied your desires by the details that I have just given you of the nature of this Country, of the character of our Savages, of my occupations, of my labors, and of the dangers to which I am exposed. Doubtless you will judge that I have the most to fear from the English Gentlemen of our neighborhood. It is true that they long ago resolved upon my death; but neither their ill will toward me, nor the death with which they threaten me, can ever separate me from my old flock; I commend them to your devout prayers, and I am with the tenderest affection, etc.

[*Id., doc.* cxcvii, vol. lxvii, pp. 132-229.]

LV

[249] Letter from Father du Poisson, Missionary to the Akensas, to Father Patouillet.

[1726]

[Paul du Poisson,[1] recently assigned to the Arkansas tribes, writes (1727) a letter to Louis Patouillet, a Jesuit friend in France. Du Poisson is welcomed, soon after his arrival, by Indian envoys who offer to "dance the calumet" for him. Knowing that they expect presents in return for this, he declines the honor; but finds it advisable to let them visit him and perform some of their dances,—providing for them a "great kettle," a feast of "corn without stint. . . . I never saw a meal eaten with worse manners or with better appetite." . . . —*Id.*, lxvii, p. 19.]

My Reverend Father,

Accept the greetings of a poor *Mississipian,* who has always esteemed you, and who, if you will permit him to say so, has loved you as well as has the best of your friends. . . . I am not yet sufficiently acquainted with the Country and with the customs of the Savages to give you information of them; I shall only tell you that the Mississipi presents to the traveler nothing beautiful, nothing exceptional, save itself; nothing mars it but the continuous forest on both sides, and the frightful solitude in which a person is during the whole voyage. Having, then, nothing peculiar to write to you of this Country, permit me to tell you what has happened to me since I have been at the post to which Providence has assigned me.

Two days after my arrival here, the Village of the *Sauthois* sent two Savages to ask me if I would be pleased to have them come to chant the calumet [251] for me; they were arrayed as for a ceremony, carefully *matachĕ,*—that is to say, the whole body painted with different colors,[2]—with wildcats' tails at the places where the wings of Mercury are represented; with *calumet* in hand and upon the body little bells, which from afar announced their coming. I answered them that I was not like the French Chiefs, who command warriors, and who come with *booty* to make them presents; that I had come only to make them know the *great spirit,* whom they did not know, and that

I had brought only the things necessary for this purpose. I told them that I would, nevertheless, accept their *calumet* on the day when some pirogue should be sent for me; this was to put them off to the Greek *Calends;* they waved the calumet before my face, and returned to carry my answer. Two days afterward, the Chiefs came to make the same inquiry—adding that it was without design that they wished to dance the calumet in my presence; *without design* signifies among them that they are making a present without any anticipation of return. I had been informed of all this; I knew that the hope of gain was making them very attentive, and that when the Savage gives, even *without design,* double must be returned to him, or he will probably be displeased; I therefore made them the same answer that I had given to the deputies. Finally they returned again to the charge, in order to ask if I would at least be willing that their young men should come to dance in my village, *without design,* the *reconnoiter* dance (this is the one they dance when they send to reconnoiter the enemy). I answered that it would not trouble me, that their [253] young men could come to dance, and that I would look at them with pleasure. All the people of the Village, except the women, came the next day at dawn; we had nothing but dances, songs, and harangues until noon. Their dances, as you may well imagine, are somewhat odd; but the precision with which they mark the time is as surprising as the contortions and efforts that they make. I saw well that I must not send them away without giving them a *great kettle* [i.e., feast]: I borrowed from a Frenchman a kettle similar to those which are in the kitchen of the Invalides, and I gave them corn without stint. Everything went on without confusion; two of their number performed the office of cooks, dividing the portions with most exact impartiality, and distributing them in like manner; there was heard only the usual exclamation, *ho,* which each one pronounced when his portion was given him. I never saw a meal eaten with worse manners or with better appetite. They went away well-satisfied; but, before going, one of their Chiefs spoke to me again about accepting their calumet. I put them off as I had done before; in fact, to accept their calumet involves considerable expense. In the beginning, when it was necessary to conciliate them, the Directors of Monsieur *Laws's* grant, and the Commandants, who accepted their calumet, made them great presents; and these Savages thought that I was going to revive the old custom. But, even could I do so, I would certainly avoid it, because there would be danger of their hearing

me speak of Religion only from interested motives; and because elsewhere we have learned by experience that the more we give the Savages, the less cause [255] have we to be satisfied with them, as gratitude is a virtue of which they have not the slightest idea.

Hitherto I have had no leisure to devote myself to their language; however, as they make me frequent visits, I ask them: *Talon jajai?* "What do you call that?" I already know enough of their language to make myself understood in the commonest things; there are no Frenchmen here who are thoroughly familiar with it, as they have learned, and that very superficially, what it is necessary that they should know for trade. I understand it now as well as they; but I foresee that it will be very difficult for me to learn as much as will be necessary in order to speak to these Savages concerning Religion. I have reason to think that they fully believe that I know their language perfectly. A Frenchman was speaking of me to one of them, who said: "I know that he *has a great mind, that he knows everything.*" You see that they pay me infinitely more honor than I deserve. Another Savage made me a long harangue; I understood only these words: *indatai,* "my father," *uyginguai,* "my son." I answered him at random, when I saw that he was questioning me: *ai,* "yes," *igalon,* "that is good." Then he passed his hand over my face and shoulders, and afterward did the same to himself. After all these *agios* he went away with a contented air. Another came, some days after, for the same ceremony; as soon as I perceived him I called a Frenchman to me, and begged him to explain what was said to me without appearing to serve me as interpreter, for I wished to know if I had been mistaken in answering the first. This man asked me if I were inclined to adopt him as my son; if so, when he returned from the hunt [257] he would cast, *without design,* his game at my feet and I should not say to him as other Frenchmen did: *For what dost thou hunger?* (this means, "What dost thou wish me to give for that?") but I should make him sit down, and should give him food as to my own son; and when he returned a second time to see me, I should say: "Sit down, my son; look, here are vermilion and powder." You see the spirit of the Savages; they wish to appear generous in giving *without design,* and they nevertheless wish to lose nothing. I responded to his words: *Igaton thé,* "That is very good; I approve it, and consent to it"—after which he passed his hand over me, as the other had done. Here is another anecdote, which shows how generous they are. Day before yesterday I received

a visit from a Chief, and I offered him a pipe; to fail in this would be to fail in politeness. A moment after, he went for a *matachè* buckskin—which he had left in the entry of the house in which I live—and put it upon my shoulders; this is their way when they make presents of that sort. I begged a Frenchman to ask him, without appearing to do it for me, what he wished that I should give him: *I have given without design,* he answered, *am I trading with my father?* ("Trading" here means "paying.") Nevertheless, a few moments afterward he said to the same Frenchman that his wife had no salt, and his son no powder; his aim was that this Frenchman should repeat it to me. A Savage gives nothing for nothing, and we must observe the same rule toward them; otherwise we should be exposed to their contempt. A *matachè* skin is a skin painted by the Savages in different colors, and on which they represent calumets, birds, [259] and beasts. Those of deer can be used as table-covers, and those of cattle as bed-covers. . . .

[*Id., doc.* cxcix, vol. lxvii, pp. 248-263.]

LVI

[277] Letter from Father du Poisson, Missionary to the Akensas, to Father * * *

[1727]

[Du Poisson writes (October 3, 1727) to a friend from his Arkansas mission, at which he has recently arrived, describing his voyage thither from New Orleans, and the region and tribes through which he passed. . . . Du Poisson gives much interesting information about the present status of the French settlements along the river, the Indian tribes still remaining, and the characteristics of that region. . . .—*Id.*, lxvii, *doc.* cci, pp. 21, 22.]

ARE you curious, my dear friend, to learn the least curious thing in the world, and one which costs most to learn by experience,—that is, the manner of traveling on the *Mississipi*,—and what this country is, so vaunted and so decried in the same breath in France, and what kind of people live here? I have nothing else to tell you at present; if the account I am about to give of our journey be not interesting, ascribe it to the country; if it be too long, ascribe it to the desire that I have to talk with you.

During our stay in New Orleans, we saw peace and good order reëstablished by the care and the wisdom of the new Commandant-general. There had been two factions among the people who were at the head of affairs; one was called "la grande bande," and the other "la petite bande." This division is done away with, and there is every reason to hope that the Colony will be more firmly established than ever. However that may be, as they were every day expecting the arrival of the pirogue which was to bring Fathers Tartarin and Doutreleau, one of our Brethren, and the Nuns, this made us hasten our departure, so as to spare the Reverend Father de Beaubois [1] additional inconvenience, although it was a bad season for travelling on the *Mississipi*. Besides, this Father was maintaining Brother Simon,—who, [279] with some engagés, had come down from the Illinois country,—and had been waiting for us three or four months. Simon is a *donné* of the Illinois Mission; here they call "engagés"

the men who are hired to paddle a pirogue or boat,—and, it might be added, to make those people whom they conduct furious.

We embarked then, May 25, 1727—Fathers Souel, Dumas, and I under the guidance of the good-natured Simon. Fathers de Guienne and le Petit were in a few days to go in another direction—the former, as you know, to the *Alibamons,* and the latter to the *Chasses.*[1] Our baggage and that of our engagés made a mass which was more than a foot higher than the sides of our two pirogues; we were perched upon a pile of chests and packages, and were powerless to change our position. They prophesied that we would not go far with that equipment. In ascending the *Mississipi,* they go slowly because the current is very strong. Hardly had we lost sight of new Orleans when a projecting branch of a tree, that was not perceived by the man who was steering, caught a chest, turned it over and caused a young man who was near it to fall headlong, and then roughly struck Father Souel; happily the branch was broken in this first strain; otherwise both the chest and the young man would have been in the water. This accident made us resolve, when we should have reached the Chapitulas, three leagues from new Orleans, to send some one to Father de Beaubois to ask for a larger pirogue.* . . .

[285] We left the *Chapitoulas* on the 29th. Although they had sent us a larger pirogue, and notwithstanding the new stowage of baggage and of our people, we had almost as much difficulty as before. We had to make only two leagues that day in order to spend [287] the night at *Cannes brulées,* the home of Monsieur de Benac, superintendent of the concession of Monsieur d'Artagnan; he received us with kindness and regaled us with a carp from the *Mississipi* which weighed thirty-five livres. The *Cannes brulées* are two or three concessions bordering on

* "There are forests on both sides [of the Mississippi] as far as the sea. The most vigorous trees that one sees there are a species of cotton-wood, of extraordinary girth and height. The savages therefore use these trees for making canoes,—all of one piece, fifty feet in length and three in width, in which thirty men with all their baggage can embark. They make them of much more graceful shape than we do ours. They have so great a number of them that in a single village one sees as many as 280 together."—Dablon's *Relation of the Discovery of Many Countries Situated to the South of New France, made in 1673:—Id.,* lviii, *doc.* cxxxi, p. 97.

"I immediately embarked in a pirogue; this is a kind of boat made of a large tree, hollowed out to the length of forty feet, and which is very heavy; this gives a great deal of trouble when it is necessary to ascend the river."—*Letter,* Marest to Germon; Cascaskias, Nov. 9, 1712:—*Id.,* lxvi, *doc.* clxxxvii, p. 259.

the *Mississipi;* it is a place much like the *Chapitoulas,* and the situation appeared to me even more beautiful. . . .

We set out at the time of highest water; the river had risen more than forty feet higher than usual; nearly all the country is lowland, and consequently it was inundated. Thus we were exposed to the danger of finding no *cabanage,*—that is to say, no land where we could cook and sleep. When we do find it, this is the way we spend the night: If the ground be still muddy, which happens when the water begins to recede, we begin by making a bed of boughs so that the mattress may not sink into the mud; then we spread upon it a skin,—or a mattress and sheets, if we have them. We bend three or four canes in semicircles, the two ends of which we fix in the ground, and separate them from one another according to the length of the mattress; across these [289] we fasten three others; then we spread over this frail structure our *baire,*—that is to say, a large canvas, the ends of which we carefully fold beneath the mattress. In these tombs, stifling with heat, we are compelled to sleep. The first thing that we do on landing is to make our *baires* with all possible haste; otherwise, the mosquitoes would not permit us to use them. If we could sleep in the open air, we would enjoy the coolness of the night, and would be very happy. We are much more to be pitied when we find no camping ground; then we fasten the pirogue to a tree, and if we find an embarras of trees we prepare our meal on it; if we do not find one, we go to bed without supper,—or rather we have no supper, and we do not go to bed; we remain still in the same position that we kept during the day, exposed through the whole night to the fury of the mosquitoes. By the way, what we call an *embarras* is a mass of floating trees which the river has uprooted and which the current drags onward continually. If these be stopped by a tree that is rooted in the ground, or by a tongue of land, the trees become heaped upon one another, and form enormous piles; some are found which would furnish your good city of Tours with wood for three winters. These spots are difficult and dangerous to pass. It is necessary to sail very close to the embarras; the current is rapid there and should the pirogue be driven against these floating trees it would immediately disappear and would be swallowed up in the water under the embarras.

This was also the season of the greatest heat, which was increasing every day. During the whole voyage we had only one entire day that was cloudy; [291] there was always a burning sun above our heads, and we were not able to arrange over our

pirogues a little screen which might give us a slight shade. Besides, the height of the trees and the denseness of the woods—which extend along the entire route, on both sides of the river—did not permit us to enjoy the least breath of air, although the river is half a mile wide; we felt the air only in the middle of the river, when we were obliged to cross it so as to take the shortest way. We were constantly drawing the water of the *Mississipi* with reeds, in order to quench our thirst; although the water is very muddy, it did us no harm. Another refreshment that we had was the grapes which hang from the trees almost everywhere, and which we snatched in passing, or went to gather when we landed. In this country, or at least among the Akensas, there are two sorts of grapes, one of which ripens in summer and the other in the autumn; they are of the same kind; the berries are very small, and yield a very thick juice. There is also another kind; the cluster has only three berries, which are as large as damson plums: our Savages call them *asi, contai: grape, plum.*

Our provisions consisted of biscuit, salt, and very rancid bacon, rice, corn, and peas; the biscuit failed us a little above the Natchez country. At ten or twelve leagues from New Orleans, we no longer had any bacon; we lived on peas, then on rice, which failed us only on our arrival here; the seasoning consisted of salt, bear's oil, and a keen appetite. The most ordinary food of this country—almost the only one for many people, and especially for travelers—is *gru.* Corn is pounded, in order to remove the outer skin, and then it is boiled a long time in [293] water, but the Frenchmen sometimes season it with oil; and this is *gru.* The Savages, pounding the corn very fine, sometimes cook it with tallow, and more often only with water; this is sagamité. However, the *gru* answers for bread; a spoonful of *gru* and a mouthful of meat go together. . . .

[297] June 1st, we arrived at Oumas, a French habitation, where we found for camping enough land that was not inundated. We remained there the next day, so that our crew might rest. In the evening, Father Dumas and I embarked in a pirogue, which was to make during the night the same distance that we were to make the next day; thereby we avoided the great heat.

On the 3rd, we really arrived very early at *Bayagoulas* (a ruined Tribe), the home of Monsieur du Buisson, Superintendent of the concession of the Paris Gentlemen. We found beds, to which we had already been long unaccustomed; during the morning, we took the rest that the mosquitoes had not permitted us to take during the night. Monsieur du Buisson neglected

nothing for our comfort; he regaled us with wild turkey (these are very like domestic turkeys, but they have a better flavor). The concession [299] appeared to us well managed, and in good condition; it would be worth still more if it had always had such a Superintendent. Our people arrived in the evening, and we left the *Bayagoulas* the next day charmed with the good manners and courtesy of Monsieur du Buisson.

Framboise, the chief of the *Sitimachas,* who had been Monsieur de Bienville's slave, had come there to see us, and invited us to dine at his home, which we were to pass about noon; he had given us the same invitation before, when he came down to New Orleans with his tribe to chant the calumet to the new Commandant. This gave rise to an adventure with which we would gladly have dispensed, and with reading the account of which you would also dispense; but *never mind.*

The inundation had compelled the *Sitimachas* to plunge deeper into the woods; we fired a gunshot to announce our arrival. A gunshot in the woods of the *Mississipi* is a thunderbolt. Lo! immediately a little Savage appeared. We had with us a young man who knew the language; he spoke to the boy, and then told us that the little Savage had been sent to guide us, as the village was not far away. I must observe that this young man had a good appetite, and that he was well aware that we could not prepare our meal on account of the high water. Trusting his word, we entered a savage pirogue which was there, and the child guided us. We had advanced but a little distance when there was lack of water for the pirogue, and there seemed scarcely anything but mud; our people, who assured us that it was only a step farther, pushed the pirogue by main strength, for the hope of feasting with [301] Framboise encouraged them; but, at length, we found only overthrown trees, mud, and some low ground where the water was stagnant. The little Savage left us there, and disappeared in a moment. What were we to do in these woods without a guide? Father Souel jumped into the water, and we did the same; it was somewhat amusing to see us splashing among the thorns and briars knee-deep in water; our greatest trouble was to draw our shoes out of the mud. At last, very muddy and very weary, we arrived at the village which was more than half a league distant from the river. Framboise was surprised at our arrival, and coolly told us that he had nothing; by this speech we recognized the Savage. Our Interpreter had deceived us, for Framboise had not sent for us; he did not expect us, and had believed that he risked nothing in inviting us,

being sure that the inundation would certainly prevent our coming to him. At all events, we went away very quickly, and without a guide; we strayed somewhat, but again found the savage pirogue, reëntered it, and regained our own as best we could. Those men who had remained behind were amused at our plight and at our adventure; we had never laughed so much,—or, rather, it was the only time when we had laughed. There was no ground so that we could prepare food, as I said before, and we were obliged to content ourselves with a morsel of biscuit. In the evening we stopped above the *Manchat;* this is a branch of the *Mississipi* which empties into lake *Maurepas*. No land, no preparation of food, no camping-ground; millions of mosquitoes during the night; *nota iterum:* it was a fast-day. The waters were beginning to recede, which made [303] us hope that we would no longer sleep in the pirogue.

The *Sitimachas* dwelt at the lower end of the river when the Colony was founded; at that time, they killed a Missionary, Monsieur de Saint Côme. Monsieur de Bienville, who was commanding in the name of the King, avenged his death. The Map of Mississipi misplaces the tribe of the Sitimachas; this is not the only mistake that is to be found on it.[1] After these slight bits of Mississipi erudition, I return to our voyage.

On the 4th, we slept at *Bâton Rouge;* this place is named thus because a tree painted red by the Savages is there, which serves the Tribes that are above and below it as a boundary in hunting. Here we found the remains of a French habitation, abandoned on account of the wild animals—deer, rabbits, wild cats and bears—that had laid waste everything. Four of our people went to hunt, and returned the next day without any other game than an owl. . . .

On the 9th, we had scarcely embarked when there came from the woods an execrable odor; we were [305] told that there was on the land an animal called *bête puanté,* which spread abroad this offensive odor wherever it might be.[2] In the evening we camped at the *little Tonicas* in the cane-brake; in the winter, these are set on fire; in the summer, we must cut them down in order to encamp. The savage Village is in the interior; from there to the *great Tonicas* it is ten or twelve leagues by the Mississipi. By land there is only one point or tongue of land which separates the two Villages; formerly a portage was made by crossing the land. This passage is still called *the portage of the Cross.* The river had reached this point, and wholly covered it with high water; this is what we were to do the next day,—that

is to say, make the two leagues in order to avoid the ten leagues that we must have made if we had continued our way by the *Mississipi.* We took a Savage from the *little Tonicas* to act as our guide.

On the 10th, then, we entered these woods, this sea, this torrent—for it was all these at once. Our guide, whose language no one understood, spoke to us by signs; some interpreted these in one way, some in another, thus we were going at random. Besides, when any one has entered these woods, he must continue his way or perish; for, if a person should let himself go with the current in order to retreat, this rapid current would infallibly dash the pirogue against a tree and break it into a thousand pieces. But for that, we would have withdrawn from such an unfortunate course, as soon as we had entered upon it. We were obliged constantly to turn the pirogue zigzag so that its point should not strike the trees; sometimes it would be crowded between two trees which did not leave sufficient space for it [307] to pass, contrary to the expectation of him who was steering. Sometimes there was a torrent the entrance of which was nearly closed by an *embarras,* or only by two trees of enormous length and size lying across from one side of the current to the other and making it more impetuous. Sometimes the entrance would be entirely barred by a tree; we were obliged to change our course, with the chance of finding the same obstacle a moment afterward. Or we would find but very little water, and, instead, mud and brambles; then we had to push the pirogue through by main strength. Often one of our men was obliged to plunge into the water up to his neck, in order to fasten the pirogue to an overhanging tree—so that, if the current overbore the force of the paddles and made the pirogue recede, it would not crash against a tree. Our pirogue ran the most risk; it began to fill in a current which had made it recede, and the moment had come when it was about to sink; by dint of paddling we were saved, and fortunately there was at that point neither an embarrass nor overthrown trees. Afterward we went through another of these places, which had a passage only the width of the pirogue; it remained a moment motionless between the force of the current and the force of the paddles; we did not know whether it would recede or advance. This means that, in that moment, we were hanging between life and death; for, if the paddle had yielded to the force of the current we would have crashed against a large tree which almost entirely barred the current. Our people in the other pirogue, who had gone on ahead

of us, were waiting for us in a mournful and sad silence; and they uttered a loud shout of joy when they saw us out of danger. [309] I would never end, if I undertook to relate to you all the hardships of this journey. This passage is well named *the passage of the Cross,* a Traveler who knows what it is, and does not shun it, deserves the Insane Asylum should he escape from it. We shortened our journey only very little by this cross-cut. The Lord saved our lives, and we succeeded at last in escaping from those two fatal places.

At four or five o'clock in the evening, we reached the *great Tonicas.* The Chief of this Tribe came to the edge of the water to receive us; he shook hands with us, embraced us, had a mat and skins spread down in front of his cabin, and invited us to sleep there. Afterward he ordered a large dish of blackberries to be given to us, and a *manne* (that is to say, a basket) of fresh beans; this was truly a feast for us. The *passage of the Cross* had not allowed us to halt for dinner.

This Chief, as well as several of his Tribe, had been baptized by Monsieur Davion; but since the return of that Missionary to France—whither he went shortly after the arrival of the Capuchin Fathers in this country [1]—he bears no mark of being a Christian but the name, a medal, and a rosary. He speaks a little French; he made inquiries for Monsieur Davion, and we told him of his death; he expressed regret at this, and seemed to wish for a Missionary. He also showed us a Royal medal that Monsieur the Commandant-general had sent him in the name of His Majesty, with a writing which announced that this present had been made him in consideration of the attachment which he had always manifested for the French. There are a few Frenchmen *at the Tonicas;* they made great [311] lamentations at not having any Missionary. Father Dumas said Mass the next day, very early in the morning, in the cabin of the Chief; and we were edified by the eagerness of some Frenchmen in improving this opportunity to approach the Sacraments.

On the 11th, we spent the night for the last time in the pirogue. On the 12th, we encamped at *Ecors blancs,* and on the 14th, at *Natchez.* We immediately paid our visit to the Reverend Father Philibert, a Capuchin, who is Curé there; he is a man of good sense, and did not take umbrage at seeing us, as his brethren had done at New Orleans; besides, he is a good man, and very zealous. Afterward, we went down to the edge of the water to make *our baires.*

The French *settlement* at Natchez is becoming important.

Much tobacco is grown there which is considered the best in the Country. The situation of the town is very high; from it the *Mississipi* can be seen winding as if in an abyss; there are continuous hills and valleys. The land of the concessions is more level and of better quality; the excessive heat prevented our going to them, or to the savage Village.

The Village is distant only a league from the French; this is the only, or almost the only, Tribe among whom is found any kind of Government and Religion. They maintain a perpetual fire, and they know by tradition that, if it happen to be extinguished, they must go to the *Tonicas* to relight it. The Chief has great authority over the people of his Tribe, and he makes them obey him. It is not so with most of the other Tribes—they have Chiefs who are Chiefs only in name; every one is master, [313] and, notwithstanding, no seditions are ever found among them. When the Chief of the *Natchez* dies, a certain number of men and women must be put to death, that they may wait upon him in the other world: many have already offered themselves for the time when this chief shall die: on these occasions, they are strangled. The Frenchmen do everything in their power to prevent this barbarity, but they have much trouble in saving any one. The Savages say that their ancestors crossed the seas to come into this Country; some persons who know their manners and customs better than I, assert they came from China.

However that may be, the *Tonicas* and the *Natchez* are two important Tribes, each of whom ought to have a Missionary. The Chief of the *Tonicas* is already a Christian, as I have told you; he has great authority over his people, and, moreover, every one acknowledges that his Tribe is well disposed to Christianity. A Missionary would find the same advantage among the Natchez, if he had the good fortune to convert the Chief; but these two Tribes are in the district of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers—who, hitherto, have not learned any savage tongue.

We left the *Natchez* on the 17th, and we embarked, Father Dumas and I, in a pirogue which was starting for the hunt. Our own people had not yet made ready their provisions,—that is, they had not bought the corn and had it pounded.

We began to perceive the sand-banks; we found on them turtles' eggs, a new luxury for us; these eggs are a little larger than those of pigeons and are found in the sand of the shallows, where the sun hatches [315] them. The tracks that the turtles leave reveal the places where they have concealed their eggs; we found

quantities of them, and made of them omelets which were relished by people who were living only on *gru.*

From New Orleans to the *Natchez* is reckoned nearly a hundred leagues, and from the *Natchez* to the *Yatous* forty; we made this second voyage without any adventure—except that we were surprised during one night by a violent storm of thunder and lightning; imagine if we were well protected from the rain under a canvass. The next day, a Savage who was going up the river with us landed for the purpose of hunting; we continued on our way, but we had not gone more than half a league before he appeared on the bank with a deer on his shoulders. We then encamped on the first sand-bank in order to dry our clothing and to prepare a *great kettle.* These repasts after a good hunt are made wholly in the savage fashion, but nothing is more agreeable. The animal is cut to pieces in a moment, and nothing is wasted; our travelers take their portions from the fire or from the pot, each one according to inclination; their fingers and some small sticks serve for every sort of kitchen and table implement. To see these men, clad with but one garment, more sunburnt and more swarthy than the Savages,—stretched upon the sand or squatting like monkeys, devouring what they hold in their hand,—one does not know whether they are a company of Gypsies, or of people holding a witches' revel.

On the 23rd, we arrived at the Yatous [Yazoo]; this is a French post two leagues from the mouth of the river bearing this name, which flows into the [317] *Mississipi;* there is an Officer with the title of Commandant, a dozen soldiers, and three or four planters. Here was Monsieur le Blanc's concession, which has come to ruin like many others. The ground is rolling; it has been slightly explored, and the air is said to be unhealthy. The Commandant ordered all the artillery of the fort to be fired; this consisted of two very small guns. This fort in which the Commandant lives, is a shed surrounded by a palisade, but well defended by the situation of the place. The Commandant received us in a most friendly manner, and we encamped in his courtyard; our two pirogues—one of which brought Father Souel, the Missionary of the Yatous—arrived two days after us, and the fort paid him the same honor it had paid us. This dear Father had been dangerously sick during the passage from *Natchez* to Yatous, but was beginning to recover. Since my arrival here, he has written to me that he again fell sick, but that he was convalescing when he wrote. During our stay at Yatous, he bought a house—or, rather, a cabin built in

the French fashion—while waiting until he could make his arrangements to settle among the Savages, who are a league from the French post. There are three Villages, in which three different languages are spoken; their inhabitants compose a small Tribe; I know nothing more of them.

On the 26th, we reëmbarked, Father Dumas and I. It is reckoned sixty leagues from the Yatous to the Akensas; we arrived there the 7th of July, without other adventure than having once made a *great kettle* of a bear, which one of our men had killed in hunting.

[319] The villages of the *Akensas* are wrongly placed on the map. The river at its mouth makes a fork; into the upper branch flows a river that the Savages call *Niska, "white water,"*—which is not marked on the map, although it is a large stream. We entered by the lower branch; from the mouth of this branch to the place where the river divides, it is seven leagues. Thence it is two leagues to the first Village, which contains two Tribes, the *Tourimas* and the *Tougingas;* from this Village to the second it is two leagues by water and one by land; this is called the *Southouis* village. The third Village is a little higher up on the same side of the river, and the inhabitants are called the *Kappas;* on the other bank, and opposite the last Village, are the French habitations. The three savage Villages—which contain four Tribes, that bear different names—make only one Tribe, under the common name of Akensas—which the French have also given to the river, although the Savages call it *ni gitai,* "red water." They speak the same language, and number in all about twelve hundred souls.

We were not far distant from these Villages when a party of little Savages, having perceived us, gave a great shout and ran toward the Village; a French pirogue which had preceded us by a day had given notice of our coming. We found all the people of the Village assembled at the landing; as soon as we had stepped ashore a Savage asked one of our men—whom he knew, and who understood the language—*how many moons the black Chief* would remain among them. *Always,* answered this Frenchman; *Thou liest,* rejoined the Savage. The Frenchman replied that he did not lie; that there would [321] be always one of the black robes among them, that they might be taught to know the *Great Spirit,* as was the case among the Illinois. The Savage believed him, and said: *My heart laughs when thou sayest that.* I had this same Frenchman guide me to the village of the *Southouis* by land; before reaching it, we found the Chief under

his *antichon* (this is the name that the French give to a sort of cabin, open on all sides, that the Savages have at their *désert*—their clearing—and where they go to take the air). He invited me to rest upon his mat, and offered me sagamité; he spoke a word to his little child who was there; the latter immediately uttered the savage cry, and screamed with all his might, *panianga sa, panianga sa,* "The *black chief,* the *black chief!*" In an instant, all the Villagers surrounded the *antichon,* and I had told them with what design I had come. I heard from all sides only this word, *igaton;* my interpreter told me that it signified *That is good.* This whole company, uttering loud shouts, led me to the water's edge, a Savage made us cross the river in his pirogue, and, after having walked an eighth of a league we came to the French habitations. I was lodged in the house of the Company of the Indies,—which is the house of the Commandant, whenever there is one here,—and I experienced great joy at having accomplished the two hundred leagues that I had to make. I would rather make twice the voyage which we made over the sea at the same season than begin again this one. Father Dumas was only midway on his journey to the Illinois; he reëmbarked the day after his arrival here. Not the smallest settlement is found between here and the Illinois; but they seldom fail to kill some wild [323] cattle, which are much relished by people who have only *gru* for food.

Here I am at the end of my long and tiresome narrative; I have written only for you and for a friend as indulgent as you,—that is, Father Bernard, to whom I beg you to forward this letter; he is at Dijon. I shall try further to gratify your interest in the Savages of these quarters, when I shall better know their customs. You have not the same excuse that I have; you are in the great theater which changes its scenes every day, and furnishes material for the longest and most interesting letters. I wrote to you from New Orleans; did you receive my letter?

I beg you to give my respects to the Reverend Father de Fontenai, and commend me to his holy Sacrifices; I commend myself also to yours; you are both in all my *memento.* Present my respects also to the Reverend Father Davaugour and to dear brother Talard; I beg this dear brother to forward me, in the first package that he shall send to the Reverend Father de Beaubois, as many engravings as he can—and especially those which represent the different mysteries of the life of Our Lord. Monsieur Cars will give them to him if the brother will present to him my compliments, for he promised me to do so. This is

one of the best means that we can employ to give some idea of the mysteries of our religion to the Savages; they are in ecstasies when they see the picture of saint Régis that I have in my room, which was engraved by Monsieur Cars; they put the hand over the mouth, which is a sign of admiration among them. *Ouakantaqué,* they exclaim, *it is the Great Spirit!* I tell them that they are wrong; that he was a chief with a robe like me; that while he [325] was alive he faithfully heard and obeyed the word of the Great Spirit, and that after death he went to him in Heaven. Some of them pass the hand several times over the face of the Saint, and then place it on their own face; this is a ceremony that they perform when they wish to show any one a mark of veneration. Then they place themselves in different parts of my room and say, each time smiling: *He is looking at me, he almost speaks, he needs only a voice.* These are indeed trifles; it is time that we should both take breath.

Adieu, etc.

At the Akensas, this 3rd of October, 1727.

[*Id., doc.* cci, vol. lxvii, pp. 276-325.]

LVII

[25] Relation of the Saguenay, 1720 to 1730, by Reverend Father Pierre Laure.

[Pierre Laure writes to his superior a report (dated March 13, 1730) of the Saguenay mission, of which he has charge; it covers the nine years which he has spent there. . . . Laure notes in detail the peculiar characteristics of the Saguenay River, and graphically describes some of his experiences in traveling on "this capricious river" in stormy weather. He also describes Lake St. John and some of its tributaries—especially one which rolls down in its waters many curiously shaped stones. He gives an account of the Mistassin Indians and their religious beliefs; among them he finds a tradition of the deluge, and the assertion that on one of their mountains still lie some remains of "the great Canoe." Laure praises their gentleness and simplicity, and especially admires their sobriety—for, unlike other savages, they neither desire nor relish "fire-water." One of the curiosities of their country is a cave of white marble, regarded with superstitious reverence by the savages. There are numerous medicine-men among this tribe, who practice "30 different kinds of jugglery." . . .

The Tadoussac mission, in its palmy days containing nearly 3,000 men, has been reduced by diseases to but twenty-five families. . . .

After leaving Tadoussac, Laure goes to the Jérémie Islets, among the Papinachois—whose origin he ascribes to some Basque fishermen, who, "shipwrecked on their shores with some Eve, has been their unfortunate Adam."

Laure proposes to his superior the extension of the Saguenay mission. He desires to go to Labrador, "where I know that great results can be obtained:" a new missionary could take his place at Chicoutimi, with the aid of Laure's Montagnais writings.—*Id.*, lxviii, pp. 9, 10, 11, 12.]

CHEKOUTIMI, march 13, 1730.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

Pax Christi.

Your Reverence is aware of the fact that we write from here to Quebec only once every winter. However late the occasion, I beg you to accept the respectful homage which I already presented to you in my heart at the beginning of this year, which I repeat today, and which I shall continue to render you until death. If anything can be desired for you, I offer a thousand wishes for you. Yours are and must be orders, for me. . . .

[27] This post—which lies to the north, and at least 60 leagues from Quebec—is not remarkable in any way, except for a certain number of savages who, from time to time, for the purpose of purchasing what they need, come here with their rich furs

from [29] various places, by the little rivers that flow into this famous Sagnuené—whereof no attempt has yet been made, to my knowledge, to draw an accurate and complete chart.[1] Much that is curious might be said of it, did not the sole information which only Your Reverence expects from me, limit me to my subject. I cannot however refrain from giving you some idea of it.

This river, then, which takes its rise in Lake Piékwagami,—which Father de Crespieuil, whose apostolic sweat for 30 years watered the surrounding forests, called Lake St. John—this river, I say, is properly speaking, only 25 leagues in length as far as Tadoussac, from a deep basin formed by a chain of mountains, intersected by streams and rivers. Among these streams, to the north-northeast, is that of Chekoutimy,[2] which falls in two cascades—which, issuing from the same river and separating, form the Island whereon we dwell,—and then flows to add, at 9 leagues from these falls, its fresh water to the Salt Saguené.

At The mouth of that river is the alleged capital of the Province of Saguené—I mean Tadoussac, which consists of merely a wooden dwelling and a storehouse. It must be admitted, however, that its situation is very fine, and very well suited for a town. The harbor is spacious, healthful, safe, and sheltered from every wind; medium-sized vessels anchor, at high water, at the foot of the hill. This was the place where the english formerly came to trade with the Savages. A hole in the rock, in which they had placed a mooring-post for their ships, is still to be seen there; and only two years ago there was found, in the sand disturbed by a high wave, their iron chain about 30 brasses in length, and thick [31] in proportion. Here also the Saguené falls impetuously into the river St. Lawrence; and with the rising tides the St. Lawrence fills it so rapidly that, after many observations, it has been remarked that during flood-tide it is high water at Tadoussac and Chekoutimi within about a quarter of an hour of the same time, although the distance is nearly thirty leagues. It is not surprising that this should happen, in spite of the distance.

The Saguené being nearly a league wide at certain parts of its mouth, and so deep that it cannot be sounded, the flood-tide, entering with excessive rapidity,—as if into a chasm with a wider entrance,—pushes back the descending waters with great force. Accordingly, as these are forced back in succession, it is high tide at Chekoutimi—where the bottom is shallower, and the bed of the river narrower—almost at the same time as at Tadoussac, where the water rises more slowly, and where a greater volume

is needed to fill the deep bays there, and the full breadth of the river, which is more than 8 or 10 leagues wide at that place.

The mountains between which the Saguené runs are so high and so steep that the largest trees on their summits do not appear from below to be thicker than one's leg; and about 7 o'clock in the evening in summer, if one be at all near the shore on the south side, or unless one be far out, it is difficult to read in a canoe. In some of the clefts of the rocks, where the sun never shines, are many veins of very fine and very white saltpeter. Hardly a spring passes without some landslides happening through natural causes; and the noise they make is louder than the report of a cannon, while they diffuse in the [33] neighborhood an odor exactly like that of gunpowder. The heat between these two chains of mountains, most of which are bare and inaccessible, is so great that the gum on the canoes often melts at the surface of the water. Nature seems to have contrived favorable and convenient stopping-places for travelers. With the exception of a single stretch of 4 or 5 leagues, to which it would be dangerous to confide one's self too headlessly, and whence in the event of a sudden storm it would be well-nigh impossible to escape in a bark canoe, nature provides here and there small sandy ports, where one can conveniently put in. These landings are more accessible on the north side. Anchorage for vessels can be found almost everywhere; the largest ships, in case of need, would be fortunate to find refuge there—as, during the war, when the English unsuccessfully besieged Quebec, did the french ships that arrived too late to be of use. The remains of their barracks and their batteries can still be seen, 2 leagues this side of Tadoussac. At low tide, it is more difficult to disembark; it is sometimes necessary to carry one's baggage a very long distance, over slippery stones covered with those slimy plants that we call "sea-wrack." But on the other hand, as a compensation, providence has at nearly all these spots placed fire-wood; and little brooks,—which, flowing from the swamps where the beaver dwell, fall from the tops of the cliffs, to refresh and rejoice tired travelers.

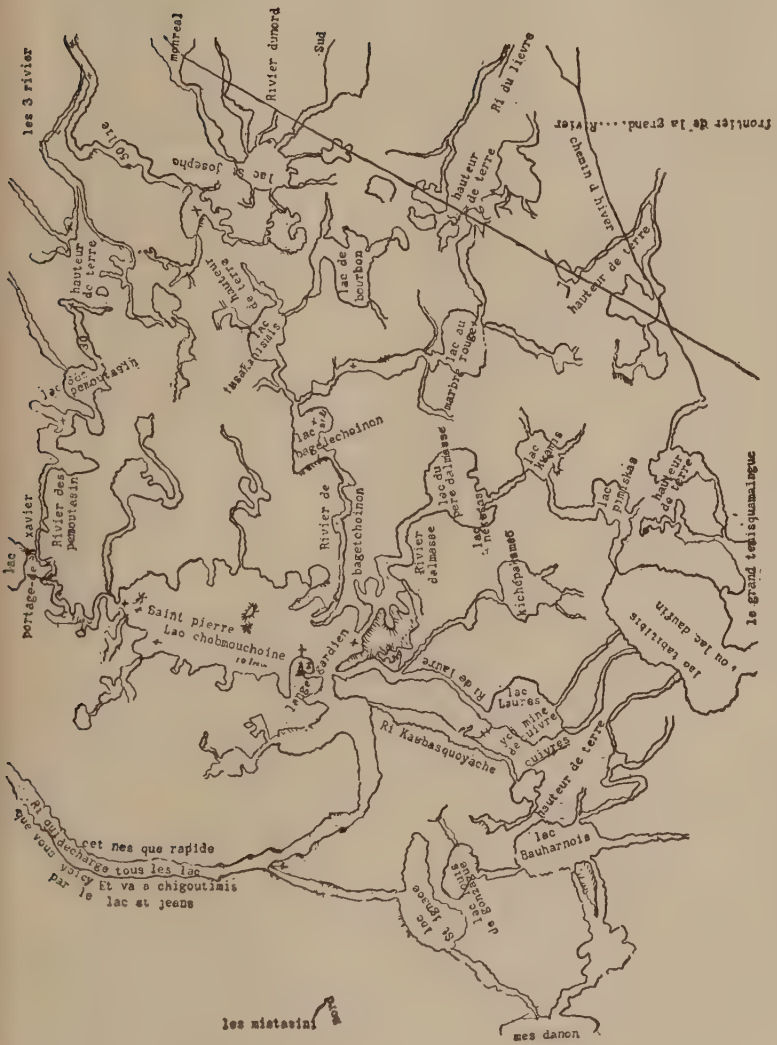
The northwest and northeast winds are the only ones that blow on the Saguené; the others are either but slightly felt or at least are never violent. During the many journeys that I have made, I have seen only the 2 former exceedingly treacherous, stormy, [35] and lasting. As soon as either of these winds begins to blow, caution is necessary, however favorable it may be,—especially if the sky be overcast, and there be any

appearance of a storm. For then, as at sea, the waters roar, rise, and foam; and, by the conflicts of a thousand waves, pursuing and following one another, or breaking successively one after another, they warn the canoemen to paddle vigorously, and reach land quickly. May I venture, my Reverend Father, to give you one or two instances of it?

During the first year of my mission, between the trips I made to Tadoussac for the consolation of my neophytes, I was called one day to go to a sick man in urgent need. As I had, as yet, no experience of the danger to be encountered on this capricious river, I wished to hasten my journey; and, although I had only an old canoe for 4 paddles, I had to travel at night. The weather was fine, and the moon at its full showed no sign of a squall. Meanwhile my 2 Savage canoemen were falling asleep. Tired of awakening them at every moment, I at last allowed them to give way to slumber. I took a paddle, and paddled and steered, allowing the current of the tide, which helped me, to drift me along. Some time afterward, one of my men awoke, and took his paddle; and, as it is the custom of the Savages, who are exceedingly independent among themselves, never to say anything to one another about work, for fear of giving offense, he begged me to rouse the other. I did so, and being in my turn overcome by drowsiness, and seeing only an easy navigation, I rested my head and arms on one of the thwarts of the canoe. I had barely fallen asleep when—as I understood as yet but a few [37] words of the montagnais language respecting the management of canoes—I thought that my people were quarreling. I arose, and spoke; but I saw no longer either sky, or water, or rocks,—nothing but profound darkness, caused by a storm which arose suddenly from the northwest. "We are lost, my father," they called out to me. "Let us land quickly, my children," I replied. We could see no landing place, owing to the darkness of the night; and moreover we were at the deepest part of the Saguené. The storm-cloud grew denser, and seemed about to touch us while it rumbled behind us. We fortunately were near the rocks; but, when I tried to land on the first one we touched, my foot slipped and I fell into the water. The canoeman, who had but one arm, hastily shoved the stump, which was as good as a hand, under my armpit, drew me out, and threw me on a point of rocks whereon we placed our canoe. I was astonished to see my 2 Savages sleeping peacefully during the remainder of the night, while I felt the blood flow from a leg which had been injured by striking too hard against a rock; and I could

not dress the wound, because there was no fire. My sole fear was that the storm would carry away our canoe; for, in that case, what would have become of us? But divine goodness took pity on the father and on the children, who were not yet ripe for heaven. The storm passed, at a distance; and when day came I was surprised to see ourselves in a kind of niche, and could not help laughing at our fortunate misfortune. Although the falling tide had left us from 10 to twelve feet above the water, we carried down our canoe, the Chapel, and the remainder of the baggage, by means of a small gulley down [39] which we slid gently, and reëmbarked. From there we proceeded to Tadoussac; and the missionary administered the last sacraments to the sick Savage, who died a few days afterward. I then returned to Chékoutimi, in the middle of the same river. The northeast wind, accompanied by rain, assailed us so violently that two thwarts of the canoe were broken before we could land. As we were almost submerged, I was about to give absolution to my two men—who, knowing the danger better than I did, were also more frightened, and exhorted me to make them pray well to God. I confess that to their faith and confidence in the blessed virgin and the Blessed Regis we were indebted for our preservation. I quickly tightened the canoe with my girdle and my garters; I handled the sail, and we drove through the waves that, at times, broke over us. Finally, we reached a savage cabin, where our canoe was emptied and repaired, while we dried ourselves near a great fire—which those dear neophytes made for us, with manifestations of sincere compassion. Being thus well informed of what was to be dreaded on that river, I reached my Church, wrongly resolved to be wiser in future. I say "wrongly," because in certain cases it is prudent not to be too prudent. Timidity might cause the failure of some good work; and an hour's delay has compelled travelers who had almost reached their destination to be kept back and to suffer from hunger. Not that it is unnecessary to take wise precautions. Temerity here has caused the destruction of many here, both french and savages.

I had the honor of telling you in the first place, My Reverend Father, that the Saguené took its rise in Lake St. John. Now, to finish giving you an [41] accurate idea of these localities, Lake St. John—which is distant about 30 leagues from Chekoutimi in a westerly direction, and situated in the depths of the high mountains that you see to the north of Quebec—is no more than 30 leagues in circumference. It is not deep, and in summer its waters, which are very low, lay bare a beautiful beach of fine



COUNTRY NORTHWEST OF LAKE ST. JOHN, P.Q.

From original manuscript Jesuit missionary map, probably made about 1695, and preserved in archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LXV.*]

sand. It is well stocked with fish; its environs are beautiful; the scenery agreeable; the soil good. But most kinds of grain, especially Indian corn, cannot ripen, owing to the prevalence of the northwest wind—which blows very strongly early in the season, and sometimes brings snow at the end of august. A portion of the old establishment of the missionaries is still in existence; one can see that there had been a large garden, and a chapel, in which our brother Malherbe was buried. I had a cross erected over his grave.[1]

At the upper end of the Lake is a river, which is very curious on account of the variously-shaped small stones that it rolls down its bed. Nature would seem to have applied itself there to giving models for all the arts; birds, animals, vases, tools for all trades are easily recognizable; all these are visible in the water. The difficulty lies in collecting them. A journey would have to be made expressly for the purpose, and one would have to take time to select the pieces oneself, as the savages are not capable of doing so. Now, for that purpose, the curiosity-seeker would have only to pay and feed two canoemen to take him there. I have one of these rarities here. If you place it upright, this grayish and hard stone resembles a sort of monkey, or an earless cat, sitting on its tail and haunches, holding a little ball in [43] its mouth. If you lay it down at its length, it seems to me like a bird carrying something in its beak; on one side of the head is an oblong stain which looks a good deal like an eye. This figure is only an inch wide by one and one half in length. Moreover, this industrious river pays no tribute of its treasures to Lake St. John, into which it falls,—as do many others that flow from the watershed and are fed by Lake Kawitchiwit. This, from lake to lake, reaches as far as father Albanel's lake,[2]—so called because it was first discovered by that missionary,—about 80 leagues East-northeast from Hudson's Bay; and quite near the great Lake of the Mistassins; the latter, on receiving the waters of Lake Albanel, discharges into the Northern sea.[3]

In that quarter dwell the Michtassini—or, in French, Mistassins. They derive this name—which comes from *michta,* "great," and *assini,* "stone"—from a great rock in their river. It is the same as that which yields the curiosities which I have just mentioned. They have a veneration for that rock; it would be a sin for them to pass near it without leaving some token of their superstitious reverence for Tchigigoutchéou, the god of fine and of bad weather,—who, according to their myths, has by preference chosen his residence there. As a rule, their incense con-

sists of a little black tobacco, a piece of sea-biscuit, or some beaver or fish bones, which they place upon the rock. But other savages, less devout, and hungry for smoking, often while passing take the tobacco from the good or evil Spirit, who has not taken care to benefit by the devotion of his worshipers.

They also claim that near this spot, after the deluge (for, according to their account, they have [45] about the same idea of it that we have), the great Canoe grounded on a high mountain which they point out. Some even assert, as an article of their faith, that they have often seen there an old man of enormous height, armed with bow and arrows, who stalks about in the neighborhood and seems to guard the venerable relics of that canoe,—some timbers of which, they claim, still remain undecayed.* These idle fancies, among a thousand others which are unworthy of your attention, My Reverend Father, and upon which the profound erudition of Father Lafiteau—whose departure we would regret still more here, had not his too well-known merits caused him to be recalled to France—would cast a marvelous light, are so common among these peoples that there is not a child who does not know the story of the great Canoe and of the tall savage, the venerable ancestor Mechou. Moreover this tribe, reduced to a small number of people,—a portion of whom come here in the spring, while the others go to the English for what they require,—are of a gentleness and simplicity beyond any idea of goodness that can be conceived. It would not be difficult to make good christians of them, if they could only see living in closer and longer intimacy with them—a missionary who was less hampered,—in a word, one who would be given greater facility and freedom to teach them and their countrymen. Very different from the others, these savages do not, as a rule, like brandy; and if the frenchman,—more eager for their goods than for their salvation,—in spite of the repeated prohibitions of our kings, overcomes their natural repugnance for that intoxicating liquor, they drink it only with ridiculous grimaces, and never return [47] to the charge of their own accord. Their reason is,—to use their own language,—that the mind is shamefully lost when once it has been killed by firewater. To this blessed sobriety they add admirable docility, whatever trouble it may cost them. . . .

*"They [the savages of St. Esprit] have some knowledge of the Tower of Babel, saying that their old men had related to them how formerly a great house had been built, but a strong wind had overthrown it."—Marquette, *Relation*, 1669-70:—*Id.*, liv, *doc.* cxxvi, p. 183.

The mistassins live on fish, with which their lakes are well stocked. There are but few beaver among them, but herds of caribou compensate for that. Nearly all their superstitions are reduced to not allowing their dogs to eat certain bones which they respect,—for fear of profanation, and lest they might be unable to kill any other animal afterward. They are careful to throw these bones into the fire or into the river. This religious act is assuredly due to no other reason than the fear that they formerly had, like our french hunters, that their dogs might break their teeth. Sensible people among them admit it. Among themselves, they seldom drink or eat until they have offered to their dead a small quantity of [49] their food or beverage, which they throw into the fire. This is the *benedicite* that they teach their children.

The most remarkable of all the curiosities to be seen in these woods, in the direction of Nemiskou, is a cave of white marble, which looks as if a workman had carved and polished it. The aperture is easy of access, and lights up the interior. The vault corresponds, by its brilliancy, to its supports. In one corner is a slab of the same substance, but somewhat rough, which projects, forming a kind of table as if to serve as an altar. Consequently the savages think that it is a house of prayer and council, wherein the Spirits assemble. Therefore all do not take the liberty of entering it, but the jugglers who are, as it were, their Priests, go there in passing to consult their oracles.

Not that I would venture to say that there are clever sorcerers among the Mistassins, or among the other Montagnais; for, at best, they are but clumsy charlatans. At least, as far as I have been able to study them, it is by their imaginary spells that they greatly desire to make themselves respected and dreaded. Even with the aid of their 30 different kinds of jugglery, all these sorcerers seldom succeed in making good their pretensions. Unfortunately, it is sufficient that they should tell the truth once, by accident, to be always believed in future—often, without believing themselves. For I have seen some who passed among them for masters, who candidly admitted to me that their art was but a falsehood; and that it was not true that they had ever seen either the devil or *Atchéne,*—that is to say, any of those headless and handless phantoms, etc.[1] They said that it was solely with the object of [51] deluding the most credulous that their ancestors had formerly related these fables, in order to give themselves importance and to be looked upon as privileged men, inspired by heaven and superior to the vulgar.

Others have assured me that they had seen extraordinary fires and supernatural monsters; but that, since they had embraced christianity, they no longer saw anything, although they frequently traveled at night. When one who was more obstinate affirmed that he had seen the evil spirit, he was at once asked how that spirit was made, whether he was black or white. He became quite confused, began to laugh, and was unable to answer. Through the admirable providence of God, whose will it is that the others be undeceived, these wretched sorcerers, true or pretended, whose gross and impure practices are ever deserving of condemnation, nearly always after persisting in their scandalous obstinacy, die a miserable death, in the midst of their criminal actions, or as a punishment for their foolish medicines. Thus I have seen four terrible examples, of which I have had occasion to write to Your Reverence, in connection with that famous juggler of the Lake who, while still quite young, had died a pitiable death with his wife, who was still more superstitious than he. From this example among others will God derive his glory.

But after having given you, My Reverend Father, a summary and perhaps even tedious description of this country interspersed with Mountains, Rocks, lakes, rivers, drunkards, and jugglers, I return to the condition in which, on my first arrival, I found this long-abandoned mission; for although Father André, in his old age, had, after Father de Crespieuil's death, made some short expeditions to it, [53] nevertheless hardly a savage had retained any other idea of our Holy Religion than a great desire to learn the principles thereof. The young people had never heard of it. The older ones merely mumbled some undistinguishable fragments of the *pater* and of the *Ave* of their forefathers. Licentiousness, which prevailed to the utmost degree among them, polygamy, and, still more, drunkenness,—in a word, all the evils born of the grossest profligacy,—were the sole idols worshiped by these poor blind people. They alleged, as a justification for their misconduct, the melancholy scandals formerly set before them by the French, who sojourned temporarily or who remained among them as employees. . . .

The montagnais who is mild, affable, and peaceful is easily led to do what is desired, provided he be looked after. Being credulous and not addicted to retorting, he wishes all that we wish; being timid, he obeys; being poor, through ignorance of the value of his furs elsewhere, he hopes to be assisted; and this I began to make them fairly understand, in Algonkin, to win

them, or rather to attract them, to Jesus Christ. When not under the influence of liquor, they seemed to enter into my thoughts. It [55] is surprising that among so many different tribes—people from Chekoutimi, Piékwagami, Nékoubau, and Chomouchwan; Mistassins, the people of Tadoussac, and the Papinacheois—there was but a single drunkard who ill-treated me. My sole regret during these first troubles was that I could not easily make myself understood in this strange land. The pure Algonkin tongue was of hardly any use to me here. Without a house, without assistance, without consolation, I pined away—solely through not being able to express the bitterness of my heart, otherwise than by the pallor of my countenance. Absorbed merely in looking at so fine a field, I had recourse to Father de Crespieuil; I went to the Church several times, and asked the venerable deceased to send me from Heaven his montagnais tongue, which was no longer of use to him. But the saints desire us to take the same trouble that they themselves have taken to become qualified to glorify God. The means that I selected therefore, was to secure a good savage woman, who had formerly been a christian, to instruct me. This Marie, of whom I have already had occasion to speak to Your Reverence elsewhere, after having successfully finished helping me to complete my montagnais books as she desired, ended her days last year by a precious death. She directed my studies in a masterly manner; and, at the very first word that she heard me pronounce, she said to the others: "That will do, our father has spoken our language; I will no longer speak french to him." Notwithstanding my entreaties, she kept her word; and by dint of making her pupil divine her words, she enabled him to preach on the mystery of Christmas without having the paper before him. . . .

[59] A few days after his return from Quebec, the father observed with lively pleasure these poor people arriving—some laden with their packages of beaver-, martin-, and lynx-skins; the others with their canoes. The women carried their children, the bark for their cabins, the kitchen utensils, firewood, fir branches for their beds, etc. All the men, on laying down their burdens at the camping-place, formed in line, according to their custom, and fired 3 or 4 volleys from their guns as a salute to the chapel; the french, on their side, replied to it. I received them, before the Church, vested with a surplice; I recited for them a short prayer, after the montagnais *veni creator*, and then gave a brief [61] exhortation. After that, they went to the french house for refreshments, and thence to make their cabins,

or rather—to prepare Your Reverence for what is to follow—their death-beds.

All, with the exception of a young child attacked by scrofula, were in wonderful health. This led me to expect that I should see them assiduously attend the various exercises of the mission, which I was preparing for them; but I soon saw that the desire that I had had to hasten my return was nothing less than the result of humor for, hardly had the chief—who, according to the custom of the nation, was the first to cut and set up the poles of his cabin—finished his work with the others, than he found himself ill. At first he merely laughed at it, and accused himself of being lazy. Seeing that he was sick, I urged him to allow a little blood to be taken from him, for I feared pleurisy. Their manner of bleeding is cruel. They select the largest blood-vessel that lies on the hand; they pierce the flesh with an awl beneath the vein, which they afterward raise. They make the puncture —or, rather, the incision—with a knife that is often blunt; it seldom happens that much blood flows and mutilations are always caused, which have crippled many. The chief allowed me to bleed him, but in the french fashion, on the following day only, and not until he had assisted at mass. . . . The sickness increased, but did not prostrate him. He even then had the courage to hotly pursue and [63] silence two importunate savages who wished to force the Clerk to give them liquor; but his just anger heightened his fever. He asked me to confess him. In order not to act imprudently at the beginning, in consequence of my slight knowledge of the language, I had already tested each savage by a double general confession, waiting for the 3rd which was to finish unmasking them to me. This one, who was more sincere and less dull than the others, made his confession, and delighted me; and, being sufficiently instructed, he wished to be carried to the chapel, to make his first communion there. It is not the custom of savages to kneel; they squat upon their heels. This one, while at the altar-rails, exhausted as he was, remained in an admirable christian posture, until I turned around and made him a sign to sit down, for I feared that he would be overcome by weakness.

During his illness, which lasted only 8 days it is impossible to describe how he edified us by his patience. He had the missionary called almost every moment. This was in the hottest season, when those stinging flies that are called mosquitoes, Midges, and gnats are at their worst. When he was told that he should have remained in his cabin, instead of exposing him-

self outside to those unbearable insects, he gently replied that he had neither strength nor courage to perform any other penance. *Tanc tché tchichikamaswïanc egou.* "How then can I pay for myself?" I can never forget those words. . . .

[73] Some caused themselves to be sweated (without their usual superstitions). They heat stones red-hot in the fire, and place them in a small, well-closed bark hut. Then the person who is to be sweated, shuts himself up in it entirely naked, and sits down, on fir-branches; and from time to time, in order to increase the heat, he throws cold water on the stones, and also drinks some. This causes him to break out into a profuse perspiration; but, as he breathes no fresh air, I would think that he drinks his own sweat over and over again, and does himself more harm than good. Indeed there is no doubt that this method of sweating themselves with stones has a very withering effect upon them, and parches their lungs. They have been taught another way of using that remedy, which, by ejecting the noxious humors, allows them to escape outside *and* [*crossed out in MS.*] can but do much good. It consists in boiling in a large kettle spruce-twigs with aromatic herbs, among which are placed some of those oily shrubs that are here called the "pepper-plant," because their fruit, from which green wax is obtained, has in fact, if not the consistency and hardness, at least the appearance of pepper. A tub is prepared, across which a board is laid to serve as a seat; then, on the outside, to the hoops of the tub are nailed 4 or 5 small sticks, and their pliant tops are tied to a medium-sized hoop. This hoop is placed as high as the neck of him who is to sit in the tub, so that his head is outside, and the remainder [75] of the body is well covered by means of the sticks that hold up the blankets and prevent their resting on the shoulders. When everything is thus prepared, the boiling kettle is put in the tub under the seat. A piece of board is put upon the kettle, to support the *captive's* [patient's] feet, and prevent their being burned. The patient, wrapped up only in a sheet, slips gently into the sweating-bath, with a small stick which he uses to stir up the medicine as the heat abates. He remains thus until he feels the perspiration diminish; then quickly putting on a warm shirt, he goes to sweat once more in good robes of beaver-skin, or in a good and well-warmed bed, when he has one. This method of producing perspiration is a sovereign remedy for languor, rheumatism, inflammation, pains in the side, and minor aches; in a word, it is worth many baths. I should consider these the legal purifications of our savages. At all events, sev-

eral of them who were dying made use of it to advantage, and the french of the posts hardly ever have recourse to any other remedy.

Now it is to be observed that the barque on which it was intended that I should return to Quebec arrived at Chekoutimi only after the funerals. Shall I tell you of it, My Reverend Father? Either I no longer understood myself, through despondency or grief, or God had permitted his minister to make himself understood in the montagnais language only for that time; but the truth is that, immediately after the mortality, and in the interval of rest, I was as if unable to speak four consecutive words of that language correctly; and I seemed even to have forgotten the little that I previously knew. Yet this remark escapes me solely as a reminder that a [77] Gospel laborer must, if I may venture so to express myself, tempt God for God's sake,—daring much, undertaking everything, being not too distrustful of his own strength, and dreading nothing so much as pusillanimity in the Lord's work.

To conclude this funeral narration, the savages attributed this species of contagion to the goods; and, although we tried to undeceive them, there is nevertheless some probability that they were slightly contaminated by the plague of Marseilles. For, merely on opening the bales, the clerk and some of his servants were quickly attacked by fever; and there were hardly any savages ill, except those who came to buy the clothes. Moreover, some were so furious that they had to be tied. A woman in her delirium struck me a blow that made me "see a hundred candles," as the saying is. Then, according to the custom of the savages, they were tied on their beds, with their feet and hands bound to 4 stakes driven into the ground. As I had only a few emetics, and could not attend to all, I gave a portion of them to some persons who are still living. The fear of death, alone, evidently killed one, in especial. He was a robust and strong man, about 50 years of age. The fever attacked him only an hour before his death. Only one man and one woman fled from their true happiness, by withdrawing, in spite of my entreaties, into the woods, where they died without any assistance. The other Idolaters, through a ridiculous superstition, fired their guns backward while retiring, as if to intimidate or arrest death, and prevent it from pursuing them. Such is certainly their idea.

Being no longer busy with these people, it was [79] necessary to go to visit, in their turn, the people of Tadoussac, who had long awaited their father, and who were rejoiced to see

him again. This mission—which formerly consisted of nearly three thousand men, and was directed by 3 Jesuits, but which has been reduced by various fatal diseases to 25 families at most—has nothing savage about it, situated as it is on the seashore, and with an agreeable prospect. It stands on a fine *plateau* [slope], clothed with turf, and covered with flowers and small wild fruits; it is in full sight of those who pass by, and of the ships. The inhabitants, dressed in the french fashion,—but rather grotesquely, and without taste,—are slightly less uncouth and more refined than the other Savages from the interior. . . .

[83] In truth, I found these good people so well disposed to christianity that I could not help passing the winter with them. We wintered 8 leagues below Tadoussac, near the Eskoumin; The place was named Notre Dame de bon desir. There, until spring, religious exercises were performed during 5 months. This small and edifying church consisted of 120 adults who had been gathered together. Mass was said before daylight in an old ruined french house; and the savages attended it regularly. From there they went to the hunting grounds—that is, to hunt Seals on the river St. Lawrence, which continues from that point widening as it descends to the gulf, and is there over 15 leagues in width.

You are aware, My Reverend Father, that this trade supplies the oil used for light in this country, and for dressing hides in Europe. Allow me, while giving still further explanation, to enter into some minor details which can but afford you diversion [85] amid your too numerous and tedious occupations. Hitherto, as far as I am aware, this fish has been spoken of only incidentally. Some seem to confound it with the dogfish or the Shark, which is very different. It is true that the head of the dogfish somewhat resembles that of the seal: a flat and black nose; large, round and projecting eyes; thick and grayish lips; an oblong muzzle, a mouth open to the ears, which are almost imperceptible, and whiskers like those of a cat. But, in addtiion to the fact that the dogfish is fiercer and greatly to be dreaded, it has a rough skin which, when dried, can be used only for polishing carvings, articles turned in a lathe, and joiner-work.[1] The flesh of this animal consists solely of a sort of tendon, or cartilage, similar to the flesh of the breast, which has obtained for it the montagnais name *Toutouchoumégou,* "the fish that is nothing but breast." While writing this, it occurs to me that glue might be made from it, as from sturgeon. I have never seen the Savages eat it. On the other hand, the seal—less stunted, and with a longer neck; timid,

always on the watch, and diving at the least alarm—does not attack sailors, avoids them as much as possible, and is content with smelt and other small fish—and even with certain worms that are found in the seaweed clinging to the rocks, as we have often had occasion to observe. Its skin, which when dressed is like morocco, but has not so fine a grain, and which is used for making Savage shoes and clothes, or for covering boxes, is coated with hair, very thick and spotted. That with which they are born, and which they retain while suckling, is of a silvery white, without any spots. As the little seal grows, it assumes the mother's color; it changes, [87] becoming browner, grayer, and blacker; and with a thousand different variegations of velvety shades, it presents a grayish background covered with an admirable variety of figures. There are seals of various kinds, all with the same features. . . .

The female seals carry their young 10 months. The names of the moons of September and june, among the people of the coast, prove this; for all our savage astrologers, who count entirely by moons, have derived the various names of the months solely from the various actions of the land or aquatic animals to which they are accustomed. These mothers, like ewes, possess admirable instinct for finding and distinguishing their young, when these are carried far out on ice-floes by the winds or by the tide. They seldom have more than one at a birth, but it is certain that they never have more than two. The Seal's *meat* [flesh] is exceedingly black, coarse, and heavy. It is probably the animal best supplied with blood; but the latter is black, thick, and so warm that it smokes even in extremely cold weather; and it can be smelled 15 or 16 hours after the death [89] of the animal when it is cut open. The savage women and children rush down to the beach, as soon as a laden canoe touches it, and peacefully divide the loins, ribs, feet, flippers, and head. The heart is the least objectionable part. The whole is boiled in a kettle, or is broiled on small wooden spits planted in front of the fire; and is afterwards eaten without salt or other condiment. In the first place, the skin of the victim is removed, and all the blubber is taken off in one piece. The fat, from which the oil is procured, is from 3 to 4 inches thick—sometimes more, sometimes less. This blubber, being all collected in certain places, is thrown into a tub, that is, into a kind of press,—where it gradually liquefies and furnishes the most fatty oils, which seem the best for tanning. It is natural that, when liquefied and decomposed in the sun, they should smell bad. Such is not the case with those rendered in

large kettles placed on the fire. These are not so thick, are clearer, and used in lamps and for frying, do not smell so bad, and are not so good for tanning; and the Tanners in france are said to prefer the coarser oils, obtained from the *marsouin* [white porpoise, or white whale]. The former oils, when placed in phials, greatly resemble in color a fine whitish liquor. They are the ones least boiled, and are least suitable for lamps; but are the best for burns, whose stinging pains they soothe. Others are darker and ruddier; these have been longer on the fire, and the persons who rendered them cooked therein cakes or crullers—which, it seems to me, collect all the scum. In a word, and without any mystery, these oils are rendered like hog's lard,—except that, as the oil ferments in the cask, it needs good barreling; for [91] otherwise it exudes, evaporates, leaks, and forces its way out, more than any other liquid.

What figure of speech shall I make use of, My Reverend Father, to prove that this oil is excellent for frying? I know not. One would have to become a poet to make it believed. What I do know is that I have seen frenchmen who were rather squeamish,—to say nothing of the Savages, who always have a good appetite,—fry their fish in pure seal oil. They take the precaution, however, first to boil the oil in the frying-pan and to throw into it, from time to time,—from afar, and outside of the house, for fear of fire,—about a pint of cold water. This certainly purifies the oil, and so completely removes its natural odor that the fried fish no more smells of it than if cooked in ordinary oil.

Pardon my making this unctuous remark,—which, in any case, can only facilitate the sale of the oils of the Domain; and, since we are indebted to all, enrich some poor traders.

To season their sagamité (a word, by the way, which is not understood, and never had the signification given to it through a misconception of its sense; for it means nothing but "the water" —or "the broth—is hot," *tchi sagamiteou*), the savages carefully keep this oil, when it has settled, in *wikwés*—this is the name of the Seal's bladder. These bladders are rather pleasing in shape. When blown out they have a very long neck, the middle of which is considerably enlarged, oval, and terminating in a curved end, bent back somewhat like a thermometer or an alembic. Some hold from 5 to 6 pots,[1] others from 10 to 12, without exaggeration; for I have never seen those monstrous seals that never leave the gulf of [93] St. Lawrence. The blubber of one of these yields a barrelful of oil; but here, as a rule, 3 or 4, and sometimes 6 or 7, are required to fill one.

You no doubt imagine the horrible appearance of those who

render these *oils* [fats] amid the grease and the dense clouds of suffocating smoke. In nearly every instance the women prepare, with as much skill as patience, and cut into small pieces, the blubber, which their husbands afterward try out in the kettles placed on furnaces; for the montagnais alone—very different from the other nations, who look upon their women as slaves—imitate in their households the french and more rational custom of mutually helping one another. To such an extent is this done that the man always reserves the more arduous task for himself, and leaves the less fatiguing to his wife and children, and even, in times of scarcity, deprives himself of what he needs—with this distinction, however, that he is always helped, and eats first. In truth, although the Montagnais women, as compared with the women of other Savage nations, may be looked upon as queens and sovereigns, they have true deference for their husbands; and consequently the latter seldom gainsay them. The choice of plans, of undertakings, of journeys, of winterings, lies in nearly every instance in the hands of the housewife. . . .

[99] From *this post* [*crossed out in MS.*] I proceeded, after All Saints' day and in the spring, to the Jeremie Islets, 30 leagues to the Northeast of Tadoussac, toward the Bersiamites river—a stream very well known on our maps, which is as wide as, but shallower than, the Saguené. From that place to LaBrador, the inhabitants—who are, in reality, montagnais—are called Papinachois, from the savage word that describes their character: *Nipapinach,* "I laugh a little," *Poupapinachewets,* "I like to laugh a little." Indeed, they are lovable people, on account of their invariable gayety. Would to God [101] that they could communicate their temper to their intractable neighbors, the Esquimaux, who will never be tamed, except through a miracle, because, ensconsed in their naturally hollow and impregnable rocks, —where they breathe only through a small air-hole, which also serves them as a window and a door,—and ever suspicious, they never allow any person of any nation to approach, not even if he be a basque; for there is now hardly any doubt that some basque fisherman, shipwrecked on their shores with some Eve, has been their unfortunate Adam.

Now our papinacheois—whom I consider better disposed toward God's kingdom than are their other distant countrymen—have, excepting in the terminations of the words, the same language as the savages of Chekoutimi; and all these different idioms also resemble algonkin to some extent, except for the accent. . . .

[103] As the savages occupy themselves with but one thing at

a time, they learn and remember with astonishing facility. But the women, everywhere devout, have a better memory. The men make use, to a certain extent, of artificial aids to memory. One of them, in order to learn the *Veni Creator* in his language, made some small figures for himself on a [105] piece of bark for each verse, which reminded him of the meaning of each strophe. I saw by accident in his curious writing, at the *hostem repellas longius*, a sort of little imp, which reminded him of the versicle; *Matchimanitoû*, etc., "the evil spirit, our enemy." Another astonished me last year. Before making his confession for easter, he prepared himself and examined his conscience; and at each of his sins he cut a notch on a small stick. By referring to this stick, which answered for a book, he hesitated but once with regard to the number of and the circumstances attending the sins committed during the year, of which he accused himself. Everything of that kind seems spiritual to him who associates with and loves men of that sort. I asked myself whether it were St. Ignatius who had taught him this mysterious secret.[1] . . .

[115] This letter is too long, My Reverend Father. I have now but to communicate to you a new design—which, it seems to me, can come but from God since this tends only to his glory; and which has occupied my mind for some time. It is, to extend our mission still farther; for, in truth, to confine ourselves merely to Chekotimi, Tadousac, and the Islets is a small matter. I observe, moreover, that the new posts at the Mistassins—which have just been established for the lake St. John trade—have prevented and will prevent many Savages who are half christians from coming down here in the future, as they will obtain there more than they need. I think it would be a good thing if Your Reverence would permit me to go to Labrador, where I know that great results could be obtained—without, however, abandoning this mission, where a new missionary, with the assistance of my montagnais books, could take my place while quietly learning. . . . [117] All that need be done is to put in my place the first jesuit who may come from france. At the beginning, we shall help one another as regards the language; then I shall embark for the Gulf, and I shall have the honor to be there, as at Chekoutimi and everywhere else, with all gratitude and respect,

your Reverence's
Very Humble Servant,
LAURE.[2]

[*Id., doc.* ccii, vol. lxviii, pp. 23-117.]

LVIII

[121] Letter from Father le Petit, Missionary, to Father d'Avaugour, Procurator of the Missions in North America.

[A letter from Mathurin le Petit to D'Avaugour (dated at New Orleans, July 12, 1730) gives a report of the Louisiana missions. The event of most importance therein is the terrible massacre by the Natches Indians (October 28, 1729), of the French people settled among them, over two hundred in number. The relation of this is preceded by an account of those savages, their character, customs, and religion.

The Natches tribe "is the only one on this continent which appears to have any regular worship." They worship the sun, and their chief of highest rank styles himself "Brother of the Sun"—arrogating to himself therewith despotic authority. At his death, his servants are strangled, that they may follow him in that capacity to the other world. They believe in the immortality of the soul, with rewards or punishments in its future existence. Their crops are planted together in one large field, and all assemble to collect the harvest. The first fruits gathered are presented to the temple, and then distributed according to the orders of the great chief. Marriages are a matter of barter, the husband paying a stipulated price in peltries or goods. Polygamy is prevalent among the chiefs—the support of their wives and children costing them nothing, because they have "the right to oblige the people to cultivate their fields, without giving them any wages."

Le Petit gives a long account of the customs observed by this people in carrying on their wars. The captives whom they bring home are made slaves; but, if given to the relatives of dead warriors, the captives are burned to death. The medicine-men flourish here, as among other savage tribes; "all their art consists in different juggleries"—in dancing, singing, smoking tobacco, and invocations to their fetiches. Other jugglers undertake, by similar means, to procure favorable weather. Both these classes of conjurors are composed of old men, too indolent to work. When successful, their gain is considerable; but, if they fail, their heads are cut off. Ambassadors from other tribes are received by the Natches Indians with numerous and elaborate ceremonies, in which the calumet, or peace-pipe, is conspicuous. . . .—*Id.*, lxviii, pp. 12, 13, 14.]

At New Orleans,
the 12th of July, 1730.

My Reverend Father,

The peace of our Lord.

You cannot be ignorant of the sad event which has desolated that part of the French Colony established at *Natchez*, on the right bank of the Mississippi river, at the distance of a hundred and twenty leagues from its mouth. Two of our Missionaries who were engaged in the conversion of the Savages,

have been included in the almost general massacre which this barbarous Nation made of the French, at a time too when they had not the least reason to suspect their perfidy. A loss so great as this infant Mission has sustained will continue for a long time to excite our deepest regrets.

As you could only have learned in a confused manner the events of this dark treachery, I will endeavor to relate to you all the circumstances; but first I think that it would be best to make you acquainted with the character of these perfidious Savages, called the *Natchez*. When I have described to you the Religion, the manners, and the customs of these barbarians, I will proceed to the history of the tragical event which I design to narrate, and [123] will in detail recount all those circumstances, of which I am certain you have hitherto had no knowledge.

This Nation of Savages inhabits one of the most beautiful and fertile countries in the World, and is the only one on this continent which appears to have any regular worship. Their Religion in certain points is very similar to that of the ancient Romans. They have a Temple filled with Idols, which are different figures of men and of animals, and for which they have the most profound veneration. Their Temple in shape resembles an earthen oven, a hundred feet in circumference. They enter it by a little door about four feet high, and not more than three in breadth. No window is to be seen there. The arched roof of the edifice is covered with three rows of mats, placed one upon the other, to prevent the rain from injuring the masonry. Above on the outside are three figures of eagles made of wood, and painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door is a kind of shed with folding-doors, where the Guardian of the Temple is lodged; all around it runs a circle of palisades, on which are seen exposed the skulls of all the heads which their Warriors had brought back from the battles in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their Nation.

In the interior of the Temple are some shelves arranged at a certain distance from each other, on which are placed cane baskets of an oval shape, and in these are enclosed the bones of their ancient Chiefs, while by their side are those of their victims who had caused themselves to be strangled, to follow their masters into the other world. Another [125] separate shelf supports many flat baskets very gorgeously painted, in which they preserve their Idols. These are figures of men and women made of stone or baked clay, the heads and the tails of extraordinary serpents, some stuffed owls, some pieces of crystal, and some jaw-

bones of large fish. In the year 1699, they had there a bottle and the foot of a glass, which they guarded as very precious.

In this Temple they take care to keep up a perpetual fire, and they are very particular to prevent its ever blazing; they do not use anything for it but dry wood of the walnut or oak. The old men are obliged to carry, each one in his turn, a large log of wood into the enclosure of the palisade. The number of the Guardians of the Temple is fixed, and they serve by the quarter. He who is on duty is placed like a sentinel under the shed, from whence he examines whether the fire is not in danger of going out. He feeds it with two or three large logs, which do not burn except at the extremity, and which they never place one on the other, for fear of their getting into a blaze.

Of the women, the sisters of the great Chief alone have liberty to enter within the Temple. The entrance is forbidden to all the others, as well as to the common people, even when they carry something there to feast to the memory of their relatives, whose bones repose in the Temple. They give the dishes to the Guardian, who carries them to the side of the basket in which are the bones of the dead; this ceremony lasts only during one moon. The dishes are afterwards placed on the palisades which surround the Temple, and are abandoned to the fallow-deer.

[127] The Sun is the principal object of veneration to these people; as they cannot conceive of anything which can be above this heavenly body, nothing else appears to them more worthy of their homage. It is for the same reason that the great Chief of this Nation, who knows nothing on earth more dignified than himself, takes the title of brother of the Sun, and the credulity of the people maintains him in the despotic authority which he claims. To enable them better to converse together, they raise a mound of artificial soil, on which they build his cabin, which is of the same construction as the Temple. The door fronts the East, and every morning the great Chief honors by his presence the rising of his elder brother, and salutes him with many howlings as soon as he appears above the horizon. Then he gives orders that they shall light his calumet; he makes him an offering of the first three puffs which he draws; afterward raising his hand above his head, and turning from the East to the West, he shows him the direction which he must take in his course.

There are in this cabin a number of beds on the left hand at entering; but on the right is only the bed of the great Chief, ornamented with different painted figures. This bed consists of nothing but a mattress of canes and reeds, very hard, with a

square log of wood, which serves for a pillow. In the middle of the cabin is seen a small stone, and no one should approach the bed until he has made a circuit of this stone. Those who enter salute by a howl, and advance even to the bottom of the cabin, without looking at the right side, where the Chief is. Then they give a new salute by raising their arms above the head and howling three times. If it be [129] any one whom the Chief holds in consideration, he answers by a slight sigh and makes a sign to him to be seated. He thanks him for his politeness by a new howl. At every question which the Chief puts to him, he howls once before he answers, and when he takes his leave, he prolongs a single howl until he is out of his presence.

When the great Chief dies, they demolish his cabin, and then raise a new mound, on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity, for he never lodges in that of his predecessor. The old men prescribe the Laws for the rest of the people, and one of their principles is to have a sovereign respect for the great Chief, as being the brother of the Sun and the master of the Temple. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and when they leave this world they go, they say, to live in another, there to be recompensed or punished. The rewards to which they look forward consist principally in feasting, and their chastisement in the deprivation of every pleasure. Thus they think that those who have been the faithful observers of their laws will be conducted into a region of pleasures, where all kinds of exquisite viands will be furnished them in abundance that their delightful and tranquil days will flow on in the midst of festivals, dances, and women; in short, they will revel in all imaginable pleasures. On the contrary, the violators of their laws will be cast upon lands unfruitful and entirely covered with water, where they will not have any kind of corn, but will be exposed entirely naked to the sharp bites of the mosquitoes, that all Nations will make war upon them, that they will never eat meat, and have no [131] nourishment but the flesh of crocodiles, spoiled fish, and shell-fish.

These people blindly obey the least wish of their great Chief. They look upon him as absolute master, not only of their property but also of their lives, and not one of them would dare to refuse him his head, if he should demand it; for whatever labors he commands them to execute, they are forbidden to demand any wages. The French, who are often in need of hunters or of rowers for their long voyages, never apply to any one but the great Chief. He furnishes all the men they wish, and receives pay-

ment, without giving any part to those unfortunate individuals, who are not permitted even to complain. One of the principal articles of their Religion, and particularly for the servants of the great Chief, is that of honoring his funeral rites by dying with him, that they may go to serve him in the other world. In their blindness they willingly submit to this law, in the foolish belief that in the train of their Chief they will go to enjoy the greatest happiness.

To give an idea of this bloody ceremony, it is necessary to know that as soon as an heir presumptive has been born to the great Chief, each family that has an infant at the breast is obliged to pay him homage. From all these infants they choose a certain number whom they destine for the service of the young Prince, and as soon as they are of a competent age, they furnish them with employments suitable to their talents. Some pass their lives in hunting, or in fishing, to furnish supplies for the table; others are employed in agriculture, while others serve to fill up his retinue. If he happen to die, all these servants sacrifice themselves with joy [133] to follow their dear master. They first put on all their finery, and repair to the place opposite to the Temple, where all the people are assembled. After having danced and sung a sufficiently long time, they pass around their neck a cord of buffalo hair with a running knot, and immediately the Ministers appointed for executions of this kind, come forward to strangle them, recommending them to go to rejoin their master, and render to him in the other world services even more honorable than those which had occupied them in this.

The principal servants of the great Chief having been strangled in this way, they strip the flesh off their bones, particularly those of their arms and thighs, and leave them to dry for two months, in a kind of tomb, after which they take them out to be shut up in the baskets which are placed by the side of the bones of their master. As for the other servants, their relatives carry them home with them, and bury them with their arms and clothes.

The same ceremony is observed in like manner on the death of the brothers and sisters of the great Chief. The women are always strangled to follow the latter, except when they have infants at the breast, in which case they continue to live, for the purpose of nourishing them. And we often see many who endeavor to find nurses, or who themselves strangle their infants, so that they shall not lose the right of sacrificing themselves in the public place, according to the ordinary ceremonies, and as the law prescribes.

This Government is hereditary; it is not, however, the son of the reigning Chief who succeeds his father, but the son of his sister, or the first Princess [135] of the blood. This policy is founded on the knowledge they have of the licentiousness of their women. They are not sure, they say, that the children of the chief's wife may be of the blood Royal, whereas the son of the sister of the great Chief must be, at least on the side of the mother.

The Princesses of the blood never espouse any but men of obscure family, and they have but one husband, but they have the right of dismissing him whenever it pleases them, and of choosing another among those of the Nation, provided he has not made any other alliance among them. If the husband has been guilty of infidelity, the Princess may have his head cut off in an instant; but she is not herself subject to the same law, for she may have as many Lovers as she pleases, without the husband having any power to complain. In the presence of his wife he acts with the most profound respect, never eats with her, and salutes her with howls, as is done by her servants. The only satisfaction he has is, that he is freed from the necessity of laboring, and has entire authority over those who serve the Princess.

In former times the Nation of the *Natchez* was very large. It counted sixty Villages and eight hundred Suns or Princes; now it is reduced to six little Villages and eleven Suns. In each of these Villages there is a Temple where the fire is always kept burning as in that of the great Chief, whom all the other Chiefs obey.

The great Chief nominates to the most important offices of the State; such are the two war-Chiefs, the two Masters of ceremony for the worship of the Temple, the two Officers who preside over the other [137] ceremonies which are observed when foreigners come to treat of peace, another who has the inspection of the public works, four others charged with the arrangement of the festivals with which they publicly entertain the Nation, and such Strangers as come to visit them. All these Ministers, who execute the will of the great Chief are treated with the same respect and obedience as if he personally gave the orders.

Each year the people assemble to plant one vast field with Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, and melons, and then again they collect in the same way to gather the harvest. A large cabin situated on a beautiful prairie is set apart to hold the fruits of

this harvest. Once in the summer, toward the end of July, the people gather by order of the great Chief, to be present at a grand feast which he gives them. This Festival lasts for three days and three nights, and each one contributes what he can to furnish it; some bring game, others fish, etc. They have almost constant dances, while the great Chief and his sister are in an elevated lodge covered with boughs, from whence they can see the joy of their subjects. The Princes, the Princesses, and those who by their office are of distinguished rank, are arranged very near the Chief, to whom they show their respect and submission by an infinite variety of ceremonies.

The great Chief and his sister make their entrance in the place of the assembly on a litter borne by eight of their greatest men: the Chief holds in his hand a great scepter ornamented with painted plumes, and all the people dance and sing about him in testimony of the public joy. The last day of this Feast he causes all his subjects to approach, and [139] makes them a long harangue, in which he exhorts them to fulfill all their duties to Religion; he recommends them above all things to have a great veneration for the spirits who reside in the Temple, and carefully to instruct their children. If any one has distinguished himself by some act of zeal, he is then publicly praised. Such a case happened in the year 1702. The Temple having been struck by lightning and reduced to ashes, seven or eight women cast their infants into the midst of the flames to appease the wrath of Heaven. The great Chief called these heroines, and gave them great praises for the courage with which they had made the sacrifice of that which they held most dear; he finished this panegyric by exhorting the other women to imitate so beautiful an example in similar circumstances.

The fathers of families do not fail to carry to the Temple the first of their fruits, their corn and vegetables. It is the same even with presents which are made to this Nation; they are immediately offered at the gate of the Temple, when the guardian, after having displayed and presented them to the spirits, carries them to the house of the great Chief, who makes a distribution of them as he judges best without any person testifying the least discontent.

They never plant their fields without having first presented the seed in the Temple with the accustomed ceremonies. As soon as these people approach the Temple, they raise their arms by way of respect, and utter three howls, after which they place their hands on the earth, and raise themselves again three times

with as many reiterated howls. When any one has merely to pass before the Temple, [141] he only pauses to salute it by his downcast eyes and raised arms. If a father or mother see their son fail in the performance of this ceremony, they will punish him immediately with repeated blows of a stick.

Such are the ceremonies of the *Natchez* Savages with regard to their Religion. Those of marriage are very simple. When a young man thinks of marrying he has only to address himself to the father of the girl, or if she have none, to her eldest brother, and they agree on the price, which he pays in skins or merchandise. When a girl has even lived a licentious life, they make no difficulty in receiving her, if there is the least idea that she will change her conduct when she is married. Neither do they trouble themselves as to what family she belongs, provided that she pleases them. As to the relatives of the girl, their only care is to inform themselves whether he who asks her is an able hunter, a good warrior, and an excellent workman. These qualities diminish the price which they have a right to ask on the marriage.

When the parties have agreed, the future husband goes to the chase with his friends; and when he has sufficient either of game or of fish, to feast the two families who have contracted the alliance, they assemble at the house of the parents of the girl. They particularly serve the newly married pair, who eat from the same dish. The repast being ended, the bridegroom smokes the calumet toward the parents of his wife, and then toward his own parents, after which all the guests retire. The newly married people remain together until the next day, and then the husband conducts his wife to the residence of [143] her father-in-law, where they live until the family has built for him a cabin of his own. While they are constructing it, he passes the whole day in the chase to furnish food, which he gives to those who are employed in this work.

The laws permit the *Natchez* to have as many wives as they choose, nevertheless the common people generally have but one or two. This however is not the case with the Chiefs, their number is greater, because having the right to oblige the people to cultivate their fields, without giving them any wages, the number of their wives is no expense to them.

The marriage of the Chiefs is made with less ceremony. They content themselves with sending to fetch the father of the girl whom they wish to espouse, and they declare to him that they will give her the rank of their wives. They do not fail however, as soon as the marriage is consummated, to make a present to the

father and mother. Although they have many wives, they keep but one or two in their own cabins; the rest remain at the houses of their parents, where they go to see them when they wish.

At certain periods of the moon these Savages never live with their wives. Jealousy has so little place in their hearts, that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference to the conjugal union results from the liberty they have of changing when it seems good to them, provided however that their wives have never borne children to them, for if any have been born of the marriage, nothing but death can separate them.

When this Nation sends out a detachment for war, [145] the Chief of the party erects two kinds of poles painted red from the top to the bottom, ornamented with red plumes, and arrows and tomahawks, also painted red. These poles are pointed to the side to which they are to carry the war. Those who wish to join the party, after having ornamented and daubed themselves with different colors, come to harange the war-Chief. This harangue, which one makes after the other, and which lasts nearly half an hour, consists of a thousand protestations of service, by which they assure him that they ask nothing more than to die with him, that they are charmed to learn from so able a warrior the art of taking scalps, and that they fear neither the hunger nor fatigues to which they are going to be exposed.

When a sufficient number of braves have presented themselves to the war-Chief, he causes to be made at his house a beverage which they call the "war medicine." [1] This is an emetic, which they make from a root they boil in large kettles full of water. The warriors, sometimes to the number of 300, having seated themselves about the kettle, they serve each one with two pots of it. The ceremony is to swallow them with a single effort, and then to throw them up immediately by the mouth, with efforts so violent that they can be heard at a great distance.

After this ceremony, the war-Chief appoints the day of departure, that each one may prepare provisions necessary for the campaign. During this time, the warriors repair evening and morning to the place before the Temple, where, after having danced and related in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery was conspicuous, they chant their death-songs.

[147] To see the extreme joy which they show at their departure, we should say that they had already signalized their valor by some great victory, but a very small thing alone is necessary to disconcert their plans. They are so superstitious

with respect to dreams, that a single one of evil augury can arrest the execution of their enterprise, and oblige them to return when they are on the march. We see parties, who after having gone through with all the ceremonies I have mentioned, immediately break off from their expedition, because they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner; in an instant their ardor for glory is changed into a perfect panic.

When on the war-path, they march in single file: four or five men who are the best walkers lead the way, and keep in advance of the army a quarter of a league, to observe everything, and give immediate notice. They encamp every evening an hour before sunset, and lie down about a large fire, each one with his arms near him. Before they encamp, they take the precaution to send out twenty warriors to the distance of half a league around the camp, for the purpose of avoiding all surprise. They never post sentinels during the night, but as soon as they have supped, they extinguish all the fires. At night the war-Chief exhorts them not to give themselves up to a profound sleep, and to keep their arms always in a state of readiness. He appoints a place where they shall rally in case they are attacked during the night and put to flight.

As the war-Chiefs always carry with them their idols, or what they call their spirits, well secured in some skins, at night they suspend them from a small pole painted red, which they erect in a slanting [149] position, so that it may be bent on the side of the enemy. The warriors, before they go to sleep, with war-club in hand, pass one after the other in a dance before these pretended spirits, at the same time uttering the fiercest threats toward the side on which are their enemies.

When the war-party is considerable, as it enters the enemy's country, they march in five or six columns. They have many spies, who go out on scouting expeditions. If they perceive that their march is known, they ordinarily adopt the resolution of retracing their steps, leaving a small troop of from ten to twenty men who detach themselves, and endeavor to surprise some Hunters at a distance from the Villages; on their return they chant their songs with reference to the scalps they have taken. If they have taken any prisoners, they force them to sing and dance for some days before the Temple, after which they present them to the relatives of those who have been killed. These relatives are dissolved in tears during this ceremony, and drying their eyes with the scalps which have been taken, they contribute

among themselves to recompense the warriors who have taken these captives, whose lot is to be burned.

The *Natchez,* like all the other Nations of Louisiana, distinguish by particular names those who have killed a greater or less number of the enemy. The old war-Chiefs distribute these names according to the merit of the warriors. To deserve the title of a great man-slayer, it is necessary to have taken 10 slaves or to have carried off 20 scalps. When a person understands their language, the name itself of a warrior enables him to learn all his exploits. [151] Those who, for the first time, have taken a scalp or made a captive, do not sleep at their return with their wives, and do not eat any meat; they ought not to partake of anything but fish and thickened milk. This abstinence lasts for six months. If they fail to observe it, they imagine that the soul of him whom they have killed will cause them to die through sorcery, that they will never again obtain any advantage over their enemies, and that the slightest wounds they may receive will prove fatal.

They take extreme care that the great Chief shall not in any way expose his life when he goes to war. If, carried away by his valor, he should happen to be killed, the Chiefs of the party and the other principal warriors would be put to death on their return; but executions of this kind are almost without example, on account of the precautions they take to preserve him from this evil.

This Nation, like the others, has its Medicine-men; these are generally old men, who without study or any science, undertake to cure all complaints. They do not attempt this by simples, or by drugs; all their art consists in different juggleries; that is to say, that they dance and sing night and day about the sick man, and smoke without ceasing, swallowing the smoke of the tobacco. These Jugglers eat scarcely anything during all the time that they are engaged in the cure of the sick, but their chants and their dances are accompanied by contortions so violent that, although they are entirely naked and should naturally suffer from cold, yet they are always foaming at the mouth. They have a little basket in which they keep what they call their spirits, that is to say, small roots of different kinds, heads of owls, [153] small parcels of the hair of fallow-deer, some teeth of animals, some small stones or pebbles, and other similar trifles.

It appears that to restore health to the sick, they invoke without ceasing that which they have in their basket. Some of them have there a certain root, which by its smell can put serpents to sleep and render them senseless. After having rubbed their hands and body with this root, they take hold of these reptiles

without fearing their bite, which is mortal. Sometimes they cut, with a flint, the part affected by the malady, and then suck out all the blood they can draw from it, and in returning it immediately into a dish, they at the same time spit out a little piece of wood, or straw, or leather, which they have concealed under the tongue. Drawing to it the attention of the relatives of the sick man, "There," say they, "is the cause of the sickness." These Medicine-men are always paid in advance. If the sick man recovers, their gain is very considerable, but if he should die, they are sure to have their heads cut off by the relatives or friends of the deceased. This never fails to be done, and even the relatives of the Medicine-man find nothing at all of which to complain, and do not testify any concern.

There is the same rule with some other Jugglers, who undertake to procure rain or fair weather. These are commonly indolent, old men, who wishing to avoid the labor which is required in hunting, fishing, and the cultivation of the fields, exercise this dangerous trade to gain a support for their families. Toward spring, the Nation taxes itself to purchase from these Jugglers favorable weather for [155] the fruits of the earth. If the harvest prove abundant, they gain a handsome reward, but if it is unfortunate, they take it from them, and cut off their heads. Thus those who engage in this profession risk everything to gain everything. In other respects their life is very idle; they have no other convenience than that of fasting and dancing with a pipe in their mouth, full of water and pierced like a watering-pot, which they blow into the air on the side where the clouds are thickest. In one hand they hold the *sicicouet* [1] which is a kind of rattle, and in the other their spirits, which they stretch out toward the clouds, uttering frightful cries to invite them to burst upon their fields.

If it is pleasant weather for which they ask, they do not use these pipes, but they mount on the roof of their cabins, and with their arms make signs to the clouds, blowing with all their strength, that they shall not stop over their lands, but pass beyond. When the clouds are dissipated according to their wish, they dance and sing about their spirits, which they place reverently on a kind of pillow: they redouble their fasts, and when the cloud has passed, they swallow the smoke of tobacco, and hold up their pipes to the Sky.

Although they never show any favor to these Charlatans, when they do not obtain what they ask, yet the profit they receive is so great, when by chance they succeed, that we see a great

number of these Savages who do not at all fear to run the risks. It is to be observed that he who undertakes to furnish rain never engages to procure pleasant weather. There is another kind of Charlatans to whom this privilege belongs, and when you ask them the reason, [157] they answer boldly that their spirits can give but the one or the other.

When one of these Savages dies, his relatives come to mourn his death during an entire day, then they array him in his most beautiful dresses, they paint his face and his hair, and ornament him with plumes, after which they carry him to the grave prepared for him, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions. For the space of a month, his relatives come at the dawn of day and at the beginning of the night, to weep for half an hour at his grave. Each one names his degree of relationship. If he were the father of a family, the wife cries, "My dear husband, ah! how I regret you!" The children cry, "My dear father!" The others, "My uncle! my cousin!" etc. The nearest relatives continue this ceremony for three months; they cut off their hair in sign of grief, they abstain from painting the body, and are never found at any assembly for festivity.

When any foreign Nation comes to treat of peace with the *Natchez* Savages, they send their couriers to give notice of the day and hour when they shall make their entrance. The great Chief orders the Masters of ceremony to prepare all things for this grand occasion. They begin by naming those who during each day should support the strangers, for the expense never falls upon the Chief, but always on his subjects. Then they clear the roads, they sweep the cabins, they arrange the seats in a large hall which is on the mound of the great Chief by the side of his cabin. His throne, which is on an elevation, is painted and ornamented, and the bottom is furnished with beautiful mats.

[159] On the day that the Ambassadors are to make their entrance, all the Nation assembles. The Masters of ceremony place the Princes, the Chiefs of the Villages, and the old Chiefs of quality near the great Chief on particular seats. When the Ambassadors arrive, and are within five hundred steps of the great Chief, they stop and chant the song of peace. The ambassage ordinarily consists of thirty men and six women. Six of the best made, and who have the finest voices, march in front; they are followed by the others who chant in like manner, regulating the cadence with the *sicicouet*. The six women are the last.

When the Chief has directed them to approach, they advance; those who have the calumets, chant and dance with much agility,

now turning around each other, and now presenting themselves in front, but always with violent movements and extraordinary contortions. When they have entered the circle, they dance about the chair on which the Chief is seated, they rub him with their calumets from his feet even to his head, and after that go back to find those who belong to their suite. Then they fill one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding the fire in one hand, they advance all together before the Chief and smoke it; they direct the first puff of smoke toward the Heavens, the second toward the Earth, and the others around the horizon, after which they without ceremony present the pipe to the Princes and to the other Chiefs.

This ceremony having been finished, the Ambassadors, as a token of alliance, rub their hands on the stomach of the Chief, and rub themselves over the whole body; they then place their calumets before [161] the Chief on small forks, while the person among the Ambassadors who is particularly charged with the orders of his Nation, delivers a harangue which lasts for an entire hour. When he has finished, they make a sign to the strangers to be seated on the benches ranged near the great Chief, who responds to them by a discourse of equal length. Then the Master of ceremonies lights the great calumet of peace, and makes the strangers smoke, who swallow the tobacco smoke. The great Chief inquires of them whether they arrived safe,—that is, whether they are well, and those who are around them go one after the other to discharge the same office of politeness. After which they conduct them to the cabin which has been prepared for them, and where they are feasted.

That same evening at Sunset, the Ambassadors, with the calumet in their hands, go with singing to find the great Chief, and having raised him on their shoulders, they transport him to the quarter in which their cabin is situated. They spread on the ground a large skin, on which they cause him to sit down. One of them places himself behind him, and putting his hands on the Chief's shoulders he agitates all his body; while the others, seated in a circle on the ground, chant the history of their distinguished deeds. After this ceremony, which is repeated night and morning for four days, the great Chief returns to his cabin. When he pays his last visit to the Ambassadors, these place a stake at his feet, about which they seat themselves: The Warriors of the Nation having arranged themselves in all their finery dance around, striking the stake, and in turn recounting their great exploits, then follows the [163] giving of presents to the Ambassa-

dors, which consist of kettles, hatchets, guns, powder, balls, etc.

The day following this last ceremony, it is permitted to the Ambassadors to walk through the whole Village, which before they were not able to do. Then every evening they give them spectacles,—that is to say, the men and women in their most beautiful dresses assemble at the public place, and dance until the night is far advanced. When they are ready to return home, the Masters of the ceremonies furnish them with the provisions necessary for the journey.

After having thus given you a slight idea of the character and customs of the *Natchez* Savages, I proceed, my Reverend Father, as I have promised you, to enter on a detail of their perfidy and treason. It was on the second of December of the year 1729, that we learned they had surprised the French, and had massacred almost all of them. This sad news was first brought to us by one of the planters, who had escaped their fury. It was confirmed to us on the following day by other French fugitives, and finally, some French women whom they had made slaves, and were forced afterward to restore, brought us all the particulars.

At the first rumor of an event so sad, the alarm and consternation was general in New Orleans. Although the massacre had taken place more than a hundred leagues from here, you would have supposed that it had happened under our own eyes. Each one was mourning the loss of a relative, a friend, or some property; all were alarmed for their own lives, for there was reason to fear that the conspiracy of the Savages had been general.

[165] This unlooked for massacre began on Monday, the 28th of October, about nine o'clock in the morning. Some cause of dissatisfaction which the *Natchez* thought they had with Monsieur the Commandant, and the arrival of a number of richly-loaded boats for the garrison and the colonists, determined them to hasten their enterprise, and to strike their blow sooner than they had agreed with the other confederate Tribes. And it was thus that they carried their plan into execution. First they divided themselves, and sent into the Fort, into the Village, and into the two grants, as many Savages as there were French in each of these places; then they feigned that they were going out for a grand hunt, and undertook to trade with the French for guns, powder, and ball, offering to pay them as much, and even more than was customary: and in truth, as there was no reason to suspect their fidelity, they made at that time an exchange of

their poultry and corn, for some arms and ammunition which they used advantageously against us. It is true that some expressed their distrust, but this was thought to have so little foundation, that they were treated as cowards who were frightened at their own shadows. They had been on their guard against the *Tchactas*, but as for the *Natchez*, they had never distrusted them, and they were so persuaded of their good faith that it increased their hardihood. Having thus posted themselves in different houses, provided with arms obtained from us, they attacked at the same time each his own man, and in less than two hours they massacred more than two hundred of the French. . . .

[167] These barbarians spared but two of the French, a Tailor and a Carpenter, who were able to serve their wants. They did not treat badly either the Negro Slaves, or the Savages who were willing to give themselves up; but they ripped up the belly of every pregnant woman, and killed almost all those who [169] were nursing their children, because they were disturbed by their cries and tears. They did not kill the other women, but made them Slaves, and treated them with every indignity during the two or three months that they were their masters. The least miserable were those who knew how to sew, because they kept them busy making shirts, dresses, etc. The others were employed in cutting and carrying wood for cooking, and in pounding the corn of which they make their sagamité. But two things, above all, aggravated the grief and hardness of their slavery; it was, in the first place, to have for masters those same persons whom they had seen dipping their cruel hands in the blood of their husbands; and, in the second place, to hear them continually saying that the French had been treated in the same manner at all the other posts, and that the country was now entirely freed from them.

During the massacre, the great Chief of the *Natchez* was seated quietly under the tobacco shed of the Company. His Warriors brought to his feet the head of the Commandant, about which they ranged those of the principal French of the post, leaving their bodies a prey to the dogs, the buzzards, and other carniverous birds.

When they were assured that not another Frenchman remained at the post, they applied themselves to plunder the houses, the magazine of the Company of the Indies, and all the boats which were still loaded by the bank of the river. They employed the Negroes to transport the merchandise, which they divided among themselves, with the exception of the munitions of war, which

they placed for security in a separate cabin. While the brandy lasted, of which [171] they found a good supply, they passed their days and nights in drinking, singing, dancing, and insulting in the most barbarous manner, the dead bodies and the memory of the French. The *Tchactas,* and the other Savages being engaged in the plot with them, they felt at their ease, and did not at all fear that they would draw on themselves the vengeance which was merited by their cruelty and perfidy. One night when they were plunged in drunkenness and sleep, Madame des Noyers wished to make use of the Negroes to revenge the death of her husband and the French, but she was betrayed by the person to whom she confided her design, and came very near being burned alive.

Some of the French escaped the fury of the Savages by taking refuge in the woods, where they suffered extremely from hunger and the effects of the weather. One of them, on arriving here, relieved us of a little disquietude we felt with regard to the post we occupy among the *Yazous,* which is not more than forty or fifty leagues above the *Natchez* by water, and only 15 to 20 by land. Not being able longer to endure the extreme cold from which he suffered, he left the woods under cover of night, to go to warm himself in the house of a Frenchman. When he was near it, he heard the voices of Savages and deliberated whether he should enter. He determined, however, to do so, preferring rather to perish by the hand of these barbarians, than to die of famine and cold. He was agreeably surprised when he found these Savages eager to render him a service, to heap kindnesses upon him, to commiserate him, to console him, to furnish him with provisions, clothes, and a boat to make his escape to New [173] Orleans. These were the *Yazous,* who were returning from chanting the calumet at *Oumas.* The Chief charged him to say to Monsieur Perrier, that he had nothing to fear on the part of the *Yazous,* that "they would not lose their sense," that is, that they would always remain attached to the French, and that he would be constantly on the watch with his tribe to warn the French pirogues that were descending the river to be on their guard against the *Natchez.*

We believed for a long time that the promises of this Chief were very sincere, and feared no more Indian perfidy for our post among the *Yazous.* But learn, my Reverend Father, the disposition of these Savages, and how little one is able to trust their words, even when accompanied by the greatest demonstrations of friendship. Scarcely had they returned to their own

village, when, loaded with the presents they received from the *Natchez,* they followed their example and imitated their treachery. Uniting with the *Corroys,*[1] they agreed together to exterminate the French. They began with Father Souel, the Missionary of both tribes, who was then living in the midst of them, in their own village. The fidelity of the *Ofogoulas,* who were then absent at the chase, has never been shaken, and they now compose one village with the *Tonikas.* . . .

[187] Knowing, as you do, my Reverend Father, the vigilance and the foresight of Monsieur our Commandant, you can well imagine that he did not sleep in this sad crisis in which we now found ourselves. We may say without flattery that he surpassed himself by the rapid movements he made, and by the wise measures he adopted to revenge the French blood which had been shed, and to prevent the evils with which almost all the posts of the Colony were threatened.

As soon as he was apprised of this unexpected attack by the *Natchez* Savages, he caused the news to be carried to all the posts, and even as far as the Illinois, not by the direct and ordinary route of the river, which was closed, but on one side by the *Natchitoches* and the *Akensas,* and on the other by Mobile and the *Tchicachas.* He invited the neighbors who were our allies, and particularly the *Tchactas,* to avenge this perfidy.[2] He furnished arms and ammunition to all the houses of this City and to the plantations. He caused two ships, that is, the *Duc de Bourbon* and the *Alexandre,* to ascend the river as far as the *Tonikas.* These ships were like two good fortresses against the insults of the Savages, and in case of attack, two certain asylums for the women and children. He caused a ditch to be dug entirely around the City, and placed guard-houses at the four extremities. He organized for its defense many companies of city militia who mounted guard during the whole night. As there was more to fear in the grants and in the plantations than in the City, he fortified them with the most care. He had good forts erected at *Chapitoulas,* at *Cannes brûlées,* at *les Allemands,* at *Bayagoulas,* and at *Pointe coupée.*

[189] At first, Monsieur our Commandant, listening only to the dictates of his own courage, adopted the design of placing himself at the head of the troops, but it was represented to him that he ought not to quit *New Orleans,* where his presence was absolutely necessary, that there was danger of the *Tchactas* determining to fall upon the City, if it should be deprived of its troops; and the Negroes, to free themselves from slavery, might

join them, as some had done with the *Natchez*. Moreover, he could feel perfectly easy with regard to the conduct of the troops, as Monsieur the Chevalier de Loubois, with whose experience and bravery he was well acquainted, had been appointed to command them.

While our little army was repairing to the *Tonikas*, seven hundred *Tchactas* mustered, and conducted by Monsieur le Sueur, marched toward the *Natchez*. We were informed by a party of these people that the Savages were not at all on their guard, but passed all their nights in dancing. The *Tchactas* took them therefore by surprise, and made a descent on them on the 27th of January, at the break of day. In less than three hours they had delivered 59 persons, both women and children, with the Tailor and Carpenter, and 106 Negroes or Negro women with their children; they made 18 of the *Natchez* prisoners and took 60 scalps. They would have taken more, if they had not been intent on freeing the slaves, as they had been directed. They had but two men killed and seven or eight wounded. They encamped with their prizes at the grant of Sainte Catherine, in a bare cattle-yard enclosed with stakes. The victory would have been complete if they had waited for the arrival of the French army, as had been agreed upon with their Deputies.

[191] The *Natchez*, seeing themselves attacked by the formidable *Tchactas*, regarded their defeat as certain, and shutting themselves up in two forts, passed the following nights in dancing their death-dance. In their speeches we heard them reproaching the *Tchactas* for their perfidy, in declaring in favor of the French, contrary to the pledge they had given, to unite with them for our destruction.

Three days before this action, the sieur Mesplex landed among the *Natchez* with five other Frenchmen. They had volunteered to Monsieur de Loubois to carry to the Savages negotiations for peace, that they might be able under this pretext to gain information with regard to their force, and their present situation. But in descending from their boat, they encountered a party, who without giving them time to speak, killed three of their men, and made the other three prisoners. The next day they sent one of these prisoners with a letter, in which they demanded as hostages the sieur Broutin, who had formerly been commandant among them, and the chief of the *Tonikas*. Besides, they demanded as the ransom for the women, children, and slaves, two hundred guns, two hundred barrels of powder, two hundred barrels of balls, two thousand gun-flints, two hundred knives, two hundred

hatchets, two hundred pickaxes, twenty quarts of brandy, twenty casks of wine, twenty barrels of vermillion, two hundred shirts, twenty pieces of limbourg, twenty pieces of cloth, twenty coats with lace on the seams, twenty hats bordered with plumes, and a hundred coats of a plainer kind. Their design was to massacre the French who should bring these goods. On the very same day, with every refinement in cruelty they burned sieur Mesplex and his companion.

[193] On the 8th of February, the French, with the *Tonikas,* and some other small Tribes from the lower end of the Mississippi, arrived at the *Natchez,* and seized their Temple dedicated to the Sun.

The impatience and intractibility of the *Tchactas,* who like almost all Savages are capable of striking only one blow and then disperse: the small number of French soldiers who found themselves worn down by fatigues; the want of provisions which the Savages stole from the French: the failure of ammunition with which they were not able to satisfy the *Tchactas,* who wasted one part of it, and placed the other in reserve to be used in hunting; the resistance of the *Natchez,* who were well-fortified, and who fought in desperation,—all these things decided us to listen to the propositions which the besieged made, after the trenches had been opened for seven days. They threatened, if we persisted in the siege, to burn those of the French who remained, while on the other hand, they offered to restore them, if we would withdraw our seven pieces of cannon. These, in reality, for want of a good gunner, and under present circumstances, were scarcely in a fit state to give them any fear.

These propositions were accepted and fulfilled on both sides. On the 25th of February, the besieged faithfully restored all that they had promised, while the besiegers retired with their cannon to a small fort which they had hastily built on the Escôre [bluff] near the river, for the purpose of always keeping the *Natchez* in check, and insuring a passage to the voyageurs. Monsieur Perrier gave the command of it to Monsieur Dartaguette,[1] as an acknowledgment of the intrepidity with which, during [195] the siege, he had exposed himself to the greatest dangers, and everywhere braved death.

Before the *Tchactas* had determined to fall upon the *Natchez,* they had gone to them to carry the calumet, and were received in a very novel manner. They found them and their horses adorned with chasubles and drapery of the altars, many wore patens about their necks, and drank and gave to drink of brandy

in the chalices and the ciboria. And the *Tchactas* themselves, when they had gained these articles by pillaging our enemies, renewed this profane sacrilege, by making the same use of our ornaments and sacred vessels in their dances and sports. We were never able to recover more than a small portion of them. The greater part of their chiefs have come here to receive payment for the scalps they have taken, and for the French and Negroes whom they have freed. It is necessary for us to buy very dearly their smallest services, and we have scarcely any desire to employ them again, particularly as they have appeared much less brave than the small Tribes, who have not made themselves feared by their great number. Every year disease diminishes this Nation, which is now reduced to three or four thousand warriors. Since these Savages have betrayed their disposition here, we have not been able to endure them longer. They are insolent, ferocious, disgusting, importunate, and insatiable. We compassionate, and at the same time, we admire our Missionaries, that they should renounce all society, to have only that of these Barbarians. . . .

[201] The *Tchikachas,* a brave Nation but treacherous, and little known to the French, have endeavored to seduce the Illinois Tribes from their allegiance; they have even sounded some particular persons to see whether they could not draw them over to the party of those Savages who were enemies of our Nation. [203] The Illinois have replied to them that they were almost all "of the prayer" (that is, according to their manner of expression, that they are Christians): and that in other ways they are inviolably attached to the French, by the alliances which many of that Nation had contracted with them, in espousing their daughters.

"We always place ourselves," added they, "before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them."

Their conduct is in accordance with this declaration, and has not in the least contradicted their words. At the first news of the war with the *Natchez* and the *Yazous,* they came hither to weep for the black Robes and the French, and to offer the services of their Nation to Monsieur Perrier, to avenge their death. I happened to be at the government house when they arrived, and was charmed with the harangues they made. *Chikagou,*[1] whom you saw in Paris, was at the head of the *Mitchigamias,* and *Mamantouensa* at the head of the *Kaskaskias.*

Chikagou spoke first. He spread out in the hall a carpet of deerskin, bordered with porcupine quills, on which he placed two calumets, with different savage ornaments, accompanying them with a present according to the usual custom. "There," said he, in showing these two calumets, "are two messages which we bring you, the one of Religion, and the other of peace or war, as you shall determine. We have listened with respect to the Governors, because they bring us the word of the King our Father, and much more to the black Robes, because they bring us the word of God himself, who is the King of [205] Kings. We have come from a great distance to weep with you for the death of the French, and to offer our Warriors to strike those hostile Nations whom you may wish to designate. You have but to speak. When I went over to France, the King promised me his protection for the Prayer, and recommended me never to abandon it. I will always remember it. Grant then your protection to us and to our black Robes." He then gave utterance to the edifying sentiments with which he was impressed with regard to the Faith, as the Interpreter Baillarjon enabled us to half understand them in his miserable French.

Mamantouensa spoke next. His harangue was short, and in a style widely different from that which is usual among the Savages, who a hundred times repeat the same thing in the same speech.

"There," said he, addressing Monsieur Perrier, "are two young *Padouka* slaves,[1] some skins, and some other trifles. It is but a small present which I make you; nor is it at all my design to induce you to make me one more costly. All that I ask of you is your heart and your protection. I am much more desirous of that than of all the merchandise of the world, and when I ask this of you, it is solely for the Prayer. My views of the war are the same as those of *Chikagou,* who has already spoken. It is useless therefore for me to repeat what you have just heard."

Another old Chief, who had the air of an ancient Patriarch, then rose. He contented himself with saying that he wished to die as he had lived, in the Prayer. "The last words," he added, "which our Fathers have spoken to us, when they were on the [207] point of yielding up their last breath, were to be always attached to the Prayer, and that there is no other way of being happy in this life, and much more in the next which is after death."

Monsieur Perrier, who has the deepest Religious feelings,

listened with evident pleasure to these savage harangues. He abandoned himself to the dictates of his own heart without taking the precaution to have recourse to the evasion and disguises which are often necessary when one is treating with the generality of Savages. To each harangue he made such an answer as good Christians should desire. He declined with thanks their offers of service for the war, since we were sufficiently strong against the enemies who lived at the lower end of the river, but advised them to be on their guard, and to undertake our defense against those who dwelt on the upper part of the same river.

We always felt a distrust of the *Renard* Savages, although they did not longer dare to undertake anything, since Father Guignas has detached from their alliance the Tribes of the *Kikapous* and the *Maskoutins*. You know, my Reverend Father, that, being in Canada, he had the courage to penetrate even to the *Sioux,* wandering Savages near the source of the Mississipi, at the distance of about eight hundred leagues from *New Orleans,* and six hundred leagues from Quebec. Obliged to abandon this infant Mission by the unfortunate result of the enterprise against the *Renards,* he descended the river to repair to the Illinois. On the 15th of October in the year 1728, he was arrested when half-way, by the *Kikapous* and the *Maskoutins*. For five months he was a captive among these Savages, where he had much to [209] suffer and everything to fear. The time at last came when he was to be burned alive, and he prepared himself to finish his life in this horrible torment, when he was adopted by an old man, whose family saved his life, and procured him his liberty. Our Missionaries, who were among the Illinois, were no sooner acquainted with his sad situation, than they procured him all the alleviations they were able. Everything which he received he employed to conciliate the Savages, and succeeded even to the extent of engaging them to conduct him to the Illinois, and while there to make peace with the French and the Savages of that region. Seven or eight months after this peace was concluded, the *Maskoutins* and the *Kikapous* returned again to the Illinois country, and took away Father Guignas to spend the winter with them, from whence, in all probability, he will return to Canada. He has been exceedingly broken down by these fatiguing journeys, but his zeal, full of fire and activity, seems to give him new strength.[1] . . .

[213] *Chikagou* guards most carefully, in a bag made expressly for the purpose, the magnificent snuff-box which the late

Madame, the Duchess d'Orléans, gave him at Versailles. Notwithstanding all the offers made to him, he has never been willing to part with it,—a degree of consideration very remarkable in a [215] Savage, whose characteristic generally is, to be in a short time disgusted with everything he has, and passionately desire whatever he sees, but does not own.

Everything which *Chikagou* has related to his countrymen, with regard to France, has appeared to them incredible. "They have bribed you," said some to him, "to make us believe all these beautiful fictions." "We are willing to believe," said his relatives, and those by whom his sincerity was least doubted, "that you have really seen all that you tell us, but there must have been some charm which fascinated your eyes, for it is not possible that France can be such as you have painted it." When he told them that in France they were accustomed to have five cabins, one on top of the other, and that they were as high as the tallest trees, that there were as many people in the streets of Paris, as there were blades of grass on the prairies, or mosquitoes in the woods, and that they rode about there and even made long journeys in moving cabins of leather, they did not credit it any more than when he added that he had seen long cabins full of sick people, where skillful Surgeons performed the most wonderful cures. "Hear," he would say to them in sport, "you may lose an arm, a leg, an eye, a tooth, a breast, if you are in France, and they will supply you with others, so that it will not be noticed." What most embarrassed *Mamantouensa,* when he saw the ships, was to know how it was possible to launch them into the water after they had been built on land, where arms enough could be found for the purpose, and above all to raise the anchors with their enormous weights. They explained both these [217] points to him, and he admired the genius of the French who were capable of such beautiful inventions.

The Illinois departed on the last day of June; they were to unite with the *Akensas,* for the purpose of falling upon the *Yazoos* and upon the *Corroys.* These last having set out on their retreat to the *Tchikachas,* whither they were carrying the French scalps they had taken, were met on the way by the *Tchatchoumas*[1] and by some *Tchactas,* who in their contest with them took eighteen scalps and delivered some French women with their children. Some time afterward, they were again attacked by a party of the *Akensas,* who took from them four scalps, and made many of their women prisoners. These good Savages encountered on their return two pirogues of French hunters; they passed

their hands over them from head to foot, according to their custom, in testifying their sorrow for the death of the French, and of their Father in Jesus Christ. They made a solemn oath that, while one *Akensa* should be remaining in the world, the *Natchez* and the *Yazous* should never be without an enemy. They showed a bell and some books, which they were taking home, they said, for the first black Chief who should come to their Village. These were all that they had found in the cabin of Father Souel. . . .

[221] It only remains, My Reverend Father, to inform you of the situation of our enemies. They are united near the river of the *Ouachitas,* on which they have three forts.[1] We believe that the *Natchez* are as yet in number about 500 warriors, without counting their women and children; they were scarcely more than 700 before the war. Among the *Yazous* and the *Corroys* there are not more than forty warriors. They have planted their corn between two little rivers which run near their forts. It would only be necessary to cut off this corn, to starve them during the winter, but the thing is not easy to effect, from what the smaller Tribes inform us, who harass them continually. The Country is cut up by *Bayouks* [bayous], and filled with canebrakes, where the inconceivable quantity of mosquitoes would not permit an ambuscade to be established for any length of time.

The *Natchez,* who were shut up in their forts since the last expedition, have begun again to show themselves. Incensed that a party from *Oumas* and *Bayagoulas* had captured one of their pirogues, in which were seven men, a woman, and two children, they went in great numbers near a small fort, where they have surprised ten Frenchmen and twenty Negroes. There was but one small Soldier with two [223] Negroes who were able to save themselves. He had formerly escaped the massacre made by the *Natchez* by concealing himself in an oven, and this time he escaped by hiding in the trunk of a tree.

You can well believe, my Reverend Father, that this war has retarded the French colony; nevertheless we flatter ourselves that this misfortune will be productive of benefit, by determining the Court to send the forces necessary to tranquillize the Colony and render it flourishing. Although they have nothing to fear at *New Orleans,* either from the smaller neighboring Tribes, whom our Negroes alone could finish in a single morning, or even from the *Tchactas,* who would not dare to expose themselves on the Lake in any great numbers, yet a panic terror has spread itself over almost every spirit, particularly with the women. They will, however, be reassured by the arrival of the first troops from

France, whom we are now constantly expecting. As far as our Missionaries are concerned, they are very tranquil. The perils to which they see themselves exposed seem to increase their joy and animate their zeal. Be mindful of them and of me in your holy Sacrifices, in the union with which I am, with respect, etc.

[*Id., doc.* cciii, vol. lxviii, pp. 120-223.]

LIX

[237] Letter from reverend father Aulneau,[1] Jesuit missionary, written from canada to Reverend Father faye, of the same Society.

[Pierre Aulneau announces (April 25, 1735) to a friend his near departure for the West, where he is to undertake a mission among the Sioux. His first effort will be to learn the languages of these and other Western tribes, who are almost entire strangers to the French. . . .—*Id.*, lxviii, p. 17.]

QUEBECK, April 25, 1735.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

The Peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

I am happy to take advantage of the last moments I am to pass at Quebek to send you one more token of my respect and attachment, and to thank you beforehand for all the letters, news, and whatever else I asked you to send me over from france. . . . I am about to add 1,200 leagues to the distance which already separates us. Reverend father de Lauzon sends me alone to discover other savages whom not one of us has yet set eyes on, of whom we have heard only through the assiniboels and cristinaux, and who dwell 300 leagues beyond the two latter nations. It will be among the last mentioned, however, that I shall pass the winter, 900 leagues from Quebek, as it will be impossible before then to push farther into the heart of the country. To the tribe which is to be the ultimate object of my mission, they have given the name of *ouant chipouanes*—[239] that is, "those who dwell in holes"; until now, they have remained unknown to the rest of men. . . . I must first set about learning their language, and I have nothing which can be of any assistance to me in that study. It will only be by dint of frequent conversation with them that I shall, with our Lord's help, manage little by little, to compile grammars which may be of use to the missionaries who will come after me. I have been commissioned to do the same for The language of the cristinaux and assiniboels, among whom the french have been but a short time, and who have scarcely ever heard mention made of Jesus Christ, for they have come in contact with but a few of the french, and these few have picked up

here and there but a word or so of their language. I am directed not to remain permanently with these tribes, because they rove about and have no fixed dwelling place. On the contrary, the ouant-chipouanes, if what is said of them be true, have permanent establishments, and consequently there is a better promise of doing good among them. . . .

[*Id., doc.* ccv, vol. lxviii, pp. 236-245.]

LX

[249] Letter from Reverend Father Aulneau, missionary of the society of jesus, written from Canada, to reverend father Bonin of the same society.

[1735]

[Aulneau sends to another Jesuit, named Bonin, a similar letter, but giving more details of his proposed Western journey, which is one of exploration as much as missionary labors.—*Id.*, lxviii, p. 17.]

My Reverend Father,

The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The lively interest you always took in what concerned me While I was in france encourages me to think that you will be glad to learn what my destination is, now that I am so far from you. . . . I am, then, my reverend father, about to set out on a journey of twelve hundred leagues, to go among savages who have never yet met a frenchman or a missionary. I cannot reach their country this summer; I shall be obliged to pass the coming winter nine hundred leagues from here, part of the time with the christinaux and part of the time with the wandering tribes of the assiniboels, who, in their expeditions, so they tell us, have met these savages whom I [251] am to seek out. They call them in Their Language *ouant chipouanes,* which means "dwellers in holes."[1] Doubtless in all this traveling about I shall have to undergo many hardships; they would have been more than Welcome had it been Deemed advisable to give me as companion another Jesuit, but I am to be sent alone among these tribes, whose language as well as whose manner of living are unknown. . . . To reach my final destination I shall have to cross nearly the whole of north america; but my course is so ordered that, instead of passing by The Mississipi river, when I have got as far as missilimakinac, where father Saint pé is stationed, I shall take A northwest direction, and shall traverse all the great Lakes which lie on this side and beyond the sources of the Mississipi, until I

come to the Lake of the assiniboels. I shall leave that post only in The spring, to journey [253] on three or four hundred Leagues beyond, in quest of the ouant chipouanes, so that my course then will be southwest. Such, my Reverend father, is the route I shall follow toward an objective point which you see is very indefinite and uncertain, since all we know about it is founded on the reports of other savages, who, for The most part, have little scruple in speaking differently from what they think. If what they add concerning The Place where the ouant chipouanes dwell be true, I should say that these cannot be very far from California, for, if we are to believe their reports, the ouant chipouanes dwell on the Shores of a great river where there is an ebb and flow in the stream, which would go to show that the sea cannot be very far off.* It is not easy to determine what river this is. I am led to surmise, however, that it is no other than the great river which father Kino, a German Jesuit, mentions in the map which he traced of the regions lying to the north of california, and Which he calls the "rio colorado" or "del norté." See the fifth collection of the *Lettres edifiantes*.[1] Whatever be the truth relative to these conjectures and to the place where these savages dwell, I am deputed to go in quest of them, and to establish a mission among them if it be possible. All this, my reverend father, is much

*"Father Aulneau is to pass the winter at Quebec, there to prepare his examination of the 4th year [of theology]. He may next spring set out with an expedition to discover the western sea, for the court is absolutely determined to have concerning it more than a mere conjecture. The french who returned this year from the upper country have informed us that the savages told them that, eleven hundred leagues from Quebec, there are white people wearing beards who are subjects of a King; that those people build their houses like those of the french; that they had horses and other domestic animals. Might they not be Tartars or stragglers from japan? The Savages spoke about the french to these nations, and they were delighted to learn that in Canada there was a white nation bearded like themselves. 'The french, to all appearance, are our brothers,' they said, 'and we would like to see them. Invite them to come here among us.' If this story be true, there is another grand opening for the Gospel. But we cannot count much on the sincerity of the Canadians [Indians] who have spread this report, for there is no country in the world where more lying is done than in Canada."—*Letter*, Nau to Richard; Quebec, Oct. 20, 1734:—*Id.*, lxviii, *doc.* cciv, p. 233.

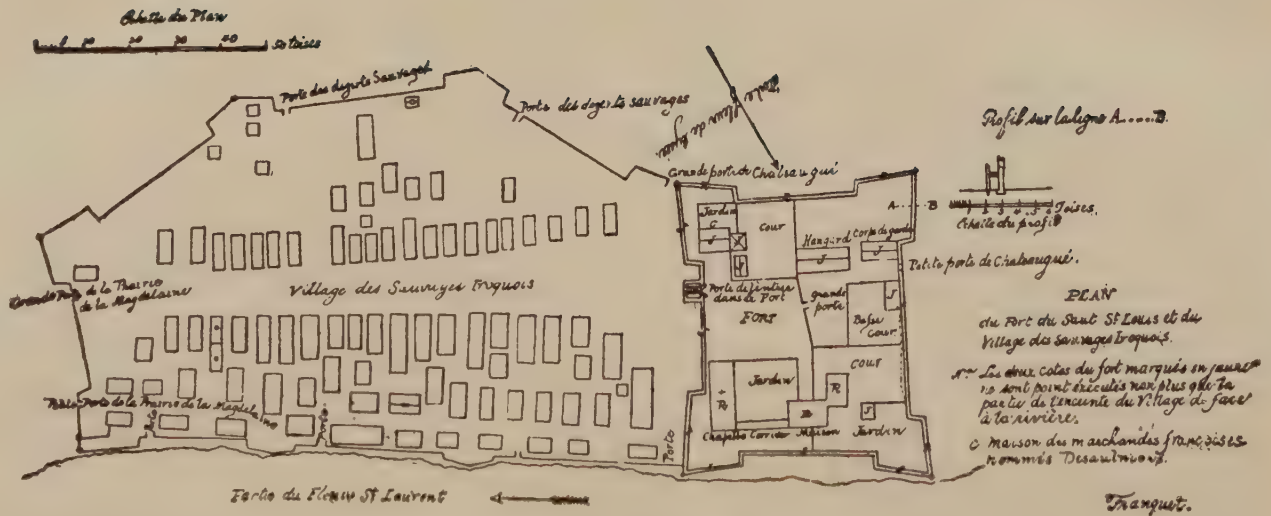
"I had a pretty Long conversation with Monsieur La Verandrie, who is in command of The three most western forts. I understood from the interview that not much reliance can be placed on what he says concerning White, bearded savages. The western sea would have been discovered long ago if people had wished it. Monsieur The Count de Maurepas is right when he says that The officials in canada are looking not for The western sea but for The sea of beaver. It is to be hoped that father aulneau will find more docile savages than The outaouais and The Sioux, among whom fathers Saint Pé and Guignas are laboring with little success. They have managed to convert but a few old men and women who are beyond the age of sinning."—*Letter*, Nau to Bonin; Sault St. Louis, Oct. 2, 1735:—*Id.*, lxviii, *doc.* ccviii, pp. 283, 285.

beyond my strength wherefore I have placed myself and whatever betides my enterprise in the hands of our Lord. Beg him to prepare me for every eventuality, according to his holy and divine will. Do not forget, either, to send me some nourishment for my soul; nothing could please me more than what you might suggest, by way of encouragement, to animate me to serve and [255] love him who alone deserves our Service and our love. Father Nau is permanently stationed at The Iroquois mission of Sault St. Louis, near monreal. We are Much afraid that father Guignas has been taken and burned by a tribe of savages called the rénards; but in this unfortunate country we should set little value on our own lives which are so often in peril. I should deem myself happy were I judged worthy of laying mine down for the one from whom I received it. I commend myself to your Holy Sacrifices, in union with which I am, my reverend father,

your reverence's
very humble and
very obedient servant,
AULNEAU,
Jesuit missionary.

Quebek, april 29, 1735.

[*Id., doc.* ccvi, vol. lxviii, pp. 248-255.]


Echelle du Plan
Porte des dogues Sauvages
Porte des dogues sauvages
Grande porte de Chalvaugué
Profil sur la ligne A.....B.
Echelle du profil
Toises.
Petite porte de Chalvaugué.
Village des Sauvages Iroquois
Porte de la Ruelle de la Magdelaine
Porte de la Ruelle de la Magdelaine
Porte de l'entrée dans le Fort
grande porte
FORT
Basse Cour
cour
Jardin
Chapelle
Corps de garde
Porte
Porte du Fleuve St Laurent
PLAN
du Fort du Saut St Louis et du Village des Sauvages Iroquois.
Les deux cotes du fort marquées en jaune ne sont point éxécutés n'ay plus que la partie de l'enceinte du Village de face à la rivière.
Maison des marchandes françoises nommés Desaulniers.
Franquet.

FRANQUET'S PLAN OF FORT ST. LOUIS

Reduced facsimile of MS. copy acquired by Father Felix Martin, and now in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LXX.*]

LXI

[261] Letter by reverend father nau, missionary of the society of jesus, written to Reverend father Bonin of the same society.

[1735]

[Nau[1] writes (October 2, 1735) to Bonin a long account of the mission at Sault St. Louis (Caughnewaga). With this he incidentally gives considerable information about . . . the physical and mental characteristics of the Iroquois in his mission, their costumes, etc. . . .

Nau is adopted by the tribe, and receives the name of Hatériata, "the brave man." . . .—*Id.*, lxviii, p. 18.]

My Reverend Father,

The peace of our Lord Jesus christ.

I question much whether The Letter I had the honor of writing you last year gave you more pleasure than yours afforded me. Several ships had already arrived from france, and had brought letters to nearly all our missionaries, and not one brought a single word to my address, although my post is one of the nearest to Quebec. . [263] . . In this mission The winter is shorter by a full month than at Quebec. We are in fact forty leagues more toward the south. Sault Saint Louis is not to be found marked on the maps; this is not surprising, as it is only since these maps were made that our mission has grown into an important village. Our Latitude is 45 degrees and 30 minutes, and we are distant three leagues and a half from the town of Monreal, which lies to the northeast, on the other bank of The river. It is imagined in france that the Iroquois, who formerly treated with so much cruelty the french whom they made captives in war, must be of ferocious aspect, and that their very sight and name would strike terror into all who encounter them. This is pure fancy. Generally speaking, you could find nowhere finer looking men. The Savages are of better build than the french, but side by side with the Iroquois other savages seem dwarfed. Nearly all the men of our mission are nearer six feet in height than five. Their [265] countenance is in keeping with Their stature, and their features are regular. The children espe-

cially are diminutive types of the picturesque, Transparency of color being alone wanting. Their complexion is of an olive tint, but not so tawny as that of other tribes, not differing much from that of the portuguese. I have met even in the streets of bordeaux any number of men darker than Our Iroquois. They would for the most be as clear-complexioned as the french, were it not for the effects of the Smoke in their cabins, which is so dense that I fail to understand how they do not lose Their sight. The costume of the Iroquois is different from that of the other savage tribes. Their hair is trimmed somewhat like that of the recollet fathers, with This difference, that they raise in a bunch The hair of the crown by means of a kind of wax mixed with vermillion, and Allow 3 or 4 hairs to protrude above, to which they fasten a porcelain bead or so, or a feather of some bird seldom met with. Over the shirt they usually wear a garment of french fashion, with lace sewed on all the seams. When the weather is cold, or on gala-days, they wear a cloth mantle, an ell and a half square, the lower border of which is trimmed with 8 or 9 bands of lace. Their *mitasse,* that is, their Leggings, are adorned with ribbons and a variety of flowers embroidered with elk-hair dyed red or yellow. These are made to fit closely, the better to show off the elaborate finish of the work. Their moccasins are of smoke-dried deerskin. Some wear silk Stockings and shoes of french make and silver buckles. Among The savage nations all the women are dressed alike. You have no doubt seen the likeness of the holy maiden, Catherine Tégah-Kouita,[1] [267] who died in the odor of sanctity; all the savage women are similarly dressed.*

As for the question of morality, The Iroquois and hurons are more inclined to the practice of virtue than other nations; they

*"If you wish me to tell you something about the manner in which the savages dress—although, had I time, I would have preferred painting some for you—you must know that it is not Wanting in taste, especially on feast-Days. The women have no other Head-dress than their hair, which they part over the middle of the head, and then tie behind with a sort of Ribbon, which they make out of eel-skin painted a bright red. I myself have often been deceived, and have taken it for a real Ribbon. They grease Their hair, which thereby becomes as Black as Jet. As for The men, They are ridiculous in dressing Their Hair, and there is not one who does not do it up in a special fashion. On sundays and feast-days, the men and women wear fine white chemises; and The women take wonderful care to clothe themselves so modestly that there is nothing indecorous or uncovered about them,—for they closely fasten the chemise. This falls over a petticoat, consisting of a blue or red Blanket, a brasse or more Square, which they fold in two, and simply gird around the waist, and The Chemise, which falls over this sort of petticoat, reaches only To the knees."[2]—*Letter*, Chauchetière to ——, Sault St. Fr. Xavier, Oct. 14, 1682:—*Id.*, lxii, *doc.* cliii, pp. 185, 187.

CATHERINE TEGAKWITA, THE LILY OF THE MOHAWKS

From oil painting made in 1682 by Claude Chauchetière, S.J.

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LXII.*]

are the only savages capable of refined feelings; all the others are to be set down as Cowardly, ungrateful, and voluptuous. If there were no french in canada, we would have as many saints in our mission as we now have christians; but the bad example and solicitations of the french are a Very great obstacle to the sanctification of our Iroquois. Although it be forbidden under the severest penalties to give brandy to the savages, and although, during the last two months, exemplary punishment has been meted out to four frenchmen, one of whom was condemned to the galleys, two to be whipped by the public Executioner, and the other to be fastened to the carcan [1] for having carried on this illicit trade, still our savages find all the brandy they want, and as soon as they are drunk, they are capable of any crime. . . .

[269] Before giving you an account of the exercises of our mission, I must tell you, my reverend father, how I was adopted into The Iroquois nation. It is a necessary formality, for a missionary would not be an acceptable person in a village were he not a member of the tribe. Two months after my arrival, I invited the elders to a banquet. The spread consisted of a whole carcass of Beef, bread in proportion, two boisseaux of peas, and a quantity of tobacco. When all were assembled, Reverend father de Lauzon, who had lived many years in this mission, made a Long speech for me. Three Iroquois orators answered in turn. When the speechmaking was over, one of the elders arose and announced that a name must be given to the "black robe," for this is the appellation by which the Jesuit missionaries are known. After having gone over all the names of former missionaries, he determined that I should hereafter be called hatériate, and I now go by no other name in the village. Ask God in your prayers to give me the grace of realizing to The fullest extent of its signification,—for hateriata in Iroquois means "The Brave,"—the magnanimous man. It now remained to assign me to a lodge, and to adopt me into a family. I had the honor of being enrolled in The family of the bear. You must know that in the village there are three families; that of the bear, that of the wolf, and that of the tortoise. [271] All newcomers are made members of one of these three families. The family of the tortoise has become so numerous that it has been divided into the great and the little tortoise.

And now let me say something about the exercises of the mission. . . .

[273] For our savages singing is a necessary adjunct, as they are incapable of prolonged mental application, and it is on this

account that all their prayers are [275] set to music; really, it would be a great pity were it not so, they succeed so admirably. I often wished that Reverend father Landreau, who is so fond of well-executed church music, could be present at our high masses; it would be a greater treat for him than anything he has yet listened to. The men who lead off with The first verses he might take for a choir of a hundred Cordeliers, and the women for some great community of nuns. But what am I saying? Neither cordeliers nor nuns ever sang as do our Iroquois men and women. Their voices are both mellow and sonorous, and Their ear so correct that they do not miss a half-tone in all the church hymns, which they know by heart. Our Iroquois, like all the other savage tribes, with the exception of the Sioux, are sedentary. They raise horses,* pigs, poultry, and other domestic animals as do our own people. The men leave us about the end of september, each taking his own road to The hunting-grounds of the deer and beaver, nor do they return to the village before the month of february. Others go on the war-path. We have actually forty warriors out on expeditions to strike at other tribes. Their weapons are ever ready, for they take the part of the french in every quarrel with The other savage nations,—indeed, The Iroquois of Sault St. Louis are looked upon as the most Warlike of all the american tribes; but this is no proof of their Valor. Their mode of warfare is but stratagem and surprise. Their encounters are mere attempts at assassination. They fight bravely then only when they know that the sole alternative lies between victory or death. Our people have a war on their hands this long time with A Savage tribe called the renards. It has [277] been in a very slight degree successful, through the impossibility in which our troops are of ever overtaking Them in sufficient numbers to destroy Them. Last year, ninety of our young men joined the french expedition against the renards; but, after inconceivable hardships and a journey of more than seven hundred leagues, Their guides led them astray, and they were obliged to make their way back without having caught sight of The enemy save in one instance.[1] . . .

The majority of the adults whom we instruct for baptism in the village are slaves taken in war. . [279] . . The instruction

* "On the 16th of July [1665], the ship from Havre arrived [at Quebec], bringing some horses, with which the King intends to supply this country. Our Savages, who had never seen any, viewed them with admiration, and were astonished that the Moose of France (for so they styled them) were so tractable and so obedient to man's every wish." [2]—Le Mercier's *Relation*, 1664-65:—*Id.*, I, *doc.* cxvii, p. 81.

of the slaves is our hardest task, for they seldom learn The Language Well, and it is very hard to make Them understand what we would have Them know. We have had here in The mission for the last ten years a savage woman of the renard nation, and she does not yet know how to speak Iroquois. Iroquois and huron are The only two difficult languages; we must, however, be familiar with Them both in our mission, because all the prayers are in huron. These two Languages have A common origin, but differ from each other as much as french and spanish. All our savages understand huron and prefer It to Iroquois, although The pronunciation is not so pleasing to the ear. Hence it is that they do not care to recite their prayers in Their own native Tongue.* I told you that I taught the children Their catechism, manuscript in hand of course, for after ten months of study I cannot be very proficient in Iroquois. I am beginning [281] nevertheless to understand and to make myself understood, but I would not dare yet to speak in public. . . .

[*Id., doc.* ccviii, vol. lxviii, pp. 260-285.]

*" . . . she began her death-Song, consisting *of the following words, which she enunciated with difficulty,—for, as The Iroquois Language contains no Labial Letters, she could still speak: 'Egiheia onne,' she said, 'garonhiagué agatsiennonnia: nictouenha Jesousgué ouagué, Jesous tagitenra.'* [of acts of hope of going to Heaven, expressed by these words:] 'At last I am dying, I am going to heaven to see Jesus; that is well. Jesus have pity on me.'"—Lamberville, from Onondaga, *Relation,* 1672-73:—*Id.,* lvii, *doc.* cxxx, p. 173.

LXII

[287] Letter from reverend father Aulneau, of the Society of JESUS, to Reverend Father Bonin.*

[Another letter to Bonin, from Aulneau, is written (April 30, 1736) from Fort Charles among the Crees, "on the southwest side of the lake of the woods." He reaches that place by way of Lake Superior, after a journey of four months from Montreal. He . . . intends to go for the summer to Lake Winnipeg, to evangelize the Assiniboines and Crees. In the following December he is planning to go with some of the former tribe to another savage nation, apparently dwelling on the Columbia River; and he hopes thus to reach the ocean. . . .—*Id.*, lxviii, p. 20.]

Fort St. Charle, among the Kiristinaux, April 30, 1736.

My Reverend Father,
Pax Christi

* * *

[291] And what, my Reverend Father, of forte saint Charle, where I have passed the winter? It is merely an enclosure made with four rows of posts, from twelve to fifteen feet in height, in the form of an oblong square, within which are a few rough cabins constructed of logs and clay and covered with bark. It is about a league in the . . . from 60 to 70 leagues on the Southwest side of the lake of the Woods.[1] This lake is forty leagues in circumference. Its greatest length is north. . . Several streams put it in communication with other lakes, all of which empty into another which the savages say is larger than . . . They call it ouinipignon. This latter, farther on, gives rise to three . . . rivers which empty into the sea (as well as I can conjecture from what the kristinaux say) beyond port Nelson. It is on the shores of this last lake, about one hundred and fifty leagues from here, that I purpose passing a part of the summer with the Assiniboels, who [293] occupy all the land to the south of it. The lands on the remaining sides are taken up by the Kristinaux, who occupy not only all the northern part as far as the sea; but all the immense stretch of country beginning at the lake

* Since the passages in this document, which are torn off or defaced in the original MS., are marked with leaders, thus: . . ., editorial omissions herein are indicated by asterisks.—*Ed.*

of the woods and extending far beyond lake ouinipignon also belongs to them. Some time about the feast of all saints, if it be the will of our good Lord, I intend, with as many of the french as are willing to encounter the same dangers, to join the Assiniboels, who start every year, just as soon as the streams are frozen over, for the country of the kaotiouak or Autelsipounes to procure their supply of indian corn. It is to evangelize these tribes that my Superiors send me here. From lake Ouinipignon to their country the distance is computed to be two hundred and fifty leagues, but as the party engage in the hunt as they advance, in all likelihood we shall go over more than four hundred. If we manage to reach there in season I shall not be satisfied with visiting the first villages of the Koatiouak, but shall push on as far as I can along the shores of the river where they dwell and where the kristinaux say they have seen seals. This would be a sure sign that they are not very far from the sea. * * * In any case, I do [295] not vouch for the truth of all I have told you, and which I have not learned from personal observation but from the reports of the Savages and a few frenchmen, whose experience is but slightly more extensive than my own. At some future date, perhaps, I shall be in a position to give you something more reliable on this vast extent of territory so little known. If I have risked speaking to you at all about these wilds, it was merely to gratify you. As for the savages who dwell here, and especially the Kristinaux, I do not believe that, unless it be by a miracle, they can ever be persuaded to embrace the faith; for even not taking into account the fact that they have no fixed abode, and that they wander about the forests in isolated bands, they are superstitious and morally degraded to a degree beyond conception. What is more deplorable is that the demon makes use of the very men who should endeavor to break their bondage to rivet their fetters more firmly. Both English and French, by their accursed avarice, have given them a taste for brandy, and have thus been instrumental in adding to their other vices that of drunkenness; so that brandy is their only topic of conversation, the sole object of their petitions, nor can they ever be counted upon unless they receive enough to get drunk on. * * * [297] There were a certain number of Monsonis, neighbors of the Kristinaux, and not a few other Savages among those who dwell about the upper end of lake superior, who had received holy Baptism, and who have been replunged through drunkenness into their former superstitions. * * * Notwithstanding the shameful vices of these poor infidels,

God has allowed them still to retain certain notions which, perhaps, might help to determine them to range themselves on the side of religion. They acknowledge the immortality of the soul. After its separation from the body it goes to join those of other deceased savages; but these have not all the same dwelling place —some inhabit enchanting prairies, where all kinds of animals are to be found. These they have no trouble in slaying, and with the viands of the chase they are perpetually regaling one another. No wonder if everywhere, on these plains, you see kettles swung over the fire, and dances and games,—all told, that is their paradise. But before reaching it, there is a spot of extreme peril,—the souls have to cross a wide ditch. On one side of the way, it is full of muddy water, offensive to the smell and covered with scum; while on the other the pit is filled with fire, which rises in fierce tongues of flame. The only means of crossing [299] it is on a fir-tree, the ends of which rest on either bank. Its bark is ever freshly moistened and besmeared with a substance which makes it as slippery as ice. If the souls who wish to cross to the enchanting plains have the misfortune to fall at this dangerous passage, there is no help left; they are doomed forever to drink of the foul, stagnant water, or to burn in the flames, according to the side on which they fall. Such is their hell, and such is their obscure notion of what efforts must be made to secure heaven.

I leave untold a thousand other vagaries of which, from the little said, you may form a faint idea, nor am I sufficiently versed in the matter, having but a very imperfect knowledge of their language. If it be pleasing to you, I may revert to the subject later on. I am the first missionary who has as yet undertaken to systematize the language of the Kristinaux. All . . . I am not very skillful at it. I have picked up but little during the winter, as all have been out on a warlike expedition against the Maskoutépoéls or prairie scioux. They destroyed a few cabins, and some have returned with a few scalps, which are prized as the most precious trophies of their victories. This war was the occasion for us of much suffering during the winter, as we had no other nourishment than tainted pike, boiled or dried over the fire. The kristinaux are not nearly so numerous as the assiniboels, but they are much braver, or rather much more fierce and cruel. They massacre each other on the most trivial pretext. The war and the hunt are their sole occupations. They are averse to teaching their language to others, so that what little I know has been picked up in spite of them. I [301] hope, never-

theless, to announce the gospel to them, before my departure for the Koatiouaks. The demon is the only idol they acknowledge, and it is to him that they offer their outlandish sacrifices. Some have assured me that he has visibly appeared to them. They are in great dread of him, as, according to their own avowal, he is the author of nothing but the ills which befall them. * * * I am convinced that if [303] there were five or six missionaries in this region, their efforts would not be fruitless, especially among the Assiniboels and the koatiouaks, who are much more tractable than the others. But what can one poor mortal do in such an extent of country, the very limits of which are as yet unknown? * * * Before the new missionary can reach me here, I think I shall have acquired a pretty complete knowledge of the language of the Kristinaux and a smattering of that of the Assiniboels, for Providence has endowed me with a certain facility in mastering these odd jargons. After all, my Reverend Father, what the [305] issue of all these projects will be is known to God alone; and, who can tell, perhaps instead of receiving the announcement of their realization you may hear the news of my death. The journey yet before me is one of . . . leagues, even should I not chance to meet with any barbarous treatment or incur the fierce resentment of the savages of the countries through which I have to pass. I place all in God's hands. I am disposed to offer him with a light heart the sacrifice of my life. It is already too long that I continue to offend him, so it will never be too soon for him to chastise me. I beseech you, my reverend Father, and in spirit I cast myself at your feet to conjure you to remember me in your Holy Sacrifices, me, the most unworthy of creatures. It is in union with these sacrifices that I remain,

your Reverence's
most humble and
obedient servant,
J. P. Aulneau,
Jesuit Missionary.*

[*Id., doc.* ccix, vol. lxviii, pp. 286-305.]

* "Another reason for writing you is to beg you to break as gently as possible to Father Aulneau's mother the news of the death of her dear son, who, we have learned but lately, was slain last May by a party of wandering savages, called the scioux of the prairies, While he was journeying from his own to another mission. . . . No premonitory sign of distrust on the part of the savages was noticed, nor were the victims tortured, as they are wont to be when prisoners are taken in battle. It is conjectured that they were surprised while asleep, and received their death-blows unawares. The heads of all were severed from the bodies."—*Letter,* de Gonnor to ——; Notre Dame de Laurette, [1736]:—*Id.,* lxviii, *doc.* ccxi, pp. 313, 317.

LXIII

[69] Letter from Father Joseph Aubery, in the name of the Abnakis of Canada, to the Dean of the Chapter of Chartres.

[1749]

[Aubery[1] writes a letter (late in 1749) in the name of his Abenaki church, requesting the chapter of the cathedral at Chartres to renew the affiliations which they had formed a half-century before, with the Abenaki converts. It is signed not only by himself, but by the five great chiefs of the Abenakis.—*Id.*, lxix, p. 13.]

MONSIEUR,

It is some sixty years since your illustrious company consented to contract a union of adoption by which it regarded the *Abnakis* nation of Canada as its brethren,—although the Chiefs of this nation, not daring to exalt themselves so high, contented themselves and were infinitely honored and benefited in being the children of that illustrious Company. You sent them at that time a silver chemise as a relic. To respond to that honor and kindness, this nation, some years afterward, having nothing more precious than that which is called "porcelain," which is their silver and gold here, formed a collar thereof; it contained about eleven rows of beads, and was also about six feet long, and ornamented to the best of their ability with porcupine-quills. It was enclosed in a box of bark worked as delicately as this material can be worked; and, before sending it to your illustrious company, the late Reverend Father Vincent Bigot, then superior of the mission, exposed it in the church for eight or nine days,—in order that, through the prayers which the Savages offered, the Blessed Virgin might be pleased with the union which they designed to renew, and to establish forever, with the chapter of Chartres. The present was sent, and you had the [71] goodness to respond thereto magnificently by an image of the Blessed Virgin in silver, exactly like the one which you preserve in your subterranean church. It is now 49 years since then, and in the spring will be 50, according to the date of the letter of Monsieur

d'Ormeville, then canon at Chartres, appointed by the chapter to write to the said Reverend Father Vincent Bigot. I was with him in the mission, and that was the year when I said my first mass,—which I newly celebrated yesterday for the second time, after 50 years of priesthood and of mission work.[1]

It is this union that our Chiefs, in the name of the whole mission, wish now to renew. It is true that your presents, exposed in the church, recall to them the memory of it continually; but they wish to freshen it, and consider it as if it were made anew. They ask me to inform you of this; if they had anything precious, they would send it as their letter; as to porcelain, you already have one, and it would be of no use. They beg you, therefore, to have the goodness to regard this letter as a very sincere and authentic mark of the sentiments of their hearts, that you, Monsieur, and all the Gentlemen of your Company may consent to continue to regard them and to aid them as your spiritual children; and, in fact, I attribute it partly to your prayers that all this nation of the mission where I am has made considerable progress in the spirit of christianity. May it be the most faithful and the most attached to the service of God and to that of the King.

I pray you, therefore, monsieur, as being at the head of the chapter of your illustrious Company, to receive this communication, to present it to your [73] Gentlemen, and to listen favorably to the prayer of this nation at St. François des Abnakis, and that of their missionary,—who, although unknown, has the honor to remain, with profound respect, in union with your Holy Sacrifices and those of your Gentlemen,

Monsieur,
Your very humble and
very obedient servant,
JOSEPH AUBERY, of the society of Jesus.
Missionary to the Abnakis at
St. François.

The chiefs:
Michel Terrouërmant.
Jérôme Atecouando.
Nicolas Ouaouënouroué.
Pierre Thomas Pepiouërtnet.

The chanter:
Joseph Louis Magwiouiganbaouit.[2]

[*Id., doc.* ccxvi, vol. lxix, pp. 68-73.]

LXIV

[143] Letter from Father Vivier, Missionary among the Ilinois, to Father * * * .

[1750]

[Louis Vivier,[1] for some time a missionary in Illinois, wrote (June 8, 1750) to a friend, giving some account of that country. Game is still abundant everywhere, except in the vicinity of the settlements. There are five French villages, and three of Indians, in the plain between the Mississippi and Kaskaskia Rivers. Vivier estimates the white population at eleven hundred persons, who hold both black and red slaves—three hundred of the former and sixty of the latter. . . . Vivier praises the gentleness and intelligence of the Illinois savages; and finds in them "many qualities that are lacking in civilized peoples. . . . They all live in great peace, which is due, in a great measure, to the fact that each one is allowed to do what he pleases. . . . As a rule, the Illinois are very lazy, and greatly addicted to brandy; this is the cause of the insignificant results that we obtain among them." . . . —*Id.*, lxix, p. 18.]

My Dear Friend,

Pax Christi.

When one leaves France for distant countries, it is not difficult to make promises to one's friends; but, when the time comes, it is no slight task to keep them, especially during the first years. We have but a single opportunity, once a year, for sending our letters to France. . . . Let us try, nevertheless, to give you some idea of the country, of its inhabitants, and of our occupations. The Illinois country lies about the 39th degree of north latitude, about 9 degrees from new Orleans, the capital of the whole Colony. The climate is very much like that of France, with this difference, that the winter here is not so long and is less continuous, and the heat in summer is a little greater. The country in general is covered with an alternation of plains and forests, and is watered by very fine rivers. Wild cattle, deer, elk, bears, and wild turkeys abound everywhere, in [145] all seasons, except near the inhabited portions. It is usually necessary to go one or two leagues to find deer, and seven or eight to find oxen. During a portion of the autumn, through the winter, and during a portion of the spring, the country is overrun with swans, bustards, geese, ducks of three kinds, wild

pigeons, and teal. There are also certain birds as large as hens, which are called pheasants in this country, but which I would rather name "grouse"; they are not, however, equal in my opinion to the European grouse. I speak not of partridges or of hares, because no one condescends to shoot at them. The plants, trees, and vegetables that have been brought from France or from Canada, grow fairly well. As a rule, the country can produce all things needed to support life, and even to make it agreeable.

There are three classes of inhabitants: French, Negroes, and Savages, to say nothing of Half-breeds born of one or the other, —as a rule against the Law of God. There are 5 French Villages and 3 Villages of Savages within a distance of 21 leagues, between the Mississipi and another river called the Kaskaskias. In the five French Villages there may be eleven hundred white people, three hundred black, and about sixty red slaves, otherwise Savages. The three Illinois Villages do not contain more than eight hundred Savages, of all ages. . [147] . . Let us consider the Savages in particular. Nothing but erroneous ideas are conceived of them in Europe; they are hardly believed to be men. This is a gross error. The Savages, and especially the Illinois, are of a very gentle and sociable nature. They have wit, and seem to have more than our peasants,—as much, at least, as most Frenchmen. This is due to the freedom in which they are reared; respect never makes them timid. As there is neither rank nor dignity among them, all men seem equal to them. An Illinois would speak as boldly to the King of France as to the lowest of his subjects. Most of them are capable of sustaining a conversation with any person, provided no question be treated of that is beyond their sphere of knowledge. They submit to raillery very well; they know not what it is to dispute and get angry while conversing. They never interrupt you in conversation. I found in them many qualities that are lacking in civilized peoples. They are distributed in cabins; a cabin is a sort of room in common, in which there are generally from 15 to 20 persons. They all live in great peace, which is due, in a great measure, to the fact that each one is allowed to do what he pleases. From the beginning of October to the middle of March, they hunt at a distance of forty or fifty leagues from their Village; and, in the middle of March, they return to their Village. Then the women sow the maize. As to the men, with the exception of a little hunting now and then, they lead a thoroughly idle life; they chat and smoke, and that is all. As a [149] rule the Illinois

are very lazy and greatly addicted to brandy; this is the cause of the insignificant results that we obtain among them. . . . When the first Missionaries came among the Illinois, we see, by the writings which they have left us, that they counted five thousand persons of all ages in that Nation. Today we count but two thousand. It should be observed that, in addition to these three Villages which I have mentioned, there is a fourth one of the same Nation, eighty leagues from here, almost as large as the three others. You may judge by this how much they have diminished in the period of sixty years. I commend myself to your holy sacrifices, in the union whereof I have the honor to be, etc.

Among the Illinois, this 8th of June, 1750.

[*Id., doc.* ccxx, vol. lxix, pp. 142-149.]

LXV

[151] Account of the voyage on the Beautiful river made in 1749, under the direction of Monsieur de Celoron, by father Bonnecamps.

[1750]

[This is a report (dated October 17, 1750) by Jean de Bonnécamps, professor of hydrography in the Jesuit college at Quebec, upon his voyage with Céloron down the Beautiful (Ohio) River.[1] It is in the form of a journal, recording the progress and events of each day's journey. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, p. 19.]

MONSIEUR,

It was not possible for me last year, to give you an account of my voyage on the Beautiful River.

All the vessels had left Québec when I reached it. I could, it is true, have written you by way of New England, but I had many things to say to you which prudence would not allow me to send through the hands of the English. Therefore, in spite of the great desire that I had to respond to the confidence which you have shown me, I have chosen the alternative of deferring to do so, until the departure of our vessels.

We left la Chine on the 15th of June, toward 3 o'clock in the afternoon, numbering 23 canoes both french and savage. We slept at pointe Claire, about two leagues distant from la Chine. The next day, although starting out quite early, we made hardly more progress; and we gained les Cèdres with much difficulty, because of the Cascades up which we had to ascend with our canoes, where the greater number were badly injured by the rocks. . . .

[153] The 25th. We disembarked at the dwelling of [155] the abbé Piquet, whose new establishment is south of the river—37 leagues from Montréal, and directly at the end of the rapids. We found him lodged under a shelter of bark, in the midst of a clearing of nearly 40 arpents. The fort which he has had constructed is a square of 70 feet on each side; it is situated at the mouth of a river, which he has named la Présentation, and

at the base of a little headland, low and marshy. According to abbé Piquet,[1] the soil is excellent; but it did not appear so to us. One sees there as many trees of fir as of hard wood. His whole village consisted of two men, who followed us into the Beautiful River. . . .

The 30th. The lake being calm, we took the route to Niagara, where we arrived on the 6th of July. In all the passage of lake Ontario, I have seen nothing which could excite curiosity. I will only tell you that the waters of this lake are very clear and transparent; at 17 and 18 feet, the bottom can be seen as distinctly as if one saw it through a polished glass. [157] They have still another property, very pleasant to travelers,—that of retaining great coolness in the midst of the suffocating heat which one is sometimes obliged to endure in passing this lake.

The Fort of Niagara is a square made of palisades, faced on the outside with oak timbers, which bind and strengthen the whole work. A large stone barrack forms the curtain-wall, which overlooks the lake; its size is almost the same as that of fort Frontenac. It is situated on the eastern bank of the channel by which the waters of lake Erie discharge themselves. It will soon be necessary to remove it elsewhere, because the bank, being continually undermined by the waves which break against it, is gradually caving in, and the water gains noticeably on the fort. It would be advantageously placed above the waterfall, on a fine plateau where all canoes are obliged to land to make the portage. Thus the savages, people who are naturally lazy, would be spared the trouble of making three leagues by land; and if the excessive price of merchandise could be diminished, that would insensibly disgust the English, and we could see the trade, which is almost entirely ruined, again flourishing.

On the 6th and the 7th, I observed the western amplitude of the sun, when it set in the lake; that gave me 6° 30′ Northwest for the variation of compass. The latitude of the fort is 43° 28′.

On the 8th, the entire detachment arrived at the portage. The 12th. We encamped at the little rapid at the entrance of lake Erie. The channel which furnishes communication between the two lakes is about 9 leagues in length. Two leagues above the fort, the portage begins. There are three [159] hills[2] to climb, almost in succession. The 3rd is extraordinarily high and steep; it is, at its summit, at least 300 feet above the level of the water. If I had had my graphometer, I could have ascertained its exact height; but I had left that instrument at the fort, for fear that some accident might happen to it during the rest of the voyage.

When the top of this last hill is reached, there is a level road to the other end of the portage; the road is broad, fine, and smooth. The famous waterfall of Niagara is very nearly equidistant from the two lakes. It is formed by a rock cleft vertically, and is 133 feet, according to my measurement, which I believe to be exact. Its figure is a half-ellipse, divided near the middle by a little island. The width of the fall is perhaps three-eighths of a league. The water falls in foam over the length of the rock, and is received in a large basin, over which hangs a continual mist.

The 13th. We remained in our camp at the little rapid to await our savages, who were amusing themselves with drinking rum at the portage, with a band of their comrades who were returning from Choaguen [Oswego]. The 14th. The savages having rejoined us, we entered lake Erie, but a strong southwest wind having arisen, we put back to shore. The 15th. In the morning, the wind having ceased, we continued our route, and on the 16th, we arrived early at the portage of Yjadakoin.[1]

It began at the mouth of a little stream called Rivière aux pommes ["apple River"],—the 3rd that is met after entering the lake, and thus it may be easily recognized. The 15th. In the evening I observed the variation, which I found to be nothing. . . .

[161] The 17th. We began the portage, and made a good league that day. I observed the latitude at the 2nd station,—that is, half a league from the lake,—and I found it 42° 33′. The 18th. Our people being fatigued, we shortened the intervals between the stations, and we hardly made more than half a league. The 19th. Bad weather did not allow us to advance far; nevertheless we gained ground every day, and, the 22nd, the portage was entirely accomplished.

In my judgment, it is three and a half leagues. The road is passably good. The wood through which it is cut resembles our forests in France. The beech, the ash, the elm, the red and white oak—these trees compose the greater part of it. A species of tree is found there, which has no other name than that of "the unknown tree." Its trunk is high, erect, and almost without branches to the top. It has a light, soft wood, which is used for making pirogues, and is good for that alone. Eyes more trained than ours, would, perhaps, have made discoveries which would have pleased the taste of arborists. Having reached the shore of lake Yjadakoin, Monsieur de Celoron thought it well to pass the rest of the day in camp to give his people a breathing-

space. On the morning of the 23rd, we examined the provisions, pitched the canoes, and set out. Before starting, I took advantage of the [163] fine weather to get the latitude, which I found to be 42° 30′. Lake Yjadakoin may be a league and a half in its greatest width, and 6 leagues in its entire length. It becomes narrow near the middle, and seems to form a double lake.

We left it on the morning of the 24th, and entered the little river which bears its name, and which is, as it were, its outlet. After a league and a half of still water, one enters a rapid, which extends for three leagues or more; in times of drouth, it is very shallow. We were told that in the spring, or after heavy rains, it is navigable; as for us, we found it drained dry. In certain places, which were only too frequent, there was barely two or three inches of water.

Before entering this place, Monsieur de Celoron had the greater part of the baggage unloaded, with people to carry it to the rendezvous. On the road, our natives noticed fresh trails, and huts newly abandoned. From these unequivocal indications, we inferred that some one had come to spy upon us, and that at our approach our discoverers had carried the alarm to the Beautiful River. Therefore, Monsieur the Commandant held a council on the morning of the 25th, in which, after having declared your intentions, he proposed to send Monsieur de Joncaire to la paille coupée,[1] to carry thither some porcelain branches, and to invite the natives to listen to the peaceful message of their father Onontio. The proposition was unanimously approved, and Monsieur de Joncaire set out, accompanied by a detachment of savages. We then worked at repairing our canoes, and sent them on, half-loaded. On the morning of the 27th, we again found the still water, [165] on which we advanced tranquilly until ½ past 10 on the 28th,—a fatal hour, which plunged us again into our former miseries. The water suddenly gave out under our canoes, and we were reduced to the sad necessity of dragging them over the stones,—whose sharp edges, in spite of our care and precautions, took off large splinters from time to time. Finally, overcome with weariness, and almost despairing of seeing the Beautiful River, we entered it, on the 29th, at noon. Monsieur de Celoron buried a plate of lead on the south bank of the Ohio; and, farther down, he attached the royal coat of arms to a tree. After these operations, we encamped opposite a little Iroquois village of 12 or 13 cabins; it is called Kananouangon.[2]

The 30th. We arrived at la paille coupée. There we rejoined

Monsieur de Joncaire, who told us that our conjecture was correct; that the report of our march had thrown all those people into consternation, and that he had had much difficulty in making the fugitives return. The chiefs came to greet Monsieur the Commandant, who bestowed upon them a thousand tokens of kindness, and sought to reassure them. . . .

La paille coupée is a very insignificant village, [167] composed of Iroquois and some loups. It is situated on the northern bank of the Ohio, and is bounded on the north by a group of mountains which form a very narrow half-basin, at the bottom of which is the village; its latitude is 42° 5′.

On the 1st of August we broke camp; and that evening we slept at a little loup village of 9 or 10 cabins. We marched all day between two chains of mountains, which bordered the river on the right and left. The Ohio is very low during the first twenty leagues; but a great storm, which we had experienced on the eve of our departure, had swollen the waters, and we pursued our journey without any hindrance.

Monsieur Chabert on that day caught seven rattlesnakes, which were the first that I had seen. This snake differs in no way from others, except that its tail is terminated by seven or eight little scales, fitting into one another, which make a sort of clicking sound when the creature moves or shakes itself. Some have yellowish spots scattered over a brown ground, and others are entirely brown, or almost black.

There are, I am told, very large ones. None of those which I have seen exceed 4 feet. The bite is fatal. It is said that washing the wound which has been received, with saliva mixed with a little sea-salt, is a sovereign remedy. We have not had, thank God, any occasion to put this antidote to the test. I have been told a thousand marvelous things about this reptile; among others, that the Squirrel, upon perceiving a rattlesnake, immediately becomes greatly agitated; and, at the end of a certain period of time,—drawn, as it were, by an invincible [169] attraction,—approaches it, even throwing itself into the jaws of the serpent. I have read a statement similar to this reported in philosophic transactions; but I do not give it credence, for all that.

The 2nd. Monsieur de Celoron spoke to the loups. I took the bearings of our camp on the same day, and found it to be 41° 41′ of latitude.

The 3rd. We continued our route, and we marched, as on the first day, buried in the somber and dismal valley, which

serves as the bed of the Ohio. We encountered on our route two small villages of loups, where we did not halt. In the evening, after we disembarked, we buried a 2nd plate of lead under a great rock, upon which were to be seen several figures roughly graven. These were the figures of men and women, and the footprints of goats, turkeys, bears, etc., traced on the rock. Our officers tried to persuade me that this was the work of Europeans; but, in truth, I may say that in the style and workmanship of these engravings one cannot fail to recognize the unskillfulness of savages. I might add to this, that they have much analogy with the hieroglyphics which they use instead of writing. . . .[1]

[183] The 28th. We encamped at the mouth of rivière Blanche ["White River"], where we found a small band of Miamis with their chief, named le Baril ["the Barrel"]. They had established themselves there a short time before, and formed a village of 7 or 8 cabins, a league distant from the river. Monsieur de Celoron requested them to accompany him to the village of la Demoiselle ["the young Lady"], and they promised to do so. We passed two days waiting for them. Finally, on the morning of the 31st, they appeared, followed by their women, their children, and their dogs. All embarked, and about 4 o'clock in the afternoon we entered riviere a la Roche, after having buried the 6th and last leaden plate on the western bank of that river, and to the north of the Ohio.[2]

This Beautiful River—so little known to the French, and, unfortunately, too well known to the English—is, according to my estimate, 181 marine leagues from the mouth of the Yjadakoin (or Tjadakoin) to the entrance of rivière a la Roche. In all [185] this distance, we have counted twelve villages established on its banks; but, if one penetrate into the small continent enclosed between lake Erie and the Ohio, one will find it, according to what has been told us, much more populous. We have been specially told of a certain village situated on the river Kaskaské, in which, we are assured, there are nearly 800 men.[3] Each village, whether large or small, has one or more traders, who have in their employ engagés for the transportation of peltries. Behold, then, the English already far within our territory; and, what is worse, they are under the protection of a crowd of savages whom they entice to themselves, and whose number increases every day. Their design is, without doubt, to establish themselves there; and, if efficacious measures be not taken as soon as possible to arrest their progress, we run a very great risk of seeing

ourselves quickly driven from the upper countries, and of being obliged to confine ourselves to the limits which it may please these gentlemen to prescribe to us. This is perhaps all the more true that it does not seem probable. I resume the thread of my journal.

Rivière à la Roche is very well named. Its bottom is but one continuous rock; its waters are extremely shallow. Notwithstanding this, we had the good fortune to guide our canoes as far as the village of la Demoiselle. In order to lighten them, we had landed half of our people. This was thought to have [occasioned] the loss of Monsieur de Joannès,—who, having undertaken to follow a savage who was going to hunt, lost himself in the woods, and remained there two days without our being able to obtain any news of him, in spite of all the efforts which we [187] made. On the 3rd day after his disappearance we saw him, when we least expected to do so, at a bend in the river, conducted by two Miamis.

On the 13th of September we had the honor of saluting la Demoiselle in his fort. It is situated on a vast prairie which borders Rivière à la Roche; its latitude is 40° 34′. This band is not numerous; it consists at most of 40 or 50 men.[1] There is among them an English trader. Monsieur de Celoron did not talk with la Demoiselle until the 17th, because he awaited an interpreter from the Miamis, for whom he had asked Monsieur Raimond. But, wearied with waiting, and seeing the season already advanced, he determined to take for an interpreter an old Sounantouan who was in le Baril's company.

On the 18th, la Demoiselle replied, and in his answer promised to take back his band to their old village in the following spring; he even gave his word that he would go with us as far as there, in order to prepare everything for his return. But the arrival of the Miami interpreter put him in a bad humor; he forgot all his promises, and in spite of all that we could do, he constantly refused to see us. We then left him; and, after having burned our canoes and all that we could not carry, we took leave of him on the morning of the 20th.

Our journey by land was only five days. We were divided into four brigades, each commanded by two officers. We marched in single file, because the narrowness of the path would not permit us to do otherwise. The road was passable, but we found it quite tedious. In my estimation the journey from la Demoiselle's to the Miamis might cover 35 leagues. Three times we crossed Rivière à la Roche; but [189] here it was

only a feeble brook, which ran over a few feet of mud. A little more than half-way, we began to skirt the river of the Miamis, which was on our left. We found therein large crabs in abundance. From time to time we marched over vast prairies, where the herbage was sometimes of extraordinary height. Having reached Monsieur Raimond's post, we bought pirogues and provisions; and, on the afternoon of the 27th, we set out, en route for Detroit.

The fort of the Miamis was in a very bad condition when we reached it; most of the palisades were decayed and fallen into ruin. Within there were eight houses,—or, to speak more correctly, eight miserable huts, which only the desire of making money could render endurable. The French there numbered 22; all of them, even to the commandant, had the fever. Monsieur Raimond did not approve the situation of the fort, and maintained that it should be placed on the bank of the St. Joseph river, distant only a scant league from its present site. He wished to show me that spot, but the hindrances of our departure prevented me from going thither. All that I could do was to trace for him the plan of his new fort. The latitude of the old one is 41° 29′. It was while with the Miamis that I learned that we had, a little before entering rivière à la Roche, passed within two or three leagues of the famous salt-springs where are the skeletons of immense animals.[1] This news greatly chagrined me, and I could hardly forgive myself for having missed this discovery. It was the more curious that I should have done this on my journey, and I would have been proud if I could have given you the details of it. . . .

[191] I remained too short a time at Detroit to be able to give you an exact description of it. All that I can say to you about it is, that its situation appeared to me charming. A beautiful river runs at the foot of the fort; vast plains, which only ask to be cultivated, [193] extend beyond the sight. There is nothing milder than the climate, which scarcely counts two months of winter. The productions of Europe, and especially the grains, grow much better than in many of the cantons of France. It is the Touraine and Beauce of Canada. Moreover, we should regard Detroit as one of the most important posts of the Colony. It is conveniently situated for furnishing aid to Michilimakinak, to the St. Joseph River, to the Bay, to the Miamis, Ouiatanons, and to the Beautiful River, supposing that settlements be made thereon. . . .

The Fort of Detroit is a long square; I do not know its dimen-

sions, but it appeared large to me.* The village of the Hurons and that of the Outaouas are on the other side of the river,—[where, father La Richardie told me, the rebels were beginning to disperse, and the band of Nicolas was diminishing day by day. We had asked news about him, when upon the Beautiful River;] and were told that he had established his residence in the neighborhood of lake Erie. . . .[1]

[*Id., doc.* ccxxi, vol. lxix, pp. 150-199.]

* "As Regards the detroit Establishment, I have nothing to tell you about it of my own knowledge; for I have no Information concerning it, except through the reports of the french and the savages who talk with us here about it. Judging from their reports, it does not seem to them to be an advantageous Establishment. They are not Satisfied with it, for various very Important reasons—which I have pointed out to the Reverend father superior, in What I Write for my Justification against the charges brought by Monsieur de la Motte, who Continues to persecute me. . . .

"In speaking of the detroit Establishment, I forgot to tell you that, during the whole time while the war lasted, the savages desired That Establishment at detroit; because They always supposed that the destruction of the Iroquois was desired, and that by his Destruction They would peaceably enjoy all the lands in his Country. But since they have found that, far from wishing to destroy him, we thought only of sparing and Preserving him; of befriending him, by giving him land in what they considered As their own country; and by Restoring the fort of Cataracouy for his benefit,—They have completely Changed their minds, and no longer look upon Detroit in any other light than That of an Enemy's country, where they can have no Wish to dwell, and where there can be no security for them. And assuredly they cannot think or judge otherwise; so that Those of the huron nation who remain Here, and who do not wish to go to detroit, mistrust Those who have gone to Settle there, and Think that they intend to go there in order to Surrender to the Iroquois, so as to join in the Trade with the English."—*Letter,* Carheil to Callières; Michilimackina, Aug. 30, 1702:—*Id.,* lxv, *doc.* clxxvii, pp. 245, 247, 251, 253.

"Father de La Richardie spent the winter at Quebec, where he did a world of Good by the two general retreats he preached. The mention of this Reverend father's name reminds me that I must take back what I wrote you last year when as yet I was not well informed of what concerns the hurons. I said that there were no other christian hurons than those of Lorette. In fact, seven years ago there were no others; but father de La Richardie found means to gather together at detroit The dispersed Hurons, all of whom he converted. The mission numbers six hundred christians."—*Letter,* Nau to Bonin; Sault St. Louis, Oct. 2, 1735:—*Id.,* lxviii, *doc.* ccviii, pp. 281, 283.

LXVI

[201] Letter from Father Vivier, of the Society of JESUS, to a Father of the same Society.

[Vivier writes (November 17, 1750) to a friend an account of the Illinois tribes and their country. . . .

Vivier hears that the Pawnee tribes on the Missouri are well disposed toward the Christian faith. Their new chief has established a marvelous innovation, by making regular and definite provision for the widows and orphans of his tribe. This man has visited the French in Illinois, and Vivier greatly admires him. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, pp. 21, 23, 24.]

Among the ILLINOIS,
November 17, 1750.

MY REVEREND FATHER,

The peace of Our Lord. . . .

[207] Mississipi, in the Illinois language, means "the great river." It seems to have usurped that name from the Missouri. Before its junction with that river, the Mississipi is of no great size. Its current is slight, while the Missouri is wider, deeper, more rapid, and takes its rise much farther away. Several rivers of considerable size empty into the Mississipi; but the Missouri alone seems to pour into it more water than all these rivers together. Here is the proof of it: the water of most—I might say, of all—of the rivers that fall into the Mississipi is only passably good, and that of several is positively unwholesome; that of the Mississipi itself, above its junction with the Missouri, is not of the best; on the contrary, that of the Missouri is the best water in the world. Now that of the Mississipi, from its junction with the Missouri to the sea, becomes excellent; the water of the Missouri must therefore predominate. The first travelers who came through Canada discovered the Mississipi; that is the reason why the latter has acquired the name of "great," at the expense of the glory of the other. . . .

[215] Ascending the river, one finds French settlements above as well as below New Orleans. The most notable establishment is a small German colony, ten leagues above it. La Pointe coupée is thirty-five leagues from the German settlement. A palisaded fort has been built there, in which a small garrison is

maintained. There are sixty residences, spread over an extent of five or six leagues, along the west bank of the river. Fifty leagues from la pointe coupée are the Natchez. We now have there only a garrison,—which is kept imprisoned, as it were, in a fort, through fear of the Chicachats and other Savage enemies. Formerly there were at that place about sixty dwellings, and a savage Nation of considerable numbers called the Natchez, who were greatly attached to us and rendered us great services. The tyranny which a French Commandant undertook to exercise over them drove them to extremities. One day they killed all the French, excepting a few who sought safety in flight. One of our Fathers, who was descending the Mississipi and was asked to tarry there to say Mass on Sunday, was included in the massacre. Since that time the blow has been avenged by the almost total destruction of the Natchez Nation; only a few remain scattered among the Chicachats and Chéraquis, where they live precariously and almost as slaves.

At la Pointe coupée, and still more at Natchez, excellent tobacco is grown. If, instead of obtaining [217] from strangers the tobacco that is consumed in France, we obtained it here, we would get a better quality, and save the money that goes out of the Kingdom for that product; and the colony would be settled.

One hundred leagues above the Natchez are the Akansas, a savage Nation of about four hundred warriors. We have near them a fort with a garrison, where the convoys ascending to the Illinois stop to rest.[1] There were some settlers there but in the month of May, 1748, the Chicachats, our irreconcilable foes, aided by some other barbarians, suddenly attacked the post; they killed several persons, and carried off thirteen into captivity. The rest escaped into the fort, in which there were at that time only a dozen soldiers. They made an attempt to attack it, but no sooner had they lost two of their people than they retreated. Their Drummer was a French deserter from the Akansas garrison itself.

The distance from the Akansas to the Illinois is estimated at nearly one hundred and fifty leagues. Throughout all that extent of country not a single hamlet exists. Nevertheless, in order to secure our possession of it, it would be very advisable that we should have a good fort on the Ouabache, the only place by which the English can enter into the Mississipi. . . .

[225] Among the Nations of the Missouri are some who seem to be specially disposed to receive the Gospel; as, for instance,

the Panismahas.[1] One of the Gentlemen of whom I have just spoken [2] wrote one day to a Frenchman who traded among the Savages, and asked him in his letter to baptize dying children. When the chief of the village perceived the letter, he said to the Frenchman, "What is the news?" "There is none," replied the latter. "How," retorted the Savage, "because our color is red, can we not know the news?" "It is the black Chief," replied the Frenchman, "who writes, recommending me to baptize dying children, in order to send them to the great Spirit." The Savage chief, thoroughly satisfied, said to him: "Be not anxious; I myself undertake to notify thee whenever a child is in danger of death." He gathered his people together and said to them: "What think ye of this black Chief?" (for that is the name which they give to the Missionaries.) "We have never seen him; we have never done him any good; he dwells far beyond us, beyond the sun. And yet he thinks of our village; he desires to do good to us; and, when our children die, he wishes to send them to the great Spirit. This black Chief must be very good."

Some traders who came from his village have mentioned to me instances which prove that, savage as he is, he none the less possesses intelligence and good sense. At the death of his predecessor all the suffrages of his Nation were in his favor. At first, he excused himself from accepting the position of Chief; but at last, on being compelled to acquiesce, he said to them: "You desire then that I should be [227] your Chief; I consent, but you must bear in mind that I wish to be your Chief in reality, and that I must be faithfully obeyed in that capacity. Hitherto the widows and orphans have been left destitute. I intend that in future their wants shall be provided for; and, in order that they may not be forgotten, I desire and intend that they be the first to get their share." Accordingly, he gave orders to his Escapia—who is, as it were, his Steward—to set aside, whenever a hunt should take place, a quantity of meat sufficient for the widows and orphans. These people have as yet but very few guns. They hunt on horseback with arrows and spears; they surround a herd of cattle, and but few escape them. When the animals fall to the ground, the Chief's Escapia touches a certain number of them with his hand; these are the share of the widows and orphans, and no one else can take any portion of them. One of the hunters,—through inadvertence, no doubt,—having begun to cut a piece from one of these, the Chief killed him on the spot with a shot from his gun. This Chief receives the French with great distinction; he makes them eat with him alone, or with the

chief of another Nation, if such happen to be present. He honors with the title of "sun" the most wretched Frenchman who may happen to be in his village; and he says, therefore, that the sky is always serene while the Frenchman sojourns there. Only a month ago he came to pay his respects to our commandant. I proceeded to fort de Chartres, six leagues from here, for the purpose of seeing him. He is a thoroughly fine man. He was polite to me, in his own fashion; and invited me to go to give his people sense,—that is, to instruct [229] them. According to the reports of the Frenchmen who have been there, his village can furnish nine hundred men capable of bearing arms.

For the rest, this country is of far greater importance than is imagined. Through its position alone, it deserves that France should spare nothing to retain it. It is true that it has not yet enriched the king's coffers, and that convoys to and fro are costly; but it is none the less true that the tranquillity of Canada and the safety of the entire lower part of the Colony depend upon it. Assuredly, without this post there can be no communication by land between Louisiana and Canada. There is another consideration: several regions of the same Canada and all those on the lower part of the river would be deprived of the provisions they obtain from the Illinois, which are often a great resource to them. By founding a solid establishment here, prepared to meet all these troubles, the King would secure the possession of the most extensive and the finest country in north America. To be convinced of this one has but to glance at the well-known map of Louisiana, and to consider the situation of the Illinois country and the multitude of Nations against whom the post usually serves as a barrier. In union with your holy sacrifices, I remain, etc.

[*Id., doc.* ccxxii. vol. lxix, pp. 200-229.]

LXVII

[91] Letter from Father * * * , Missionary to the Abnakis.

[An unnamed "missionary to the Abnakis" (but known to be Pierre Roubaud) [1] contributes to *Lettres édifiantes* an account of the capture of Fort William Henry (or George). The Father goes to Montreal (July, 1757) with a band of Abenakis, and then accompanies the French and Indian forces led by Montcalm against the English at Lake Champlain. Soon after leaving Montreal, the savages give a war-feast, which is fully described. . . .—*Id.*, lxx, p. 11.]

Saint François,
October 21, 1757.

I SET out on the 12th of July from Saint François,—the principal Village of the Abnakis Mission—to go to Montreal; the purpose of my journey was simply to bring to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil a deputation of twenty Abnakis appointed to accompany Father Virot, who has gone to try to found a new Mission among the Loups of *Oyo*, or the beautiful river. . . .

When I arrived at Montreal,—a day and a half distant from my Mission,—I thought myself at the end of my journey, but Providence ordered otherwise. An expedition was projected against the enemy; and, on account of the state of feeling among the Savage Tribes, the greatest success was expected. The Abnakis were to be of the party; and, as all the Christian Savages are accompanied by their Missionaries, who are eager to furnish them the aid suitable to their office, the Abnakis could be sure that I [93] would not abandon them at so critical a moment. . . . My Abnakis were encamped at Saint Jean, one of the Colony's forts distant from Montreal a day's journey. My arrival surprised them; they had not been informed of my coming. Hardly had they perceived me when they made the woods and the neighboring mountains resound with the report of my approach; all, even the children (for, with the Savages, they are soldiers as soon as they can carry a gun), uttered shouts. Yes, even the children gave me proofs of their satisfaction. *Nemittangoustena, Nemittangoustena,* they exclaimed in their own

language. *Ourionni eri namihoureg*—that is to say: "Our Father, our Father, how obliged we are to thee for giving us the pleasure of seeing thee! . . ."

[95] Toward evening, the kindness of an Officer obtained for me an opportunity to witness one of those savage military spectacles which many people admire, as being fitted to arouse in the most cowardly hearts that martial ardor which makes veritable warriors; as for me, I have never seen in them anything but a comic farce, capable of making any one burst into laughter who was not on his guard. I am speaking of a war-feast. Imagine a large assemblage of Savages, decorated with every ornament most fitted to disfigure, in European eyes, their physiognomies. Vermillion, white, green, yellow, and black made from soot or scrapings of the pots—on a single savage face are seen united all these different colors, methodically applied by the aid of a little tallow which serves as an ointment. This is the paint that is used on these grand occasions to adorn not only the face, but also the head—which is almost wholly shaved, excepting a little lock reserved on the top for the purpose of attaching to it feathers of birds, or a few pieces of porcelain, or some other similar gewgaw. Each part of the head has its distinct ornaments; the nose has its ring; there are also rings for the ears, which are pierced at an early age, and so greatly elongated by the weight with which they have been overloaded that they swing and beat against the shoulders. The rest of this paraphernalia corresponds to this grotesque decoration. A shirt [97] smeared with vermillion, porcelain necklaces, silver bracelets, a large knife hanging over the breast, a girdle of variegated colors but always ludicrously arranged, and shoes of elk-skin—these are the savage accouterments. The Captains are distinguished only by a gorget, and the Chiefs by a medallion which on one side exhibits the portrait of the King, and on the other Mars and Bellona, who are joining hands, with this device: *virtus et honor.*

Now imagine an assembly of people thus decorated, and arranged in rows. In the midst are placed large kettles, filled with meat cooked and cut into pieces, so as to be more readily distributed to the spectators. After a respectful silence, which indicates the importance of the meeting, certain Captains appointed by the different Tribes that are present at the feast begin to chant in succession. You will easily imagine what this Savage music may be, compared with the delicacy and taste of European music. The sounds are formed, I should say, almost by chance; and sometimes they strongly resemble the cries and howlings of

wolves. This is not the beginning of the meeting; it is only the announcement and the prelude, for the purpose of inviting the scattered Savages to come to the general rendezvous. When the assembly has been organized, the Orator of the Tribe begins to speak, and solemnly addresses the guests. This is the most sensible act of the ceremony. The panegyric of the King, the eulogy of the French Nation, the arguments that prove the lawfulness of war, the motives of glory and of Religion, all of these are fitted to tempt the young men to press on with joy to battle; this is the substance of that sort of address, [99] which ordinarily bears no mark of Savage barbarism. I have more than once heard addresses which would not have been disavowed by our finest minds in France. An eloquence drawn wholly from nature does not cause any one to regret the help of art.

When the speech is finished, they proceed to name the Captains who are to command the party. As soon as one is named, he rises from his place and proceeds to seize the head of one of the animals which are to make the principal part of the feast. He raises it high enough to be seen by the whole assembly, crying aloud: *Behold the head of the enemy.* Shouts of joy and applause are then raised on every side, and announce the satisfaction of the assembly. The Captain, with the head of the animal still in his hand, goes through the lines singing his war-song, in which he exerts all his force in boastings and insulting defiance of the enemy, and in the exaggerated eulogies which he lavishes upon himself. To hear them extolling themselves in these moments of military enthusiasm, you might believe them all to be Heroes who are able to carry off all, crush all, vanquish all. As he passes in review before the Savages, these latter answer his chant by hollow cries, broken, drawn from the pit of the stomach, and accompanied with such ridiculous motions of the body that you must be familiar with them in order to witness them with composure. In the course of his song, he is careful to introduce from time to time some grotesque joke. Then he stops as if to applaud himself, or rather to receive the savage plaudits that a thousand mingled shouts reëcho to his ears. He continues his warlike march as long as the sport [101] pleases him; if it cease to please him he ends it by disdainfully throwing down the head that he has in his hand, in order to show by this affected contempt that food of a wholly different kind is necessary to satisfy his military appetite. He afterwards resumes his place, where he is no sooner seated, than perhaps there is put on his head a pot of hot ashes; but this is an act of friendship, a mark

of tenderness which is endured only from a well-known and acknowledged friend; a like familiarity from an ordinary man would be deemed an insult. This first warrior is followed by others, who greatly protract the meeting,—especially when it is a question of forming large parties, because with this kind of ceremony the enlistments are made. At last, the feast comes to an end with the distribution and consumption of the food.

Such was the war feast that was given to our Savages, and such the ceremony that was observed. The Algonkins, the Abnakis, the Nipistingues, and the Amenecis were at this feast. . . .

[*Id., doc.* ccxxvi, vol. lxx, pp. 90-203.]

LXVIII

[205] Of the Hurons.

[1762]

[This is a brief outline, by Étienne de Villeneuve, written in 1762, of the history of the Huron nation and the missions established among them. Since the autumn of 1697, they have lived at Jeune Lorette.—*Id.*, lxx, p. 13.]

1st. In 1626, Fathers Brebœuf and De Noue, Jesuits, and Father Joseph De la Roche, Recollet, went to the Huron country in the autumn of that year, to learn their language, and thereby place themselves in a position to instruct them and teach them Christianity.

2nd. The Hurons were then settled on the shores of the lake that still bears their name,—that is to say, on the shores of lake Huron.

3rd. According to the Relations of the first Jesuits who were sent at that time among the Hurons, to labor in instructing them, the Hurons were divided into twenty villages—which, united together, formed a nation of thirty thousand souls.

4th. In 1649, on the 16th of March, the Iroquois—with whom the Hurons had been at war since the year 1638—suddenly, to the number of fifteen hundred, swooped down on one of their largest villages, and burned it. They seized some villages, alarmed others, and thereby compelled the Hurons to flee precipitately, and to disperse.

5th. The Hurons then retired: some to a distance of a hundred leagues from lake Huron—and their descendants now constitute the Huron village at Detroit; others are said to have settled among the Illinois; others went down to Three Rivers, and still others to Quebec. Most of those who were at [207] Three Rivers joined those of Quebec, on the 26th of April, 1654.

6th. There was at that time a considerable number of Hurons who had been settled at Sillery for about ten years. These were Hurons who loved a peaceful life, and who—ever since a house had been built, in 1637, at Sillery for them, and for the savages

of other nations who wished to dwell there—had gradually settled there among the Algonquins and formed a considerable village.

7th. The Sillery Hurons joined those of Quebec in 1651, on the 29th of March, the day on which they were taken to the Island of Orleans to reside there.

8th. The Hurons dwelt on the Island of Orleans from the 29th of March, 1651, to the 4th of June, 1656—that is to say, five years and some days.

9th. On leaving the Island of Orleans, the Hurons came to live in Quebec. They remained there until the month of April of the year 1668, when they left to go to Beauport, where they remained about a year. Afterward, about the spring of 1669, they went to settle at côte St. Michel, where they remained from the spring of 1669 to the 28th of December of the year 1673. From that place they went to live at Vieille Lorette, where they remained from the 28th of December, 1673, to the autumn of 1697. Finally, from the autumn of 1697 to this present year 1762, they have lived at Jeune Lorette.

10th. Jeune Lorette has no dependencies. It is not a seigniory. It is only a small piece of land of the côte Petit St. Antoine, seigniory of St. Michel, on which the Jesuit Fathers, to whom the seigniory [209] belongs, consented to allow the Hurons to settle, about the end of 1697.

11th. The Jesuits have been seigniors of the Seigniory of St. Gabriel from the 2nd of November, 1667—on which day Monsieur Robert Gifford, the first seignior of the said seigniory, in concert with Madame Renouard, his wife, gave it to the Reverend Jesuit Fathers.

[*Id., doc.* ccxxvii, vol. lxx, pp. 204-209.]

APPENDIX I.

Historical Introduction to the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.

By Reuben Gold Thwaites

[1896]

Doubtless Norse vikings, venturing far southward from outlying colonies in Iceland and Greenland, first coasted New France, and beached their sturdy ships on the shores of New England. But five centuries passed without result, and we cannot properly call them pioneers of American civilization. Columbus it was, who unlocked the eastern door of the New World. Five years later, John Cabot, in behalf of England, was sighting the gloomy headlands of Cape Breton. Cortereal appeared in the neighborhood, in 1501, seeking lands for the Portuguese crown. About this time, at intervals, there came to Newfoundland certain Norman, Breton, and Basque fishers, who, erecting little huts and drying-scaffolds along the rocky shore, sowed the first seed of that polyglot settlement of French, Portuguese, Spanish, and English which has come down to our day almost uninterruptedly. By 1511, these fishermen appear to have known the mainland to the west; for on the map of Sylvanus, in his edition of Ptolemy, that year, we find a delineation of the "Square Gulf," which answers to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1520, Fagundus visited these waters for the Portuguese, and four years later Verrazano was making for the French an exploration of the coast between North Carolina and Newfoundland. Whether or not Cartier (1535) was the first to sail up the St. Lawrence "until land could be seen on either side," no man can now tell; apparently he was the first to leave a record of doing so. Progress up the river was checked by Lachine Rapids, and he spent the winter on Montreal Island.

France and Spain were just then engaged in one of their periodical quarrels, and adventurers were needed to fight battles at home, so that it was six years before any attempts were made to colonize the riverlands to which Cartier had led the way. In 1541 a Picard seigneur named Roberval, enjoying the friendship of Francis I., was commissioned as viceroy of the new country beyond the Atlantic, with Cartier as his chief pilot and captain-general, and a choice collection of jailbirds for colonists. Cartier started off before his chief, built a fort at Quebec, and, after a long and miserable winter, picked up a quantity of glittering stones which he took to be gold and diamonds, and gladly

set sail for home. Tradition has it that Roberval met him near the mouth of the river, but was unable to induce him to return to his cheerless task of founding a state in an inhospitable wilderness, with convicts for citizens. Roberval, however, proceeded to Quebec with his consignment of prison dregs, and throughout another protracted winter the flag of France floated from the little entrenched camp which Cartier had planted on the summit of the cliff. Roberval's principal occupation appears to have been the disciplining of his unruly followers, a work in which the gibbet and the lash were freely employed. He also essayed explorations up the river, but the rude task was not to his liking, and, with what remained of his battered band, he followed Cartier to France.

It is commonly said that Canada was abandoned by the French between the going of Roberval and the coming of Champlain. But, though little was done toward colonizing on the St. Lawrence, Newfoundland was by no means neglected. Its fishing industry grew apace. The rules of the Church, prescribing a fish diet on certain holy days, led to a large use of salted fish throughout Catholic Europe; and, by 1578, full a hundred and fifty French vessels alone, chiefly Breton, were employed in the Newfoundland fisheries, while a good trade with the mainland Indians, as far south as the Potomac, had now sprung up. The island colony proved valuable as a supply and repair station for traders and explorers, and thus served as a nucleus of both French and English settlement in America.

It is difficult for us of today to realize that, at any time in the world's history, enlightened folk should have thought good colonists could be made out of the sweepings of the jails and gutters of the Old World. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that delusion was quite generally entertained by would-be founders of states across sea; it required the lessons of more than a hundred years of disastrous experiments to teach discerning men that only the best of the middle class and the masses, can successfully plant a new colony in the wilderness. The experiences of Cartier and Roberval on the St. Lawrence, and of Laudonnière in Florida (1564), were of no avail in influencing governmental policy at Paris. In 1590, the Marquis de la Roche was sent out with the usual dissolute crew to succeed Roberval as the king's agent on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Leaving part of his ill-favored gang on the desert Sable Isle, off Nova Scotia (where early in the century Baron de Léry had vainly attempted to plant a colony), La Roche set forth to explore the mainland for a site. A wild storm blew his vessels to France, and the wretched skin-clad survivors of the band which he had left behind were not rescued until thirteen years had elapsed. Their tale of horror rang long in the ears of France.

In 1600-1603, Chauvin and Pontgravé made successful trading voyages to the St. Lawrence. Samuel de Champlain was one of the party which, in the latter year, followed in Cartier's track to Montreal. The same season a Calvinist, named De Monts, was given the vice-

royalty and fur-trade monopoly of Acadia, and in 1604 he landed a strangely-assorted company of vagabonds and gentlemen on St. Croix Island, near the present boundary between Maine and New Brunswick; but in the spring following they settled at Port Royal, near where is now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, thus planting the first French agricultural settlement in America. Five years later, Champlain reared a permanent post on the rock of Quebec, and New France was at last, after a century of experiments, fairly under way.

Various motives influenced the men who sought to establish French colonization in America. The ill-fated agricultural colony of the Huguenots in Florida (1562-68), was avowedly an attempt of Admiral Coligny to found an enduring asylum for French Protestants. The enterprise of New France, on the other hand, was the outgrowth of interests more or less conflicting. Doubtless the court had deepest at heart the kingly passion for territorial aggrandizement; next uppermost, was the pious wish to convert heathen nations to the Catholic faith, explorers like Cartier being authorized to discover new lands "in order the better to do what is pleasing to God, our Creator and Redeemer, and what may be for the increase of his holy and sacred name, and of our holy mother, the Church"; the desire for pelf, through the agency of the fur trade, and the possibility of the discovery of precious metals, gave commercial zest to the undertaking, and to many was the *raison d'être* of the colony; and lastly, was the almost universal yearning for adventure, among a people who in the seventeenth century were still imbued with that chivalric temper which among Englishmen is assigned to the Middle Ages. The inner life of New France, throughout its century and a half of existence, was largely a warring between these several interests.

Missionaries came early upon the scene. With the Calvinist De Monts were Huguenot ministers for the benefit of the settlers, and Catholic priests to open a mission among the savages, for the court had stipulated with him that the latter were to be instructed only in the faith of Rome. But no missionary work was done, for the colony was through several years on the verge of dissolution, and the priests became victims of scurvy. Poutrincourt, who held under De Monts the patent for Port Royal, did nothing to further the purposes of the court in this regard, until 1610, when, admonished for his neglect, he brought out with him a secular priest, Messire Jessé Fléché, of Langres, who, on June 24, "apparently in some haste," baptized twenty-one Abenakis, including the district sagamore, or chief. The account of this affair, which Poutrincourt sent in triumph to France, is the initial document in the present series.*

On the twelfth of June, 1611, there arrived at Port Royal, at the instance of King Henry IV., two Jesuit fathers, Pierre Biard and Ennemond Massé. They were, however, not favorably received by Poutrin-

* *The Conversion of the Savages who have been baptized in New France during this year, 1610:* Marc Lescarbot,—*Id.*, i, *doc.* i, pp. 49-113.

court and his followers; they found great practical difficulties in acquiring the Indian languages, and made slight progress in the herculean task to which they had been set. To them came, the following year, a lay brother, Gilbert du Thet, who was soon despatched to the head of the order, in France, with an account of the situation. In the spring of 1613, he returned, in company with Father Quentin. The little band of missionaries had no sooner established themselves at the new French colony on Mt. Desert Island, than the latter was attacked and dispersed by the Virginian Argall. Du Thet was killed in the fight, Massé was, with other colonists, set adrift in a boat, and Biard and Quentin were taken to Virginia, to be eventually shipped to England, and thence allowed to return into France. Several of the earlier documents of our series have to do with this first and apparently unfruitful mission of the Jesuits to Acadia.

In 1615, Champlain thought the time ripe for the institution of Indian missions upon the St Lawrence, a spiritual field hitherto neglected, and introduced to Quebec four members of the fraternity of Récollets, the most austere of the three orders of Franciscans; these were Fathers Denis Jamay, Jean d'Olbeau, and Joseph le Caron, and a lay brother, Pacifique du Plessis. To D'Olbeau was assigned the conversion of the Montagnais of the Lower St. Lawrence; Le Caron went to the Hurons, or Wyandots, in the vast stretch of forested wilderness west of the Ottawa River, and before the coming of autumn had established a bark chapel in their midst; Jamay and Du Plessis remained in the neighborhood of Quebec, ministering to the colonists and the wandering savages who came to the little settlement for purposes of trade or sociability, or through fear of scalp-hunting Iroquois. For ten years did these gray friars practice the rites of the church in the Canadian woods, all the way from the fishing and trading outpost of Tadoussac to the western Lake of the Nipissings. Barefooted, save for heavy wooden sandals, coarsely clad in gown and hood, enduring in a rigorous climate, to which they were unused, all manner of hardships by flood and field, they were earnestly devoted to their laborious calling in a time when elsewhere the air of New France was noisy with the strife of self-seeking traders and politicians. Yet somehow their mission seemed without important result. Even less successful was the enterprise of some fellow Récollets, who, in 1619, began independent work among the French fishermen and Micmacs of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Gaspé, but were forced in 1624, after many disasters, to abandon their task, three of them joining the party at Quebec.

The little band on the St. Lawrence, although thus reinforced, felt impelled, in 1625, to invite the powerful aid of the Jesuits, who in the face of great odds, were just then holding most successful missions in Asia, Africa, and South America. In response to the call, three fathers of the black gown came to Quebec this year,—Massé, who had been of the old Acadian mission, Charles Lalemant, and that giant among them, both in stature and deeds, Jean de Brébeuf. Immediately the work

began to broaden, but the records of the dual mission do not give evidence of many converts,—a few Huron youth taken to France, and there instructed and baptized, being the chief gains. The wandering habits of the Indians were not favorable to persistent instruction of the young, and adults were unwilling to commit themselves to the new doctrine, even when not openly opposed to its promulgation. The summer months were usually spent by the missionaries at Tadoussac, Quebec, and Three Rivers, where trading parties from the tribes were wont to assemble; and, when the latter scattered for their winter hunts, the missionaries accompanied them, sharing the toils, dangers and discomforts of the movable camps, and often suffering much from positive abuse at the hands of their not over-willing hosts.

The settlements of Port Royal and Quebec were at this time wretched little hamlets of a few dozen huts each, surrounded by a palisade, and these fell an easy prey to small English naval forces (1628-29). With their fall, ended the slender mission of the Récollets and Jesuits, who were in triumph carried off to England. For a few months, France did not hold one foot of ground in North America. But as peace had been declared between France and England before this conquest, the former received back all of its possessions, and the inevitable struggle for the mastery of the continent was postponed for four generations longer.

With the release of Canada to France, in 1632, the Jesuits were by the home authorities placed in sole charge of the spiritual interests of both settlers and Indians, and the history of their greatest missions begins at this time. On the fifth of July, there landed at Quebec, Fathers Paul le Jeune and Anne de Nouë, and a lay brother named Gilbert. Le Jeune was the superior, and at once devoted himself to learning the language and customs of the savages, and so studying the enormous field before him as intelligently to dispose of his meager forces.

The Indians.

The existence of rival tribes among the Red Indians of North America, was, perhaps, the most formidable obstacle in the path of the missionaries. It has always been impossible to make any hard-and-fast classification; yet the Indians presented a considerable variety of types, ranging from the Southern Indians, some of whose tribes were in a relatively high stage of material advancement and mental caliber, down to the savage root-eaters of the Rocky Mountain region. The migrations of some of the Indian tribes were frequent, and they occupied overlapping territories, so that it is impossible to fix the tribal boundaries with any degree of exactness. Again, the tribes were so merged by intermarriage, by affiliation, by consolidation, by the fact that there were numerous polyglot villages of renegades, by similarities in manner, habits, and appearance, that it is difficult even to separate

the savages into families. It is only on philological grounds that these divisions can be made at all. In a general way we may say that between the Atlantic and the Rockies, the Hudson Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, there were four Indian languages in vogue, with great varieties of local dialect:

I. The Algonkins were the most numerous, holding the greater portion of the country from the unoccupied "debatable land" of Kentucky northward to Hudson Bay, and from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi. Among their tribes were the Micmacs of Acadia, the Penobscots of Maine, the Montagnais of the St. Lawrence, the ill-defined tribes of the country round about Lake St. John, and the Ottawas, Chippewas, Mascoutens, Sacs, Foxes, Pottawattomies, and Illinois of the Upper Lakes. These savages were rude in life and manners, were intensely warlike, depended for subsistence chiefly on hunting and fishing, lived in rude wigwams covered with bark, skins, or matted reeds, practiced agriculture in a crude fashion, and were less stable in their habitations than the Southern Indians. They have made a larger figure in our history than any other family, because through their lands came the heaviest and most aggressive movement of white population, French or English. Estimates of early Indian populations necessarily differ, in the absence of accurate knowledge; but it is now believed that the number was never so great as was at first estimated by the Jesuit fathers and the earliest English colonists. A careful modern estimate is, that the Algonkins at no time numbered over 90,000 souls, and possibly not over 50,000.

II. In the heart of this Algonkin land was planted the ethnic group called the Iroquois, with its several distinct branches, often at war with each other. The craftiest, most daring, and most intelligent of North American Indians, yet still in the savage hunter state, the Iroquois were the terror of every native band east of the Mississippi, before the coming of the whites, who in turn learned to dread their ferocious power. The five principal tribes of this family—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, all stationed in palisaded villages south and east of lakes Erie and Ontario—formed a loose confederacy styled by themselves and the French "The Long House," and by the English "The Five Nations," which firmly held the waterways connecting the Hudson and Ohio rivers and the Great Lakes. The population of the entire group was not over 17,000—a remarkably small number, considering the active part they played in American history, and the control which they exercised through wide tracts of wilderness. Related to, but generally at war with them, were the Hurons of Canada, among whom the Jesuits planted their earliest missions. Champlain, in an endeavor to cultivate the friendship of his Huron and Algonkin neighbors, early made war on the Iroquois, and thus secured for New France a heritage of savage enmity which contributed more than any other one cause to cripple its energies and render it at last an easy prey to the rival power of the English colonies.

III. The Southern Indians occupied the country between the Tennessee River and the Gulf, the Appalachian Ranges and the Mississippi. Of a milder disposition than their Northern cousins, the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles were rather in a barbarous than in a savage state; by the time of the Revolution, they were not far behind the white proprietors in industrial or domestic methods, and numbered not above 50,000 persons. With them, this story of the Jesuit missions has little to do; the Louisiana mission, an offshoot of that of New France, did faithful work here, but the documentary result was neither as interesting nor as prolific, and necessarily occupies but small space in the present series.

IV. The Dakotah, or Sioux, family occupied for the most part the country beyond the Mississippi. They were and are a fierce, high-strung people, genuine nomads, and war appears to have been their chief occupation. The Jesuits worked among them but in slight measure, on the waters of the Upper Mississippi; they met this family chiefly in the persons of the Winnebagoes, one of their outlying bands, which at the time of the French occupation was resident on and about Green Bay of Lake Michigan, at peace and in confederacy with the Algonkins who hedged them about.

The Mission of the French Jesuits to these widely-scattered hordes of savages forms one of the most thrilling chapters in human history. It is impossible, in this brief Introduction, to attempt anything more than the barest outline of the theme; Rochemonteix, Shea, and Parkman have told the story in detail, from differing points of view, and with these authorities the student of the following documents in the case is presumed to be familiar. A rapid summary of results will, however, be useful; and this we may best obtain, at the expense of occasional repetition of narrative, by following the fortunes of the pioneers of the Cross through the several district missions into which their work was naturally divided.

I. The Abenaki Mission.

This mission was chiefly in Maine and Acadia, and on Cape Breton Island. The Abenakis (or Abnakis) were a strong but mild-mannered Algonkin tribe, settled in villages or cantonments; but, like others of their race, in the habit of taking long semi-annual journeys,—each winter to hunt, and each summer to fish. We have seen that the French Jesuits, Biard and Massé, were in the field as early as 1611, soon after the establishment of Port Royal; their predecessor being the secular French priest, Fléché, who had been introduced to the country by Poutrincourt, the patentee. Biard and Massé met with many discouragements, chiefly the opposition of Poutrincourt's son, Biencourt (sometimes called Baron St. Just), who had been left in charge of the colony. Nevertheless the missionaries learned the native language, and made many long journeys of exploration, one of Biard's trips ex-

tending as far as the mouth of the Kennebec. They were later joined by a lay brother, Du Thet, and by Fathers Quentin and Lalemant. Joining the new French colony on Mt. Desert Island, in the spring of 1613, the establishment was almost immediately destroyed by the Virginian Argall. In the skirmish, Du Thet was killed.

In 1619, a party of Récollets, from Aquitaine, began a mission on St. John River, in Acadia, but five years later, as we have seen above, abandoned the task, the survivors joining the Quebec mission of their order. Other Récollets were in Acadia, however, between 1630 and 1633, and later we have evidence of a small band of Capuchins ministering to French settlers on the Penobscot and Kennebec; but it is probable that they made no attempt to convert the natives.

A Jesuit mission was founded on Cape Breton in 1634, by Father Julian Perrault; and a few years later Father Charles Turgis was at Miscou. Other missionaries soon came to minister to the Micmacs, but for many years their efforts were without result; and sickness, resulting from the hardships of the situation, caused most of the black gowns to retreat from the attempt. Finally, an enduring mission was established among these people, and, until about 1670, was conducted with some measure of success by Fathers Andrew Richard, Martin de Lyonne, and James Fremin. About 1673, the Récollets took up the now abandoned work, occasionally aided by secular priests from the Seminary of Quebec, and Jesuits, until at last the Micmacs from Gaspé to Nova Scotia were declared to be entirely converted to the Catholic faith.

Father Gabriel Druillettes, of the Jesuit mission at Sillery, near Quebec, went to the Kennebec country in 1646, invited thither by converted Abenakis who had been at Sillery, and during visits, extending through a period of eleven years, was more than ordinarily successful in the task of gaining Indian converts to Christianity. In 1650, he made a notable visit to the Puritans of Eastern Massachusetts, during which was discussed the proposed union between New France and New England against the Iroquois. Upon the final departure of Druillettes in 1657, the Abenakis were but spasmodically served with missionaries; occasionally a Jesuit appeared among them, but the field could not be persistently worked, owing to the demands upon the order from other quarters. The fathers now sought to draw Abenaki converts to Sillery, and later to St. Francis de Sales, at the falls of the Chaudière, which soon became almost exclusively an Abenaki mission.

In 1688, Father Bigot, of this mission, again entered the field of the Kennebec, at the same time that Rev. Peter Thury, a priest of the Quebec Seminary, opened a mission on the Penobscot, and the Récollet F. Simon gathered a flock at Medoktek, near the mouth of the St. John. They were in time aided and succeeded by others; the Jesuits being Julian Binneteau, Joseph Aubery, Peter de la Chasse, Stephen Lauverjeat, Loyard, and Sebastian Rale; the death of Rale, the greatest of them all, at the hands of New England partisans in the border strife

of 1724, is a familiar incident in American history. Jesuits succeeded to the Penobscot mission in 1703, and with great zeal, but amid continual hardships and discouragements, carried on the principal work among the Abenakis until the downfall of New France in 1763. The majority of the Kennebec converts, however, emigrated to the mission of St. Francis de Sales, and from there frequently went forth upon avenging expeditions against the New England borderers.

II. The Montagnais Mission.

This was centered at Tadoussac, and ministered to the Montagnais, Bersiamites, Porcupines, Oumaniwek, Papinachois, and other tribes of the Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay. Tadoussac had, from the earliest historic times, been a favorite harbor and trading-station for the French; for, being at the junction of two great rivers, it was convenient as a place of assembly for the natives of the lower country. The first priests in the district had said mass there; but it was not until 1640 that a Jesuit mission was formed by Father Jean du Quen, its sphere of influence soon reaching to the upper waters of the Saguenay, Lake St. John, Hudson Bay, and the coast of Labrador. Du Quen was actively assisted by Charles Meiachkwat, a Montagnais convert, who erected the first chapel, became a catechist, and made extended tours through the neighboring tribes. In time, there were associated with Du Quen, Fathers Buteux and Druillettes. Protracted missionary tours were made by them, with results which were considered satisfactory as compared with other missions; although they had serious difficulties to contend with, in the prevalent intemperance which the fur trade introduced among the natives, the belief in dreams, the laxity of morals, and the wiles of medicine-men, or sorcerers, as they were called by the Jesuits.

For the first few years, the missionaries spent their winters in Quebec, ministering to the colonists, and each spring went down to Tadoussac to meet the summer trading parties; but greater persistency of effort was deemed desirable, and thereafter, instead of returning home in the autumn, they followed the Indians upon their winter hunts, and in the course of these wanderings endured the usual privations and hardships of traveling camps. Bailloquet, Nouvel, Beaulieu, Albanel, De Crépieul, Dalmas, Boucher, Peter Michael Laure, and Jean Baptiste Labrosse, are other names of Jesuit fathers who at different periods were engaged upon this toilsome mission.

In 1670, Tadoussac was almost deserted, owing to Iroquois raids and the ravages of smallpox; the Montagnais and kindred tribes were in hiding, through the vast country between Lake St. John and Hudson Bay. They were still followed by their devoted shepherds, whom no hardship could discourage. The following year, Crépieul began a mission on Hudson Bay, and here in 1694 his auxiliary Dalmas was killed. Laure (1720-37) left us a monument of his labors in a Montagnais

grammar and dictionary. Labrosse, the last of his order at Tadoussac, instructed many of his flock to read and write, and left a legacy of native education, which has lasted unto the present day; he lived and taught long after his order had been suppressed in New France, and died at Tadoussac in 1782.

III. The Quebec and Montreal Missions.

These included the several missions at Quebec, Montreal, Three Rivers, Sillery, Bécancourt, and St. Francis de Sales, which were designed for the wandering Montagnais of the district, those Algonkins of the West who could be induced to come and settle on the lower waters, and in later years such Abenakis of Acadia and Maine as sought an asylum upon distinctively French soil.

We have seen that Récollets were first at Quebec, ministering both to colonists and Indians, and that, in 1625, they invited the Jesuits to aid them. In 1629, the joint mission came to a close through the surrender of Quebec to the English. When the mission was reopened in 1632, Jesuits alone were in charge, their operations being at first confined to the neighboring Montagnais, although they soon spread throughout the entire Canadian field. In 1658, Bishop Laval founded the Seminary of Quebec, whereupon the Jesuits resigned their parishes among the colonists, and thereafter confined themselves to their college and the Indian missions. In addition to their parish work, the priests of the seminary conducted missions in Acadia, Illinois, and on the lower Mississippi.

The year following the return of the Jesuits to Canada, Father Buteux, of that order, began his labors at Three Rivers, which was a convenient gathering place for the fur trade. The village was frequently raided by Iroquois, but remained until the fall of New France one of the prominent centers of missionary influence. The efforts of Buteux, which lasted until his death at the hands of Iroquois in 1652, met with considerable success. His custom, like that of the other missionaries, was to be present at the French posts during the annual trading "meets," and when the savages returned to the wilderness, to accompany some selected band. In thus following the nomadic tribes, he made some of the longest and most toilsome journeys recorded in the annals of the Society of Jesus, and shared with his flock all the horrors of famine, pestilence, and intertribal war.

It was soon realized by the missionaries that but meager results could be obtained until the Indians were induced to lead a sedentary life. Their wandering habit nullified all attempts at permanent instruction to the young; it engendered improvidence and laziness, bred famine and disease; and the constant struggle to kill fur-bearing animals for their pelts rapidly depleted the game, while the fur trade wrought contamination in many forms. Missionary efforts were at first conducive to the interests of the fur trade, by bringing far-distant

tribes within the sphere of French influence; but so soon as the Jesuit sought to change the habits of the natives, to cause them to become agriculturists instead of hunters, and to oppose the rum traffic among them, then the grasping commercial monopoly which controlled the fortunes of New France, and was merely "working" the colony for financial gains, saw in the Jesuit an enemy, and often placed serious obstacles in his path.

In pursuance of the sedentary policy, and also to protect the wretched Montagnais from Iroquois war-parties, the Jesuits, in 1637, established for them a palisaded mission four miles above Quebec, at first giving it the name of St. Joseph, but later that of Sillery, in honor of Commander Noël Brulart de Sillery, of France, who had given ample funds for the founding of this enterprise. Here were at first gathered twenty of the Indians, who began cultivation of the soil, varied by occasional hunting and fishing trips, which the missionaries could not prevent. The little town slowly grew in importance, both Algonkins and Montagnais being represented in its population. Three years later, nuns opened a hospital at Sillery, for the reception of both French and Indian patients, and thus greatly added to the popularity of the mission. But in 1646 the nuns removed their hospital to Quebec; a few years later, the church and mission house were destroyed by fire; disease made sad havoc in the settlement; the thin soil became exhausted through careless tillage; Iroquois preyed upon the converts, until at last the Algonkins almost entirely disappeared; and although their place was taken by Abenakis from Maine and Acadia, until the attendance became almost wholly Abenaki, the enterprise waned. In 1685, it was abandoned in favor of St. Francis de Sales, a new mission established at the falls of the Chaudière River, not far from the St. Lawrence. Beyond a monument of later days, to the memory of Fathers Massé and De Nouë, whose names are prominently connected with this work, nothing now remains to mark the site of the old Sillery mission.

From St. Francis, the mission work began to spread into Maine. Of its character and extent there, mention has already been made. St. Francis achieved a certain measure of prosperity, as Indian missions go. It became in time a source of serious trouble to the New England borderers, for many a French and Indian war-party was here fitted out against the latter, during the series of bloody conflicts which marked the three-quarters of a century previous to the fall of New France. Finally, in September, 1759, Maj. Robert Rogers descended upon the village with his famous rangers, and in retaliation pillaged and burned the houses, and killed "at least two hundred Indians." New France soon after fell into the hands of the English, and, the Jesuits being suppressed, we hear little more of St. Francis de Sales.

In 1641, the missionary settlement of Montreal was founded by Maisonneuve. The Jesuits were the first resident clergy, and soon began mission work among the neighboring Indians and those who resorted thither from the valleys of the Lower St. Lawrence and the Ottawa.

Soon, however, the Sulpitians, established in Paris by the Abbé Olier, one of the Society of Montreal, took charge of the mission on Montreal Island, which in after years was moved to the Sault au Récollet, and thence to the Lake of the Two Mountains, where there was gathered a polyglot village composed of Iroquois, Algonkins, and Nipissings. Upon the opening of the English régime, the Jesuit and Récollet missions were suppressed, but those of the Sulpitians were undisturbed, so that this mission at the lake is the oldest now extant in Canada.

Among the Algonkins of the Ottawa River (or Grande Rivière), no permanent missions were attempted by any of the orders. Long the chief highway to the West, the river was familiar to traveling missionaries, who frequently ministered to the tribesmen along its banks, either at the native villages or during the annual trading councils at the French posts of Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec.

IV. The Huron Mission.

At the time of the advent of the French, the Hurons (or Wyandots), allied in origin and language to the Iroquois, numbered about 16,000 souls, and dwelt in several large villages in a narrow district on the high ground between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay of Lake Huron. Their dwellings were bark cabins, clustered within stoutly palisaded walls, and near each fortified town were fields of corn, beans, pumpkins, and tobacco. Agricultural in habit, keen traders, and in the main sedentary, these semi-naked savages made short hunting and fishing expeditions, and laid up stores for the winter. They were better fighters than the Algonkins around them, yet were obliged gradually to withdraw northward and westward from Iroquois persecution, and during the period of the Jesuit missions were almost annihilated by the latter. To the southwest, across a wide stretch of unpopulated forest, were the allies and kindred of the Hurons, the Tionontates, called also Petuns, or Tobacco Nation, a term having its origin in their custom of cultivating large fields of tobacco, which commodity they used in a widespread barter with other tribes. To the southeast of the Petuns, west of Lake Ontario and on both sides of the gorge of Niagara, were the peaceful Atiwandaronks, who, being friends alike of Iroquois, Algonkins, and Hurons, were known as the Neutral Nation. To the eastward of the Neutrals, strongly intrenched in the interlocking basins of the Genesee and the Mohawk, lay the dread confederacy of the Iroquois, who in time were to spread like a pestilence over the lands of all their neighbors.

The intelligence and mobility of the Hurons rendered the early prospects for missionary effort among them more promising than with the rude and nomadic Algonkins. But while at first the missionaries of New France were well received, the innate savagery of these people in time asserted itself. Their medicine-men, as bitterly fanatical as the howling dervishes of the Orient, plotted the destruction of the mes

sengers of the new faith; the introduction of European diseases was attributed to the "black gowns"; the ravages of the Iroquois were thought to be brought on by the presence of the strangers; the rites of the church were looked upon as infernal incantations, and the lurid pictures of the Judgment, which were displayed in the little forest chapels, aroused unspeakable terror among this simple people; finally, an irresistible wave of superstitious frenzy led to the blotting out of the mission, accompanied by some of the most heart-rending scenes in the history of Christian evangelization.

It will be remembered that in 1615 the Récollet friar, Joseph le Caron, made his way into the far-away country of the Hurons, but returned in the following year, having learned much of their language and customs. Five years later, another of his order, William Poulin, took up the weary task, being joined in 1623 by Fathers Le Caron and Nicholas Viel, and the historian of the Récollet missions, Brother Gabriel Sagard. All of them soon left the field, however, save Viel, who alone, amid almost incredible hardships, attained some measure of success; but in 1625, when descending the Ottawa to meet and arrange for co-operation with the Jesuit Brébeuf, at Three Rivers, he was willfully drowned by his Indian guide in the last rapid of Des Prairies River, just back of Montreal. Such is the origin of the name of the dread Sault au Récollet.

In 1626, the Jesuits Brébeuf and Anne de Nouë, having received some linguistic instruction from Récollets who had been in the Huron field, proceeded thither, with a Récollet friar, Joseph de la Roche Daillon, to resume the work which the Récollets had abandoned. Daillon attempted a mission to neighboring Neutrals, but, being roughly handled by them, rejoined his Jesuit friends among the Hurons. Two years later, he returned to Quebec, having been preceded by De Nouë, who found it impossible to master the difficult language of their dusky flock. Brébeuf, now left alone, labored gallantly among these people, and, winning the hearts of many by his easy adoption of their manners, gathered about him a little colony of those favorably inclined to his views. He was recalled to Quebec in 1629, arriving there just in time to fall into the hands of Louis Kirk, and be transported to England.

When Canada was restored to France, by the treaty of St. Germain, the Jesuits were given sole charge of the Indian missions, but it was 1634 before the Huron mission could be reopened. In September, Brébeuf, Antoine Daniel, and Davost returned to Brébeuf's old field, and commenced, in the large town of Ihonatiria, the greatest Jesuit mission in the history of New France. Others soon joined them. Additional missions were opened in neighboring towns, some of the strongest of these being each served by four fathers, who were assisted by laymen donnés, or given men); while in the cultivation of the soil, and the fashioning of implements and utensils both for the fathers and for the Indians, numerous hired laborers, from the French colo-

nies on the St. Lawrence, were employed in and about the missions. Charles Garnier and Isaac Jogues, with their attendants, made a tour of the Petun villages; other Jesuits were sent among the Neutrals; and even the Algonkins as far north-westward as Sault Ste. Marie were visited (1641) by Raymbault and Jogues, and looked and listened with awe at the celebration of the mass. In 1639, there was built, on the River Wye, the fortified mission house of St. Mary's, to serve as a center for the widespread work, as a place for ecclesiastical retreat for the fathers, and a refuge when enemies pressed too closely upon them.

The story of the hardships and sufferings of the devoted missionaries, as told us by Rochemonteix, Shea, and Parkman, and with rare modesty recorded in the documents to be contained in this series, is one of the most thrilling in the annals of humanity. Space forbids us here to dwell upon the theme. No men have, in the zealous exercise of their faith, performed hardier deeds than these Jesuits of the Huron mission; yet, after three years of unremitting toil, they could (1640) count but a hundred converts out of a population of 16,000, and these were for the most part sick infants or aged persons, who had died soon after baptism. The rugged braves scorned the approaches of the fathers, and unmercifully tormented their converts; the medicine-men waged continual warfare on their work; smallpox and the Iroquois were decimating the people.

Jogues was (1642) sent down to the colonies for supplies for the missions, but with his Huron companions was captured by an Iroquois war-party, who led them to the Mohawk towns. There most of the Hurons were killed, and Jogues and his donné, René Goupil, were tortured and mutilated, and made to serve as slaves to their savage jailers. Finally Goupil, a promising young physician, was killed, and Jogues, being rescued by the Dutch allies of the Mohawks, was sent to Europe. Supplies thus failing them, the Huron missionaries were in a sad plight until finally (1644) relieved by an expedition to the lower country undertaken at great hazards by Brébeuf, Garreau, and Noël Chabanel. The same season, Francis Joseph Bressani, attempting to reach the Huron missions, had been captured and tortured by Mohawks; like Jogues, he was rescued through Dutch intercession and sent back to Europe, but both of these zealots were soon back again facing the cruel dangers of their chosen task.

A temporary peace followed, in 1645, and the hope of the Jesuits was rekindled, for they now had five missions in as many Huron towns, and another established for Algonkins who were resident in the Huron district. But in July, 1648, the Iroquois attacked Teanaustayé, the chief Huron village, and while encouraging the frenzied defense Father Daniel lost his life at the hands of the enemy. He was thus the first Jesuit martyr in the Huron mission, and the second in New France,—for Jogues had been tortured to death in the Iroquois towns, two years before. The spirit of the Hurons was crushed in this bloody foray; large bands, deserting their towns, fled in terror to seek protection of

the Petuns, while others made their way to the Manitoulin Islands of Lake Huron, and even as far west as the islands of Green Bay and the matted pine forests of Northern Wisconsin. Here and there a town was left, however, and one of the largest of these, called St. Ignatius by the Jesuits, was stormed by a thousand Iroquois, March 16, 1649. The three survivors fled through the woods to neighboring St. Louis, where were Brébeuf, now grown old in his service of toil, and young Gabriel Lalemant. Bravely did they aid in defending St. Louis, and administering to wounded and dying; but at last were captured, and being taken to the ruined town of St. Ignatius were most cruelly tortured until relieved by death. Early in November, Fathers Garnier and Chabanel met their death in the Petun country, the former at the hands of Iroquois, the latter being killed by a Huron who imagined that the presence of the Jesuits had brought curses upon his tribe.

The missions in the Huron country were now entirely abandoned. A few of the surviving Jesuits followed their flocks to the islands in Lake Huron; but in June, 1650, the enterprise was forsaken, and the missionaries, with a number of their converts, retired to a village, founded for them, on the Island of Orleans, near Quebec, this settlement being in time ravaged by the Iroquois, a final stand was made at Lorette, also in the outskirts of Quebec, which mission exists to this day.

The great Huron mission, which had been conducted for thirty-five years, had employed twenty-nine missionaries, of whom seven had lost their lives in the work. This important field forsaken, many of the missionaries had returned to Europe disheartened, and apparently the future for Jesuit missions in New France looked gloomy enough. The Iroquois had now practically destroyed the Montagnais between Quebec and the Saguenay, the Algonkins of the Ottawa, and the Hurons, Petuns and Neutrals. The French colonies of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, had suffered from repeated raids of the New York confederates, and their forest trade was now almost wholly destroyed. In this hour of darkness, light suddenly broke upon New France. The politic Iroquois, attacked on either side by the Eries and the Susquehannas, and fearing that while thus engaged their northern victims might revive for combined vengeance, sent overtures of peace to Quebec, and cordially invited to their cantonments the once detested black gowns.

V. The Iroquois Mission.

Champlain had early made enemies of the Iroquois, by attacking them as the allies of his Algonkin neighbors. This enmity extended to all New France, and lasted, with brief intervals of peace, for over half a century. We have seen that Jogues was the first of his order (1642) to enter the Iroquois country, as a prisoner of the Mohawks, the easternmost of the five tribes of the confederacy. Two years later, Bres-

sani, while on his way to the Huron missions, was also captured by the Mohawks, passed through a similar experience of torture, was sold to the Dutch, and transported back to France, and again like Jogues resumed his hazardous task of attempting to tame the American savage. During the first peace (May, 1646), Jogues, now in civilian costume, paid a brief visit to his former tormentors on the Mohawk, this time conveying only expressions of good-will from the governor of New France. His political errand accomplished, he returned to Quebec; but in August was back again, with a young French attendant named Lalande, intent upon opening a mission among the Iroquois. Meanwhile, there had been a revulsion of sentiment on their part, and the two Frenchmen had no sooner reached the Mohawk than they were tortured and killed.

During an Iroquois attack upon Quebec, seven years later (1653), Father Joseph Anthony Poncet was taken prisoner by the marauders and carried to the Mohawk, where he suffered in the same manner as his predecessors; but his captors now being desirous of a renewal of peace with the French, spared his life, and sent him back to Quebec with overtures for a renewal of negotiations. Early in July, 1654, Father Simon le Moyne was sent forth upon a tour of inspection, and returned to Quebec in September, with glowing reports of the fervor of his reception by both Mohawks and Onondagas. It was determined to rear a mission among the latter, and thither (1655).—a four weeks' voyage,—proceeded Claude Dablon and Peter Mary Joseph Chaumonot; while, to appease the jealous Mohawks, Le Moyne at the same time reopened a brief but unprosperous mission among that tribe.

At first, Dablon and Chaumonot had high hopes of their Onondaga enterprise; but mistrust soon arose in the minds of the natives, and Dablon found it necessary to proceed to Quebec and obtain fresh evidences of the friendship of the French. He returned in the early summer of 1656, accompanied by Fathers Francis Le Mercier, superior of the Canadian mission, and René Ménard, two lay brothers, and a party of French colonists under a militia captain, who designed founding a settlement in the land of the Iroquois. By the close of the year, the work was in a promising stage; a number of Christianized Hurons, who had been adopted into the confederacy, formed a nucleus for proselyting, several Iroquois converts had been made, and all five of the tribes had been visited by the missionaries.

Fathers Paul Ragueneau and Joseph Imbert Dupéron, who had been sent out from Quebec in July, 1657, to assist the Onondaga mission, reached it only after many perils en route; for meanwhile, there had been a fresh Iroquois uprising against the Hurons and Ottawas, in which Father Leonard Garreau lost his life near Montreal, and the entire confederacy was soon in an uproar against the white allies of its ancient enemies. The intrepid Le Moyne joined the party in November, and in the following March (1658), on learning that all of the French had been condemned to death, the entire colony stole away in

the night, and reached Montreal only after a long and hazardous voyage. The great Iroquois mission, which had promised so happily and cost so much blood and treasure, was now thought to be a thing of the past.

There was, however, still another chapter to the story. In the summer of 1660, after two years of bloody forays against New France, a Cayuga sachem, who had been converted at Onondaga, came to Montreal as a peace messenger, asking for another black gown to minister to his native converts and a number of French captives in the Iroquois towns. Once more, Le Moyne cheerfully set out upon what seemed a path to death; but he passed the winter without molestation, and in the spring following was allowed to return to Canada with the French prisoners.

It was five years later (1665), before the government of New France felt itself sufficiently strong to threaten chastisement of the raiding Iroquois, who had long been making life a torment in the colonies on the St. Lawrence. The Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas sued for peace; but the Mohawks were obstinate, and their villages were wasted by fire until they too asked for mercy and the ministrations of the Jesuits. Fathers James Fremin, James Bruyas, and John Pierron were sent out in 1667; later, they were assisted by Julian Garnier, Stephen de Carheil, Peter Milet, and Boniface, so that by the close of 1668 a mission was in progress in each of the five cantonments. A few notable converts were made, among them Catharine Tegakouita, known as the "Iroquois saint," Catharine Ganneaktena, an Erie captive who afterwards founded a native mission village on the banks of the St. Lawrence; the head-men Assendasé, Kryn, and Soenrese. But a great success was never possible; here as elsewhere, the vices and superstitions of the tribesmen were deep-rooted, and they had not yet reached a stage of culture where the spiritual doctrines of Christianity appealed strongly, save to a few emotional natures. The converts were subjected to so many annoyances and dangers, that isolation was thought essential, and there was established for them opposite Montreal the palisaded mission of St. Francis Xavier; this settlement, fostered by the French as a buffer against Iroquois attack on the colonists, was subsequently removed to Sault St. Louis, and is known in our day as Caughnawaga. This mission, and that of the Sulpitians on Montreal Mountain—later removed to the neighboring Lake of the Two Mountains,—and at Quinté Bay, were frequently recruited by Iroquois Christians, who were carefully instructed by the missionaries in the arts of agriculture and the rites of the church.

This depletion of the Iroquois population alarmed the sachems of the confederacy. To please them, Governor Dongon of New York, himself a Catholic, introduced to the Five Nations three English Jesuits, who sought in vain to counteract the movement. The French did not abandon the Iroquois mission field until 1687, when the rising power of the English obliged them to withdraw from the country. We

have, however, glimpses of occasional attempts thereafter to revive the work, Bruyas being on the ground in 1701, joined the following year by James de Lamberville, Garnier, and Le Valliant, and later by James d'Hue and Peter de Marieul. The entire party were again driven from the cantonments in 1708, De Marieul being the last of his order to remain on duty.

Thereafter the Jesuits were chiefly devoted to their mission at Caughnawaga, whither many Iroquois retreated before the inroads of Dutch and English settlers who were now crowding upon their lands. When the black gowns were at last expelled from New France, secular priests continued their work among the remnants of those New York Indians who had sought protection by settling among the French colonists on the St. Lawrence.

VI. The Ottawa Mission.

This embraced the tribes beyond Lake Huron,—the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie, the Beavers, the Crees, the Ottawas and refugee Hurons on Lake Superior, the Menomonees, Pottawattomies, Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Miamis, Illinois, and those of the Sioux who lived on or near the banks of the Mississippi. The Ottawas were the first Indians from the upper lakes to trade with the French, hence that vast district became early known as the country of the Ottawas.

The Huron mission was the door to the Ottawa mission. Jogues and Raymbault were with the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie in 1641; but it was nineteen years after that (1660) before they were followed by another Jesuit, the veteran Father Ménard, who accompanied an Ottawa fleet up the great river of that name, through Lake Huron and the Sault, and on to Keweenaw Bay, where he said the first mass heard on the shores of the northern sea. After a wretched winter on that inhospitable coast, spent in a shanty of fir boughs, with savage neighbors who reviled his presence, he proceeded inland intent on ministering to some Hurons who had fled from Iroquois persecution to the gloomy pine forest about the upper waters of Black River, in what is now Wisconsin. In August, 1661, he lost his life at a portage, thus being the first martyr upon the Ottawa mission.

Four years later, Claude Alloüez set out for Lake Superior, and reaching Chequamegon Bay in October (1665), built a little chapel of bark upon the southwest shore of that rock-bound estuary,—the famous mission of La Pointe. His flock was a medley, Hurons and Algonkins clustering in two villages, where they lived on fish, safe at last from the raging Iroquois, although much pestered by the wild Sioux of the West. For thirty years did Alloüez travel from tribe to tribe, through the forests and over the prairies of the vast wilderness which a century later came to be organized into the Northwest Territory, and established missions at Green Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, on the Miami, and, with Marquette, among the Illinois at Kaskaskia.

Later, there arrived on the scene Fathers Louis Nicholas, James Marquette, Dablon, Louis André, Druillettes, Albanel, and others. The field of the Northwest seemed at first, as did the Huron mission, highly promising. The missionaries were everywhere greeted by large audiences and much curiosity was displayed concerning the rites of the church; but, as usual, the nomadic habits of the Indians rendered instruction difficult. The fathers, with great toil and misery, and subject to daily danger and insult, followed their people about upon long hunting and fishing expeditions; and even when the bands had returned to the squalid villages, life there was almost as comfortless as upon the trail. Among the donnés and the Jesuit coadjutor brothers were skillful workers in metal, who repaired the guns and utensils of the natives, and taught them how best to obtain and reduce the ore from lead and copper deposits. We have evidence that the copper region of Lake Superior was at times resorted to by the lay followers and their Indian attendants, to obtain material for crucifixes and for the medals which the missionaries gave to converts; and in the lead mines centering about where are now Dubuque, Iowa, and Galena, Ill., the missionary attendants and Indians obtained lead for barter with French fur-traders, who, like the soldiers of the Cross, were by this time wandering all over the Northwest.

Marquette had succeeded Alloüez at La Pointe, in 1669; but it was not long before the Hurons and Ottawas of Chequamegon Bay foolishly incurred the fresh hostility of the Sioux, and the following year were driven eastward like autumn leaves before a blast. Marquette had established them in a new mission, at Point St. Ignace, opposite Mackinaw; and it was from here that, in 1673, he joined the party of Louis Joliet, en route to the Mississippi River. The St. Ignace mission became the largest and most successful in the Northwest, there being encamped there during Marquette's time, about 500 Hurons and 1,300 Ottawas. The interesting story of Marquette, a familiar chapter in American history, will be fully developed in the documents of this series; and we shall be able to present for the first time a facsimile of the original MS. Journal of his final and fatal voyage (1674), which is preserved among the many treasures of the Jesuit College of St. Mary's, in Montreal.

After the suspension of the publication of the *Relations*, in 1673, we obtain few glimpses of the Ottawa mission, save on the occasional references of travelers. The several local missions in the district were, in the main, probably more successful than those in any of the other fields of endeavor. La Pointe, Green Bay, St. Ignace (later Mackinac), Sault Ste. Marie, St. Joseph's, and Kaskaskia became the most important of them all; and at some of these points Catholic missions are still maintained by Franciscan friars and secular priests, for resident French Creoles and Indians. The uprising of the Foxes against French power, which lasted spasmodically from about 1700 to 1755, greatly hampered the work of the Jesuits; they did not, during this period,

entirely absent themselves from the broad country of the Ottawas, but conversions were few and the records slight.

There was, for a time, governmental attempt to supplant the Western Jesuits with Récollets. Several friars were with La Salle, who had a great antipathy to the disciples of Loyola,—Father Hennepin's adventures belong to this period of Récollet effort, his colleagues at Fort Crèvecœur being Brothers Ribourde and Membré; but their mission closed with the Iroquois repulse of the French from Crèvecœur, and the consequent death of Ribourde. When La Salle returned from the region, Alloüez resumed the Illinois mission of the Jesuits; and soon after there arrived upon the ground Fathers Gravier, Marest, Mermet, and Pinet, who, because of the more docile character of the tribes collectively known as the Illinois,—Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorias, and Tamaroas,—found here a relatively fruitful field. In time, French settlements grew up around the palisaded missions, intermarriages occurred, and the work flourished for many years. Black gowns visited the prosperous Illinois towns as late as 1781, when the death of Father Meurin closed the work of his order in the Northwest.

VII. The Louisiana Mission.

The Jesuit Marquette was in Louisiana in 1673, but established no mission. Nine years later, Membré, of the Récollets, accompanied La Salle into the region, and instructed natives as far down the Mississippi as the mouth; and with La Salle at his death were Anastasius Douay, of the Récollets, and the Sulpitian Cavalier. In 1698, Francis Jolliet de Montigny and Anthony Davion, priests of the Seminary of Quebec, established missions on the Yazoo, among the Natchez, and elsewhere in the neighborhood; to their aid, soon came others of their house,—St. Côme, Gaulin, Fonçault, and Erborie, who labored until about 1710, when, St. Côme and Fonçault being killed by roving Indians, the survivors retired to the North. The Jesuit Du Rue accompanied Iberville into the country in 1699-1700, followed by de Limoges and Dongé, of his order, their work continuing until about 1704.

In 1721, Father Charlevoix reported that but two priests were then in Louisiana, one at Yazoo and another in New Orleans; at the latter post, a chaplain of some sort was established throughout the French régime. Capuchins and Jesuits were both admitted to Louisiana, in 1722, the former to serve as priests to the French of the country, chiefly at New Orleans and Natchez, while the Jesuits were restricted to the Indian missions, although permitted to maintain a house in the outskirts of New Orleans. It was not long before the Illinois mission became attached to Louisiana, and missionaries for that field usually entered upon their work by way of the New Orleans house. Missions were maintained in the villages of the Arkansas, Yazoo, Choctaws, and Alibamons; but the uprising of the Indians in the Natchez district, in 1727, led to the fall of these several missions, together with that of

the French colonies above New Orleans. Father Du Poisson was killed by savages at Natchez, where he was temporarily supplying the French settlers in the absence of their Capuchin friar; Souel fell a victim to the Yazoos, at whose hands Doutreleau narrowly escaped destruction. However, the Jesuits did not despair, but soon returned to the Lower Mississippi, where they continued their labors until about 1770, although the order had in 1762 been suppressed in France.

The Louisiana mission of the Jesuits, while producing several martyrs, and rich in striking examples of missionary zeal, has yielded but meager documentary results; few of the papers in the present series touch upon its work, and indeed detailed knowledge thereof is not easily obtainable. Severed from Canada by a long stretch of wilderness, communication with the St. Lawrence basin was difficult and spasmodic, and in the case of the Jesuits generally unnecessary; for, having their own superior at New Orleans, his allegiance was to the general of the order in France, not to his fellow-superiors in Quebec and Montreal. The several missions of New France played a large part in American history; that of Louisiana, although interesting, is of much less importance.

The Relations.

A few explorers like Champlain, Radisson, and Perrot have left valuable narratives behind them, which are of prime importance in the study of the beginnings of French settlement in America; but it is to the Jesuits that we owe the great body of our information concerning the frontiers of New France in the seventeenth century. It was their duty annually to transmit to their superior in Quebec, or Montreal, a written journal of their doings; it was also their duty to pay occasional visits to their superior, and to go into retreat at the central house of the Canadian mission. Annually, between 1632 and 1673, the superior made up a narrative, or *Relation,* of the most important events which had occurred in the several missionary districts under his charge, sometimes using the exact words of the missionaries, and sometimes with considerable editorial skill summarizing the individual reports in a general account, based in part upon the oral reports of visiting fathers. This annual *Relation,* which in bibliographies occasionally bears the name of the superior, and at other times of the missionary chiefly contributing to it, was forwarded to the provincial of the order in France, and, after careful scrutiny and re-editing, published by him in a series of duodecimo volumes, known collectively as *The Jesuit Relations.*

The authors of the journals which formed the basis of the *Relations* were for the most part men of trained intellect, acute observers, and practiced in the art of keeping records of their experiences. They had left the most highly civilized country of their times, to plunge at once into the heart of the American wilderness, and attempt to win to the

Christian faith the fiercest savages known to history. To gain these savages, it was first necessary to know them intimately,—their speech, their habits, their manner of thought, their strong points and their weak. These first students of the North American Indian were not only amply fitted for their undertaking, but none have since had better opportunity for its prosecution. They were explorers as well as priests. Bancroft was inexact when he said, in oft-quoted phrase, "Not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." The actual pioneers of New France were almost always coureurs de bois, in the prosecution of the fur trade; but coureurs de bois, for obvious reasons, seldom kept records, even when capable of doing so, and as a rule we learn of their previous appearance on the scene only through chance allusions in the *Relations*. The Jesuits performed a great service to mankind in publishing their annals, which are, for historian, geographer, and ethnologist, among our first and best authorities.

Many of the *Relations* were written in Indian camps, amid a chaos of distractions. Insects innumerable tormented the journalists; they were immersed in scenes of squalor and degradation, overcome by fatigue and lack of proper sustenance, often suffering from wounds and disease, maltreated in a hundred ways by hosts who, at times, might more properly be called jailers; and not seldom had savage superstition risen to such a height, that to be seen making a memorandum was certain to arouse the ferocious enmity of the band. It is not surprising that the composition of these journals of the Jesuits is sometimes crude; the wonder is, that they could be written at all. Nearly always the style is simple and direct. Never does the narrator descend to self-glorification, or dwell unnecessarily upon the details of his continual martyrdom; he never complains of his lot; but sets forth his experiences in phrases the most matter-of-fact. His meaning is seldom obscure. We gain from his pages a vivid picture of life in the primeval forest, as he lived it; we seem to see him upon his long canoe journeys, squatted amidst his dusky fellows, working his passage at the paddles, and carrying cargoes upon the portage trail; we see him the butt and scorn of the savage camp, sometimes deserted in the heart of the wilderness, and obliged to wait for another flotilla, or to make his way alone as best he can. Arrived at last, at his journey's end, we often find him vainly seeking for shelter in the squalid huts of the natives, with every man's hand against him, but his own heart open to them all. We find him, even when at last domiciled in some far-away village, working against hope to save the unbaptized from eternal damnation; we seem to see the rising storm of opposition, invoked by native medicine-men,—who to his seventeenth-century imagination seem devils indeed,—and at last the bursting climax of superstitious frenzy which sweeps him and his before it. Now only do these devoted missionaries,—never, in any field, has been witnessed greater personal heroism than theirs,—live and breathe before us in the *Relations;* but we have in them our first competent account of the Red Indian, at a

time when relatively uncontaminated by contact with Europeans. We seem, in the *Relations,* to know this crafty savage, to measure him intellectually as well as physically, his inmost thoughts as well as open speech. The fathers did not understand him from an ethnological point of view, as well as he is today understood; their minds were tinctured with the scientific fallacies of their time. But, with what is known today, the photographic reports in the *Relations* help the student to an accurate picture of the untamed aborigine, and much that mystified the fathers, is now, by aid of their careful journals, easily susceptible of explanation. Few periods of history are so well illumined as the French régime in North America. This we owe in large measure to the existence of the Jesuit *Relations.*

What are generally known as the *Relations* proper, addressed to the superior and published in Paris, under direction of the provincial, commence with Le Jeune's *Brieve Relation du Voyage de la Nouvelle-France* (1632); and thereafter a duodecimo volume, neatly printed and bound in vellum, was issued annually from the press of Sebastien Cramoisy,[1] in Paris, until 1673, when the series was discontinued, probably through the influence of Frontenac, to whom the Jesuits were distasteful. The *Relations* at once became popular in the court circles of France; their regular appearance was always awaited with the keenest interest, and assisted greatly in creating and fostering the enthusiasm of pious philanthropists, who for many years substantially maintained the missions of New France. In addition to these forty volumes, which to collectors are technically known as "Cramoisys," many similar publications found their way into the hands of the public, the greater part of them bearing date after the suppression of the Cramoisy series. Some were printed in Paris and Lyons by independent publishers; others appeared in Latin and Italian texts, at Rome and other cities in Italy; while in such journals as *Mercure François* and *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu,* occasionally were published letters from the missionaries, of the same nature as the *Relations,* but briefer and more intimate in tone.

It does not appear, however, that popular interest in these publications materially affected the secular literature of the period; they were largely used in Jesuit histories of New France, but by others were practically ignored. General literary interest in the *Relations* was only created about half a century ago, when Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, editor of the *Documentary History of New York,* called attention to their great value as storehouses of contemporary information. Dr. John G. Shea, author of *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States,* and Father Felix Martin, S.J., of Montreal, soon came forward, with fresh studies of the *Relations.* Collectors at once commenced searching for the Cramoisys, which were found to be exceedingly scarce,—most of the originals having been literally worn out in the hands of their devout seventeenth-century readers; finally, the greatest collector of them all, James Lenox, of New York, outstripped his competitors and laid the foundation, in the

Lenox Library, of what is today probably the only complete collection in America. In 1858, the Canadian government reprinted the Cramoisys, with a few additions, in three stout octavo volumes, carefully edited by Abbés Laverdière, Plante, and Ferland. These, too, are now rare, copies seldom being offered for sale.

The Quebec reprint was followed by two admirable series brought out by Shea and O'Callaghan respectively. Shea's *Cramoisy Series* (1857-66) numbers twenty-five little volumes, the edition of each of which was limited to one hundred copies, now difficult to obtain; it contains for the most part entirely new matter, chiefly *Relations* prepared for publication by the superiors, after 1672, and miscellaneously printed; among the volumes, however, are a few reprints of particularly rare issues of the original Cramoisy press. The O'Callaghan series, seven in number (the edition limited to twenty-five copies), contains different material from Shea's, but of the same character. A further addition to the mass of material was made by Father Martin, in *Relations Inédites de la Nouvelle-France,* 1672-79 (2 vols., Paris, 1861); and by Father Carayon in *Première Mission des Jésuites au Canada* (*Paris,* 1864). In 1871, there was published at Quebec, under the editorship of Abbés Laverdière and Casgrain, *Le Journal des Jésuites,* from the original manuscript in the archives of the Seminary of Quebec (now Laval University). The memoranda contained in this volume,—a rarity, for the greater part of the edition was accidentally destroyed by fire,—were not intended for publication, being of the character of private records, covering the operations of the Jesuits in New France between 1645 and 1668. The *Journal* is, however, an indispensable complement of the *Relations.* It was reprinted by a Montreal publisher (J. M. Valois) in 1892, but even this later edition is already exhausted. Many interesting epistles are found in *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères,* which cover the Jesuit missions in many lands, between the years 1702 and 1776; only a small portion of this publication (there are several editions, ranging from 1702-76 to 1875-77) is devoted to the North American missions.

American historians, from Shea and Parkman down, have already made liberal use of the *Relations,* and here and there antiquarians and historical societies have published fragmentary translations. The great body of the *Relations* and their allied documents, however, has never been Englished. The text is difficult, for their French is not the French of the modern schools; hence these interesting papers have been doubly inaccessible to the majority of our historical students. The present edition, while faithfully reproducing the old French text, even in most of its errors, offers to the public, for the first time, an English rendering side by side with the original.

In breadth of scope, also, this edition will, through the generous enterprise of the publishers, readily be first in the field. Not only will it embrace all of the original Cramoisy series, the Shea and O'Callaghan

series, those collected by Fathers Martin and Carayon, the *Journal des Jésuites,* and such of the *Lettres Édifiantes* as touch upon the North American missions, but many other valuable documents which have not previously been reprinted; it will contain, also, considerable hitherto-unpublished material from the manuscripts in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal, and other depositories. These several documents will be illustrated by faithful reproductions of all the maps and other engravings appearing in the old editions, besides much new material obtained especially for this edition, a prominent feature of which will be authentic portraits of many of the early fathers, and photographic facsimiles of pages from their manuscript letters.

In the Preface to each volume will be given such Bibliographical Data concerning its contents, as seem necessary to the scholar. The appended Notes consist of historical, biographical, archæological, and miscellaneous comment, which it is hoped may tend to the elucidation of the text. An exhaustive General Index to the English text will appear in the final volume of the series.

[*Id.,* vol. i, pp. 1-44.]

IROQUOIS CANTONS, IN NEW YORK.

Indicating sites of Indian villages and Jesuit missions, in the 17th and 18th centuries, in relation to the modern towns. Based upon data furnished by Rev. William M. Beauchamp, of Baldwinsville, N. Y.

The map is in two sections — the upper, indicating the country west of the Mohawk River; the lower, the Valley of the Mohawk. See notes opposite, for detailed explanation.

[*From "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Vol. LI.*]

APPENDIX II.

Notes to Map of Iroquois Cantons in New York.

BY REV. W. M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D.

[The numbers of these notes correspond to the numbers attached to the sites marked on the map. Sites of Indian villages are indicated by a heavy dot; those of missions, by x. The names of modern towns and villages are given with their locations.]

SENECAS.

1. *Sonnontouan* (or Totiakton): location of mission of La Conception. On west bank of Honeoye Creek, two miles N. of Honeoye Falls, and 12½ miles S. from the center of Rochester.[1]

2. *Gandagaro* (Canagora): mission of St. Jacques. On Boughton Hill, one mile S. from Victor.

3. *Gandougarae* (Canaenda): mission of St. Michel. Three and one-half miles S. from Boughton Hill.

4. *Gandachiragou* (Keinthe): mission of St. Jean; at Lima.

5. Seneca castle of 1750, near Geneva. After the Erie war, the Senecas spread east and west, and had many small villages.

CAYUGAS.

6. *Onontaré:* mission of St. René. East of Seneca River, 2½ miles E. from Savannah. Named from Fort Hill, nearly opposite.

7. *Thiohero:* mission of St. Stephen. Two miles N. of Cayuga village.

8. *Goiogouen* (Onioen, in 1654): mission of St. Joseph. South of Union Springs, and 1½ miles from Cayuga Lake.[2]

9. A smaller mission village, near Mapleton. In each nation were several of such mission stations.

ONONDAGAS.

10. Fishing village, at Phœnix, on the Oswego River. Le Moyne halted there in 1654.

11. *Ganentaa:* French fort, and mission of Ste. Marie (1656). On

[1] See Kenton, vol. i, p. 559.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 556.

the E. side of Onondaga Lake, between Syracuse and Liverpool, N. of Rome and Watertown R. R. bridge.

12. Salt spring visited by Le Moyne in 1654; Frontenac's camp in 1696. On the inlet, nearer the lake, was the fishing village of Kaneenda, in 1700.

13. Onondaga fort of 1756, W. of creek.

14. Onondaga village of 1743, E. of creek. The present reservation is S. of this site, in the same valley.

15. Fishing village of Techiroguen, where Champlain crossed in 1615, Le Moyne in 1654, and Dablon and Chaumonot in 1655. Dablon, in returning, crossed the lake upon the ice.

16. *Onondaga*, burned in 1696. On the E. side of Butternut Creek, one mile S. of Jamesville.

17. Onondaga of 1654: mission of St. Jean Baptiste. On Indian Hill, two miles S. of Manlius; the largest village that the Onondagas ever had.[1] Southwest of this was another village, mentioned by Greenhalgh in 1677.

18. Onondaga of 1640: a mile S. of Pompey Center, and on E. bank of West Limestone Creek.

19. Onondaga of 1630: 1½ miles N. W. of Delphi. This and the preceding may have been of the same period, as occupation of one town often began before the other was abandoned.

20. Onondaga of 1620: two forts, inhabited about the same time. The older one is 2½ miles S. W., the other a mile S., of Delphi.

21. Onondaga of 1600: 2 miles W. of Cazenovia, and E. of West Limestone Creek.

ONEIDAS.

22. Oneida fort of 1615, attacked by Champlain: on Nichols's Pond, 3 miles E. of Perryville.

23. The latest Oneida castle. Before this, they had lived farther up the valley.[2]

24. Oneida, burned in 1696: mission of St. Francis Xavier. Two miles N. E. of Munnsville. There were several successive villages within a short distance.

MOHAWKS.

25. One of the three early clan forts of this tribe, about 1600: 4 miles N. W. of Fort Plain.

26. Early Mohawk fort, about 1600: 2 miles N. E. of Ephrata, on E. side of Garoga Creek.

27. Early Mohawk fort, about 1600: a mile from Sammonsville, and 4 miles N. of Fonda.

[1] See Kenton, vol. i, p. 557.
[2] *Ibid.*

28. Village of 1620: 5 miles N. W. of Canajoharie, and E. of Garoga Creek.

29. Most easterly Mohawk castle, abandoned in 1626: a little S. W. of Port Jackson.

30. *Ossernenon:* mission of the Martyrs. Eastern castle of 1642; near Auriesville, and ¼ mile S. of Mohawk River.[1]

31. *Andagoron:* middle castle of 1642, near Fultonville.

32. *Tionontoguen* (Theonondiogo): western castle of 1642. At Spraker's Basin, 4 miles S. E. of Canajoharie. There were other villages, about the same time.

33. *Gandaouagué:* eastern village in 1677, or earlier, when all the towns had been removed to the north side of the Mohawk. At Fonda, on the west side of Cayadutta Creek. The other villages lay a few miles farther west, Tionontoguen being about 10 miles from Gandaouagué.

34. Last battle with Mohegans, in 1669; at Hoffman's Ferry. There are several small village sites of the missionary period.

Seneca and Cayuga sites are partly those identified by Gen. John S. Clark and Hon. George S. Conover; some of these I have altered.

The village first mentioned by the name of Sonnontouan may have been nearer the Genesee River, where there are numerous earlier Iroquoian sites. It was a well-known practice of the Huron-Iroquois to withdraw their frontier villages in case of a great war,—a practice very evident in the Onondaga sites.

The small Ithaca site of the Cayugas is distinctly modern, and was occupied by an adopted people.

There are but three villages in the Mohawk territory which can be called prehistoric,—one each for the Turtle, Bear, and Wolf clans. All these show signs of a knowledge of Europeans; and one, at least, of direct but slight contact. Being refugees, and in fear of their enemies, they placed their first villages quite remote from the Mohawk River,—from four to ten miles. As soon as they possessed firearms, and the power secured by these, they built their dwellings along the river.

On his return from the Mohawks in 1652, Poncet was taken, by way of the West Canada Creek trail, to the Oswegatchie and St. Lawrence rivers.

The weight of evidence is in favor of the proposition that the several Iroquois nations came into New York from different directions,—the Mohawks last of all,—with habits and language already differentiated. So clear is this evidence that I can assign to the Iroquois League no earlier date than between the years 1570 and 1600.

[*Id.*, vol. li, pp. 293-295.]

[1] See Kenton, vol. i, p. 558.

Notes to Volume II

[*All the references at the end of the following notes,—as* Id., *i*, note *67,—refer in every case to* The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, *edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, and published, in seventy-three volumes, by The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, 1896-1901. All references to Kenton, by volume and page, refer to this text,* The Indians of North America: From the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, *edited by Edna Kenton.*]

PAGE 4

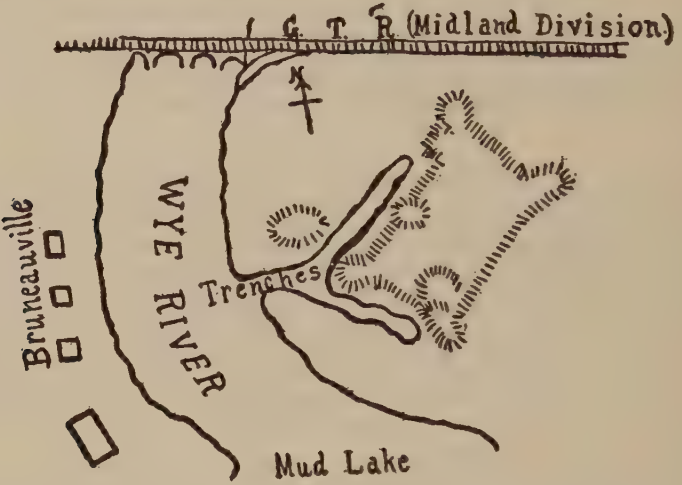
1. Du Creux locates Teanaustayé (St. Joseph) between the present Coldwater and Sturgeon rivers, toward the sources of those parallel streams. Fifty years ago, Martin thus identified it with a newly-found site in that locality: "Ducreux's map and historical references seem to indicate as its site a point now called Irish Settlement, in the north of Medonte district. Traces of a large Indian town, and especially fragments of coarse pottery, are found here."—See his *Life of Jogues* (Shea's trans.), p. 231. Since Martin's time, the forest has been more widely cleared, and two or three other important sites have been found in the above-mentioned neighborhood, apparently confirming his view. The "Irish Settlement" referred to has for many years been called Mount St. Louis, in the mistaken belief that the mission of St. Louis was in its immediate neighborhood; the name should rather have been Mount St. Joseph.

Taché (see his map in Parkman's *Jesuits*) favors a location several miles farther south. But a cogent (and apparently conclusive) argument in favor of Martin's opinion is that the site described by him bears the invariable mark of conflict,—a tract strewn with iron tomahawks,—and that these characteristic tokens have not been found south of that locality. But tracts containing tomahawks have been found at intervals along the road to St. Michael's (distant four miles to the northwest), confirming the accounts of the retreat thither by the survivors of the catastrophe of 1648. At that time, St. Joseph, before its destruction by the Iroquois, was occupied by 400 families (*Relation* of 1649).—A. F. Hunter.—*Id.*, xiii, *note 2.*

PAGE 6

1. There is no question as to the location of Ste. Marie. The fort was erected on the east bank of the Wye, where the river leaves Mud Lake; its site is in lot 16, in the third concession of Tay township, on the line dividing the lot in halves. The east half was purchased (June, 1845) by Rev. Jean Baptiste Proulx, of Penetanguishene, on account of its association with the early missions. The four bastions of the fort were of stone, as also were two walls. The other walls—those facing the lake and river—consisted merely of palisades, protected by trenches which are still visible. The enclosure formed a parallelogram about 175 x 90 feet in extent. Since the settlement of the neighborhood, these ruins have undergone great changes. Public attention was first directed to the destruction of the walls, by James Bain, Jr., in *Canad. Inst. Proc.*, 3rd series, vol. iii (1886), pp. 278, 279 (a brief abstract of his paper being there given). Cf. Boyle, in *Ont. Arch. Mus. Rep.*, 1891, pp. 18, 19.—A. F. Hunter.

Cf. Martin's description of Ste. Marie (*Jogues,* pp. 232, 233),—probably the earliest of modern accounts of these ruins; his visit there was made in 1845. Harris (*Miss. West. Canada,* p. 90, *note*) gives this highly interesting information regarding the construction of the fort: "The foundations of this building still remain, and, though overgrown with weeds and underbrush, may yet be distinctly traced. Major Henry H. Gray, of the Government Staff of Civil Engineers, expressed to me his surprise that the Jesuits had succeeded in manufacturing a cement equal to the best Portland, and the secret of which seems to have been lost. On Christian Island, the foundations of their building were laid in hydraulic cement, that to this day excites the wonder of engineers and contractors. In quality, this cement is much like the *Vicat,* a



Sketch Map of Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye, by A. F. Hunter.

standard article, manufactured and much used in France. The distance was too great, and the transportation too difficult, for the Jesuits to have brought the cement from Europe; consequently, the raw material must have been discovered at or near the mission, and manufactured on the spot."—*Id.,* xix, *note* 8.

PAGE 7

1. Ste. Anne is also mentioned by Lalemant (Huron *Relation* of 1643, chap. iii) as near Ste. Marie; its site would, accordingly, be near the present town of Penetanguishene. The new memorial church at that place bears the name of Ste. Anne.

St. Denis is evidently the same as the place located by Du Creux, under the Latinized name of St. Dionisius, on the east bank of Hogg River. A considerable part of that neighborhood is still wooded, and the sites have not yet been exposed by cultivation.

St. Jean is placed by Du Creux on the east side of Sturgeon River, near its outlet, and there are sites which correspond with this position; but it has not yet been clearly distinguished.

The location of St. Louis is uncertain, as there is some reason to believe that this mission, like many others, had been shifted, and that the St. Louis of 1640 was not the one captured in 1649. At least three different sites have been assigned, in modern times, to this ill-fated village: (1) Du Creux's map,

which shows the missions as they existed about 1640, places it on the east side of Hogg River, near its mouth,—a location accepted by some antiquarians. (2) Others regard the Errington farm, in lot 10, third concession, Tay township, as the site of St. Louis,—a large bonepit being discovered there in the autumn of 1878, and its distance from Ste. Marie being about a league. The late Rev. J. W. Annis, who examined this site, and collected relics thereon, held the same opinion. It seems more probable, however, that this bonepit indicates merely one of the historic ten-year accumulations of human remains, than that it was the result of a massacre. (3) On lot 12, in the fifth concession of Tay, are the remains of a village which some have thought to be St. Louis. When the occupant of the farm, named Evans, built his house, many years ago, he found numerous indications of early Indian occupation,—deposits of ashes, remains of corn enclosed in birch bark, charred remains of palisades indicating destruction by fire, and numerous tomahawks, knives, and other articles. Examination of this site, a few years ago, induced A. C. Osborne to conclude that it was that of the St. Louis of 1649.

It may be frankly admitted that our present knowledge is insufficient to decide which of these three sites is the true one. It is not improbable, however, that several missions of 1640 had been shifted before 1649; and St. Louis may easily have been moved from the east to the west side of Hogg River.—A. F. Hunter. . . .—*Id.*, xix, *note* 9.

PAGE 8

1. Martin (*Life of Jogues,* app. A.) is correct in saying that there were two missions bearing the name of St. Ignace. The one captured by the Iroquois in 1649 was apparently thus named but a short time before its destruction (*Relation* of 1648, chap. ix); it was not more than five miles from Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye.

The other, known by the Hurons as Taenhatentaron, is placed by Lalemant (*Relation* of 1644, chap. vii) at a distance of about six leagues from Ste. Marie; this is evidently the St. Ignace marked on Du Creux's map as near Sturgeon river. Martin inclined to the view that this mission was situated on what is now the Fox farm—lot no. 20, in concession 10 of Medonte township, on the slope facing Coldwater River; for, when he visited the district (1845), the remains found on this farm were upon the only site then known in the neighborhood. In subsequent years, however, when the forest came to be cleared, remains indicating other sites were found from two to three miles west of this one, and facing Sturgeon River. One of these corresponds more closely than does the Fox site, with the reference in the text to Taenhatentaron,* as being about five miles from St. Joseph (Teanaustayaé), and also with the position assigned to that village by Du Creux; it also furnishes better evidence in other respects.

Taché appears to have overlooked the distinction between the two villages named St. Ignace. He minutely examined the site on the Fox farm in the mistaken belief that it was the scene of Brébeuf's and Lalemant's martyrdom (Parkman's *Jesuits,* p. 385, *note*),—in this, adopting Martin's view, and also forgetting that there was a second St. Ignace; so that the site thus designated by him does not correspond with the true position of either mission. The St. Ignace at which the martyrs perished was in the present Tay township, about ten miles distant from Taenhatentaron.—A. F. Hunter.—*Id.*, xvii, *note* 5.

PAGE 11

1. Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Jerome and Charles, was born at Paris, Oct. 10, 1610, the youngest of a family of six,—all of whom, except the second son, entered the religious life; as also did the mother, after Gabriel's death.

* " . . . the Village of Tahententaron,—which we have surnamed saint Ignace, distant about 2 leagues from that of the Residence of saint Joseph. . . ."—Lalemant's Huron *Relation,* 1639:—*Id.*, xvii, *doc.* xxxiv, p. 99.

He became a Jesuit novice Mar. 24, 1630; he was an instructor at Moulins, 1632-35 and 1641-44; the intervening time being spent at Bourges and La Flèche; and, later, was prefect of the college at Bourges for two years. Departing thence in June, 1646, he came to Canada, where he spent two years in ministrations at the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. He arrived in the Huron country in August, 1648, and his martyrdom took place on March 17 following.

Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. ii, p. 87, *note*) says that some letters of Gabriel are in existence written to his eldest sister.—*Id.*, xxxiv, *note* 1.

PAGE 16

1. This island, called by the Hurons Ahoendoe,—on Du Creux's map, Gahoendoe,—is now known as Christian Island; it is eighteen miles from Penetanguishene. The name of Charity Island has also been applied to it.—*Id.*, xxxiv, *note* 13.

Ahwendoe, or Christian Island. Martin mentions (*Bressani*, p. 36, *note* 4), the relics found there in 1848,—"fragments of Indian collars, made of real wampum, white and red; rings and a medal of copper; human bones, and a mould for shaping the consecrated wafers." A. F. Hunter says of this mould: "It bore three letters, I.H.S. Dr. E. W. Bawtree secured it for his collection of relics."

Hunter sends us the following additional list of relics found in the Huron country, in which he includes "only such as may be reasonably believed to have been actually those of the missionaries."

"At Ste. Marie-on-the-Wye were found several iron tools and other articles which are in the Ontario Archeological Museum (nos. 11702-11712); also a small pair of brass compasses (no. 5672). At Ste. Marie on Christian Island, brass utensils bearing French inscriptions, and several French coins of that period; the melted remains of the chapel bell were also found, some years ago, in a corner of the ruins, by Peter York, an Indian. The other stone fort near this appears to have been an outpost for the protection of the surrounding Huron settlements. On Beausoleil (or Prince William Henry,—probably Du Creux's *Ondiotana*) Island, a fragment of a sash, now in Dr. Bawtree's collection; also (in 1889) several articles, which are in the Ontario Museum,—three double-barred crosses (nos. 5650-5652), two white metal brooches (nos. 1659, 5666), a brass knife-handle (no. 5665), and a piece of cloth with bangles (no. 5671). Among various articles presented (1887) to the Canadian Institute by Rev. T. F. Laboreau are a photograph of a letter written on birchbark, and a seal ring engraved with the letters I.H.S. (no. 5705, Ontario Museum); this ring was found in a bonepit at the supposed site of Ossossané. Four rings, similarly inscribed, were found in the Bowman ossuary, Flos township,—a place supposed to be at or near the site of the St. Michel mission. The rings seem to indicate that some baptized Indians had been interred with others. Another ring of this sort was found at the village site on the Crawford farm, Tiny township."—See Boyle's *Archeological Reports*—2nd, p. 11; 3rd, p. 49; 4th, pp. 64, 67; 8th, p. 42; also Hunter's article "Ahoendoe," in *Indian* (Hagersville, Ont.), 1886, p. 217.—*Id.*, xxxvi, *note* 36.

2. This was the island afterward known as Manitoulin; the Ottawa tribe dwelt there.—*Id.*, xxxiv, *note* 10.

See Kenton, vol. i, p. 369, *note* 3.

PAGE 17

1. In the last chapter of the *Relation* of 1648, Ragueneau gives an account of this murder, and of the reparation, according to savage custom, made therefore, by the Hurons.—Id., xxxiv, note 14.

See, for this account, Kenton, vol. i, pp. 517-523.

PAGE 20

1. Noël Chabanel was born Feb. 2, 1613, in the diocese of Mende. At seven-

teen, he entered upon his novitiate in the Jesuit college at Toulouse, where his priestly studies were carried on; his term of instruction was also served there (1634-39), and at Rodez (1641-42). His course completed, he at once joined the Canadian mission (1643) at the same time with Garreau, and together they went to the Huron mission. Chabanel remained there until the overthrow of the Huron nation; and, on his way to Ste. Marie, was slain by a Huron apostate, Dec. 8 or 9, 1649.—*Id.*, xxiii, *note* 14.

For a sketch of Garnier's life, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 338, *note* 1.

PAGE 29

1. Francesco Gioseppe Bressani was born at Rome, May 6, 1612, and became a Jesuit novice August 15, 1626. His studies were pursued at Rome and Clermont; the customary service as instructor being rendered at Sezza, Tivoli, and Paris. Arriving in Canada in 1642, he ministered for a time to the French at Quebec; in the following year to the Algonkins at Three Rivers. In April, 1644, he set out, with an escort of Christian Indians, for the Huron mission; but, on the way, they were captured by the Iroquois, and carried to one of the villages of the latter, where he was cruelly tortured, at intervals, for over two months. Finally, he was ransomed by the Dutch at Fort Orange, and sent to France, where he arrived in the following November. The next year, he returned to Canada, and, after a short stay at Three Rivers, joined the Huron mission, where he labored until its destruction by the Iroquois, four years later. In the summer of 1648, he came down to Quebec for additional missionaries, returning to his field of labor with a reënforcement of five brethren. In the following year, he went with the fugitive Hurons to St. Joseph (Christian) Island; but their situation there was so perilous that Bressani was sent by his superior to Quebec to ask for succor,—a vain quest, however, since the authorities there could spare none of their slender force of soldiers. The dangers of the road preventing his return to his flock, he was obliged to remain at Quebec, where, at various times, he officiated in the church. November 2, 1650, Bressani was obliged to return to Europe—on account partly of the limited resources of the mission, partly of his own precarious health. Having regained sufficient strength in his own country, he spent many years as a missionary and preacher in the principal Italian cities, and died at Florence, September 9, 1672. Soon after his return to Italy, Bressani published his *Breve Relatione d'alcune Missioni . . . nella Nuoua Francia* (Macerata, 1653).—*Id.*, xxiii, *note* 10.

2. Marie de l'Incarnation (*Lettres*, t. ii, p. 64) says that the Iroquois supposed the water of the salt springs to be poison, and thought that it was by a miracle that the French obtained salt from the water. It may be noticed here that, according to Beauchamp, "Although the Onondagas now use salt, they ascribe to this their loss of physical strength, saying that their ancestors had all the nourishing juices of the meat, and thus became large and strong."—*Id.*, xli, *note* 6.

PAGE 30

1. *The grain that some call Turkish:* Indian corn, or maize (*Zea mays*, Linn.),—also known at that time as "Turkey wheat" or "Turkey corn" (from a vague notion that it originated in Turkey), and "Indian wheat" (*blé d'Inde*). The word "maize" is a form of the original Haytian name, *mahis* or *mahiz*. The early explorers found this grain under cultivation by the American aborigines, from Canada to Chile; and the Spaniards, soon after the discovery of America, introduced maize into Europe, whence it rapidly spread over the civilized world. There was long a controversy among scientific men over the question whether maize was of American or of Oriental origin; the former theory was advocated notably by Humboldt and De Candolle, and appears most probable.

Cartier describes the culture and use of this corn by the natives of Hochelaga,

in his *Brief Récit.* (Tross ed., 1863), fol. 23, 24. Champlain saw it everywhere along the North Atlantic coast; he is "the first who has left a record of its cultivation in New England, and of its preservation through the winter." He also noticed that the Indians made successive plantings thereof.—See his *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii, pp. 64-66, 82, 121, 122. Cf. Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1629; reprint, Richmond, Va., 1891), vol. i, p. 126.

On the preparation and use of maize as food, see Champlain (*ut supra*), vol. ii, p. 123, and vol. iii, pp. 162-164; Smith's *Virginia* (*ut supra*), vol. i, p. 127, and Charlevoix's *Journ. Hist.*, pp. 331-333. It is estimated that a larger part of the human race is nourished by this grain than by any other except rice.

Columbus and Oviedo mention that the aborigines of the New World made from maize an intoxicating liquor, called *chicha*, which was also observed by Pickering in use in Peru (*Chron. Hist. of Plants*, pp. 610, 859). For further information regarding maize, see Salisbury's *History and Chemical Investigation of Maize* (Albany, 1849); Lundy's "Zea Maize," in *Phila. Numis. and Antiq. Soc. Proc., 25th anniv.* (Phila., 1883), pp. 15-22; Carr's *Food of Amer. Inds.* and *Mounds of Miss. Valley.—Id.*, xi, *note* 1.

On the preparation and use of maize as food, see, also, Kenton, vol. i, p. 71, *note* 2.

2. The palm was a measure of length, of ancient origin, and, as the name implies, derived from the space occupied by the human hand. . . .—*Id.*, xxix, *note* 7.

3. *Teston* (*teste*, "head"): an old French silver coin, stamped with the likeness of the king. It was worth, under Francis I, ten sous and a few derniers; under Louis XIII, its value had gradually risen to 19½ sous; its use was then discontinued. . . .—*Id.*, ix, *note* 39.

4. *Canne:* a measure of length used in various countries, especially in Italy, the value of which is not constant; that of Naples is equivalent to two meters, twenty-nine centimeters.—*Id.*, xxxviii, *note* 23.

PAGE 33

1. *Train:* a primitive conveyance for winter use in the northern regions of America; adapted by the early settlers from the rude contrivance employed by the Indians, and, with many variations and elaborations, still in use throughout Canada and other British territories. The form of "train" which is perhaps most like the conveyance referred to in our text is thus described by Warburton Pike, in his *Barren Ground of Northern Canada* (London, 1892), p. 90: "We used the ordinary traveling sleighs of the North: two smooth pieces of birch, some seven feet in length, with the front ends curled completely over and joined together with cross slats secured with *babiche* [strips of moose-hide] into a total width of sixteen inches."

The "toboggan" so often used for sport in both Canada and the United States, is another form of "train," and is but a smaller and more ornamental style of the "cariole" used in the far North; the latter, drawn by dogs, consists of a thin board, fifteen or twenty inches wide, and ten feet long, turned up at one end in semi-circular form. A light box, lined with fur robes or blankets, is attached to this board, in which the passenger sits. Cf. Greenough's *Canadian Folk-Life* (N. Y., 1897), p. 161; Hubbard's *Memorials of a Half-Century* (N. Y., 1887), p. 121; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xi, p. 229; and Clapin's *Dict. Canad.-Français*, art. *Tobagané.—Id.*, lx, *note* 8.

PAGE 40

1. The remainder of this chapter retells the story of the murder by some Hurons of a Frenchman, a servant of the Jesuits; and of the reparation made by the tribe. For Ragueneau's earlier account of this, see Kenton, vol. i, pp. 517-523.

PAGE 41

1. Cf. Le Jeune's account of Montagnais superstitions; Kenton, vol. i, pp. 103-106.

PAGE 44

1. Cf. Ragueneau's more extended description of Huron beliefs; Kenton, vol. i, pp. 503-517.

PAGE 45

1. Martin thus describes (*Bressany,* p. 101, *note* 2) one of these ossuaries, "uncovered in 1846, near the village of Penetanguishene, under a thick stratum of earth, which bore very large trees. This tomb, of circular form, was over twenty feet in diameter. One great shroud, made of beaver-skins, enveloped the sacred deposit. Twenty-six copper kettles—some of these of large size,—with hatchets, marine shells, collars made of wampum, etc., were placed near these bones."—*Id.,* xxxix, *note* 3.

PAGE 48

1. *Cheveux relevez:* see Kenton, vol. i, p. 369, *note* 3.

2. *Atra kwae:* the Andastes, as we are informed by the *Journal,* under date of July 5, 1652. Laverdiere (in index to *Journal*) regards this as a variant of Akrakwae; he probably has in mind the Akhrakuaeronons mentioned in *Relation* of 1640.

Teot'ondiaton (Teotongniaton): the Neutral village where was located the mission of St. Guillaume. As we have now reached, in this series, the time of the destruction of the Neutral tribes, we may here add to the information already given in our Notes the following letter received from Mr. James H. Coyne (dated April 22, 1898), regarding the sites of Neutral villages. Referring to Sanson's map (1656),—which is doubtless based upon reports made by the Jesuit missionaries sent to that tribe, and upon Ragueneau's map,—and its general accuracy, Mr. Coyne says: "The location of the Indian villages near the north shore of Lake Erie, and the absence of any indication of the Thames River, coupled with its fairly accurate knowledge of the Lake Erie tributaries, would seem to point to a highway of Indian travel, nearly coinciding with the present Talbot Road,—which latter, as we are told by early settlers, followed an Indian trail. (Cf. Mitchell's map of 1756 or 1757, and Galinée's Journal.) N.-D. des Anges, Alexis, St. Joseph, and St. Michel would be all on or near this main trail, except the first, which would be on the trail from Brantford to Port Dover. According to Sanson's map, Alexis coincides with the Southwold Earthwork; it is the only village on the map answering the description of Tsohahissen's village."—*Id.,* xxxvi, *note* 49.

Concerning the Andastes, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1. For the reference to the Akhrakuaeronons in the *Relation* of 1640, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 414, and, for mention of Ragueneau's map, vol. i, p. 415. For further information on Teotongniaton and the site of St. Guillaume, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 426, *note* 1. Concerning Tsohahissen's village, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 425, *note* 1.

3. *Skia,é* was the Huron name of the Saulte Ste. Marie; by the Enskia,e'ronnons are doubtless meant the tribe there resident, better known as Sauteurs. The rendezvous mentioned in the text was evidently located on the east shore of Lake Michigan. As this was a gathering of Algonquin tribes, it was probably the Nipissings, not the Winnebagoes, who were intended by the term Aweatsiwaenronnons.

Sken'chio,e, the place where the remnant of the Neutrals spent the winter, seems to be mentioned only in this place; but the etymology of the name, and the location of the Skenchiohronons would suggest that this place was, or had been, the residence of that tribe. Coyne says (*Country of Neutrals,* p. 19): "This is probably the last we hear of the Neutrals under their own name. Some of the survivors united with the remnant of the Hurons at Mackinac and on Lake Superior; and under the names of Hurons and Wyandots they appear

from time to time on the page of history. Their removal to Detroit, on the establishment of the latter trading-post by Cadillac, is perpetuated by the name of Wyandotte, to the south of that city."—*Id.*, xxxviii, *note* 12.

Concerning the Sauteurs, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 413, *note* 4; the location of the Skenchiohronons, p. 227, *note* 1, last paragraph; the Aweatsiwaerrhonons, below:

[In the Huron *Relation* of 1636, chap. ii, Brébeuf writes thus of the Aweatsiwaenrrhonons: "On the eighth of June, the Captain of the Naiz perces, or Nation of the Beaver, which is three days' journey from us, came to request one of our Frenchmen to spend the summer with them, in a fort they had made from fear of the *Aweatsiwaenrrhonon,* or stinking tribe, who have broken the treaty of peace, and have killed two of their men, of whom they made a feast."—*Id.*, x, *doc.* xxvi, p. 83. The note on this text follows.]

Aweatsiwaenrrhonon: The Nipissiriens. The French term, *gens puants,* was also applied to the Winnebago tribe. The confusion thus arising in the identity of these tribes may have been occasioned from the fact that numerous places were marked on the early maps as "puant,"—presumably meaning "alkaline." For instance, Cattaraugus Creek, near Chautauqua, N. Y., is named on one of Sanson's maps *R. à la terre* puante.—A. F. HUNTER:—*Id.*, x, *note* 7.

PAGE 49

1. In reference to the chief here mentioned, Rev. W. M. Beauchamp says, in a private letter: "The name of Sagochiendagehte, the chief Onondaga of 1654, is not strictly a personal name. It is the name by which the Onondagas are still addressed in council; as we might say in Congress, 'the gentleman from New York,' or Ohio. The council name always differs from the ordinary national name, and occasionally is also applied to the principal village or chief. Various incidents make it almost certain that this Sagochiendagahte was Garakontie."—*Id.*, xli, *note* 2.

See, concerning Garakontié, Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 95-96.

2. This Wolf Tribe seems to have been the Wolf clan of the Mohegan tribes,—Algonkins, allied to the Pequots and Narragansetts of New England. These Mohegans (Mohicans, Mahicans) occupied the banks of the Hudson, between the Iroquois on the north and the Lenape tribes on the south; and, later, the valley of the Connecticut River. Two noted chiefs among them were Uncas and Konkapot,—the latter a chief in the Housatonic tribe, occupying the river valley of that name, and (after 1736) the town of Stockbridge, Mass., by the name of which the tribe was afterwards known. Missionary work among these Indians was begun in 1734, by Rev. John Sergeant, a tutor at Yale College, and continued by David Brainerd and Jonathan Edwards. In 1785, the Stockbridges removed to land given them by the Oneidas, in Madison county, N. Y.; and finally, in 1822-29, to Wisconsin, where they now occupy the Stockbridge reservation, in Shawano county. See Davidson's *Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, a History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milw., 1895).—*Id.*, xxvi, *note* 4.

PAGE 50

1. Concerning the Cat Nation, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 419, *note* 3.

2. Concerning Poncet, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 91, *note* 1.

PAGE 51

1. Reference is here made to "the Flemish bastard," so called,—the son of a Dutchman and a Mohawk woman; his mother's tribe chose him as one of its chiefs. He was long a prominent figure in the hostilities waged by the Iroquois against the French and Algonkins. In 1666 he came to Quebec to negotiate for peace; this was accomplished, for the time, but was soon broken; and Tracy and Courcelles led an expedition against the Mohawks, which laid their country waste. Overwhelmed by this blow, they sent the Flemish Bastard to Quebec to sue for peace, which was then established. The Bastard, with many of his tribesmen, even removed their families and abodes to Canada, and

settled near Montreal.—See Perrot (Tailhan's ed.), pp. 111-114, 228.—*Id.*, xxxv, *note* 29.

2. Concerning the "Iroquois Cabin," see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 315 and *note* 1.

PAGE 52

1. Simon Le Moyne, at the age of eighteen, entered the Jesuit novitiate at Rouen, December 10, 1622; his studies were pursued here and at Clermont and La Flèche, and he was an instructor at the Rouen college during 1627-32 and 1636-37. While a student at Clermont, he was an active member of the "league of prayer for the Canadian missions," to which belonged Le Jeune, the Lalemants, and many others. Assigned to the mission in Canada, he went thither in the spring of 1638, and at once departed to the Huron country; by that people he was surnamed *Wane*. In the following year, he began (with Daniel) a mission among the Arendarhonons, that of St. Jean Baptiste; and for several years was in charge of this mission and of that at Teanaustayé (St. Joseph). After the dispersion of the Hurons, he probably served at Quebec and other posts on the St. Lawrence, until 1653, when he was sent as an ambassador to the Iroquois, and likewise opened a mission among the Onondagas. Much of his time during the next five years was spent among the Iroquois tribes, by whom he was known as *Ondessonk*—the appellation they had formerly bestowed upon Jogues, and after the martyrdom of the latter had conferred upon Le Moyne, in accordance with their custom. While in the Iroquois country, Le Moyne visited New Amsterdam (New York), and formed a strong friendship with the Dutch minister there, Jans Megapolensis, who had formerly aided Jogues in his captivity. Le Moyne made a fifth journey to the Iroquois country in 1661, and spent the following winter there; and again in 1663, according to the *Jour. des Jésuites,* went to Sonontouan. He died November 24, 1665, from a fever, at Cap de Magdeleine.—*Id.*, xiv, *note* 16.

2. This designation of the Mohawk tribe is a less corrupt form of their own name, of which Hale says (*Iroquois Rites,* pp. 172, 173): "This name is *Kanienke,* 'at the Flint.' In pronunciation and spelling, this, like other Indian words, is much varied, both by the natives themselves, and by their white neighbors, becoming Kanieke, Kanyenke, Canyangeh, and Canienga," which last form Hale adopts; from it he also derives the French appellation of the tribe, *Agnier.* He thinks that "Mohawk" is but a corruption of an epithet bestowed upon the Agniers by the Algonkins, *Mowah,* which, as used by the latter, meant "cannibals."—*Id.*, xliv, *note* 3.

PAGE 53

1. For location of the Onondagas at this time, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1.

PAGE 61

1. *Echon:* the appellation formerly given by the Hurons to Brébeuf.—*Id.*, xli, *note* 8.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 218, *note* 1.

PAGE 62

1. Jean de Quen was born at Amiens in May, 1603, and became a Jesuit novice September 13, 1620, at Rouen. His studies were pursued at Paris; and he afterwards became a teacher in the colleges at Amiens (1630-31), and Eu (1632-35). Coming to Canada in the summer of 1635, he was employed for several years at Quebec—at the college, and at Notre-Dame de Récouvrance. In 1640, he was at Sillery, of which mission he was the head from 1641 to 1649. During this time, he also made evangelizing journeys to neighboring tribes; and, at times, labored in the Ste. Croix mission at Tadoussac, and at Three Rivers. In June, 1651, he went on a mission to the Oumaniwek tribe, and apparently spent the ensuing two years in labors with this and other tribes on the upper Saguenay, with his headquarters at Tadoussac. To him is

ascribed the honor of having, while engaged in this work, discovered Lake St. John. In 1655-56, he was superior of the missions of New France, and seems to have remained at Quebec until his death, which occurred October 1, 1659, occasioned by a contagious fever brought on a French vessel, whose sick and dying sailors De Quen was nursing at the hospital. . . .—*Id.*, viii, *note* 15.

2. Concerning the site of this Iroquois village, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1.

PAGE 65

1. *Neds-percés:* see Kenton, vol. i, p. 413, *note* 3.

PAGE 66

1. Otihatangué is identified by Beauchamp, Clark, and others as the Salmon River, N.E. of Oswego. Beauchamp defines the meaning of this word as "large clearing"; he also mentions other names (*Ind. Names*, p. 65) applied to this locality. One of these appellations was La Famine (Anglicized as Famine Bay), doubtless given on account of the sufferings endured by the French on their way to Onondaga in 1656. The place is mentioned by Le Moyne, in 1654, as "a resort of all nations." Coronelli's map (1688) says that there "most of the Iroquois disembark to trade their beaver." See Clark's excellent note identifying Otihatangué, in *Early Cayuga History*, p. 17.—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 1.

PAGE 67

1. For site of this village, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1; vol. ii, p. 517.

PAGE 69

1. A version of the Huron myth of Ataentsic.—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 6.
See Kenton, vol. i, pp. 250-251, 253, and *note* 1.

PAGE 73

1. Concerning the manufacture and uses of mats by North American aborigines, see *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 18-21. The use of mats for catching fish seems somewhat unusual; but, when fastened across a narrow stream, a coarse mat of plaited rushes might well serve as a net.—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 7.

PAGE 77

1. David Cusick explains the name Onondaga, "people of the mountain," as an allusion to the hill on which their chief village was built (*Iroq. Trail*, pp. 12, 56).—*Id.*, lii, *note* 9.

PAGE 80

1. Regarding Taronhiaouagui (Tha-ron-hya-wâ-kon), see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 3; p. 253, *note* 1.

PAGE 82

1. The identity of these two French explorers was long unknown; but recent historical researches sufficiently confirm the opinion that they were Radisson and Groseilliers. This is the first mention (so far as known), in contemporary documents, of their discoveries. Radisson wrote several narratives of his voyages; the MSS. of these are preserved in the archives of the Bodleian Library and British Museum; they first appeared in print in the *Prince Soc. Pubs.*, vol. xvi (Boston, 1885). Parts of the relation of Radisson's third and fourth voyages are republished, with annotations, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xi, pp. 64-96; cf. *Id.*, vol. xiv, p. 5, *note*, and *Parkman Club Pubs.*, no. 2. The first of these narratives relates his experiences while a prisoner among the Iroquois (1652-53). During this time he met, at Fort Orange, the Jesuit Poncet, who also had been captured by the Iroquois. A little later, Radisson made his escape, and was sent by the Dutch to Holland. Returning to Canada in May, 1654, he seems to have departed with Grosseilliers (his brother-in-law)

in the following August, upon the voyage referred to in our text. In July, 1657, he went with the Jesuits to Onondaga, and wrote an account of that enterprise, much longer and more circumstantial than Ragueneau's.—See his *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), pp. 86-134.

The discoveries of Radisson and Grosseilliers mentioned in our text are again referred to in the *Relation* of 1658, where Druillettes gives information—regarding the routes to Hudson Bay, and the tribes of the Northwest—derived partly from these two explorers, partly from the roving Indians.—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 11.

For Druillette's account of these peoples, see Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 104-109.

2. The tribe here called *Puants* were the Winnebagoes; the *Liniouek*, the Illinois; the *Nadouesiouek*, the Sioux; the *Kiristinons*, the Crees.

Pouarak (Poualac): an abbreviated form of *Assinipoualak*, which, according to the *Relation* of 1658, means "warriors of the rock," modernized as Assiniboin. A tribe of Siouan stock, dwelling west of the Crees, on the Saskatchewan and Assiniboin Rivers.—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 12.

W. J. McGee regards the Poualak as "the Dakota proper,"—they with the Assinipoualak, constituting the Dakota-Asiniboin division of the Siouan stock. The separation of the Asiniboin from the main stock must have occurred early in the seventeenth century. See his "Siouan Indians," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893-94, pp. 160-161, 189-191.—*Errata and Addenda:*—*Id.*, lxxi, p. 376.

Concerning the Winnebagoes, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 369, *note* 4; the Illinois, vol. i, p. 462, *note* 2; the Sioux, vol. i, p. 462, *note* 1; the Crees, vol. i, p. 413, *note* 2.

PAGE 84

1. Gannentae (Gannentaha) was the Indian name of the place where the Jesuits established this first Onondaga mission. J. S. Clark thus describes this location (*Cayuga History*, p. 33, *note*): "It was about twelve miles from the main village of the Onondagas (then south of the present Manlius). The 'Jesuits' Well' still exists, with its accompanying salt fountains, and may be found just north of the railroad bridge on lot 106. This was the first Catholic chapel erected in the present territory of the State of New York.

O. H. Marshall thinks (*Mag. Amer. Hist.*, vol. i, pp. 1-15) that the Iroquois fort attacked by Champlain in 1615 was located on the shores of Onondaga Lake, and even inclines to the supposition that it was on or near the spot occupied by the Jesuits in 1656. O'Callaghan, Ferland, Parkman, and Laverdière place this fort at or near Canandaigua Lake; Beauchamp and Slafter locate it on the shore of Nichol's Pond, Madison county, N. Y.—*Id.*, xli, *note* 16.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 88, *note* 2.

PAGE 85

1. The nuts here mentioned are doubtless those of the hickory (*Carya*, Nutt),—the "shell-bark" variety (*C. alba*), or the "pig-nut" (*C. glabra*), which are sweet; and the "bitternut" or swamp hickory (*C. amara*), the nuts of which, although intensely bitter, yield excellent oil. See Charlevoix's description of these (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 162). The Indians pounded the kernels to a paste, which they boiled in water; the oil, rising to the top, was skimmed off, and preserved in gourds or vessels of bark; it was used to enrich and flavor the sagamité and other foods. The sunflower (*Helianthus*) was prized by the natives for the oil obtained from its seeds, "though among the Northern tribes the oil made from it was not eaten, but was used on the hair."—Carr's "Food of Amer. Indians," *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, vol. x, part 1, pp. 171, 172.—*Id.*, xliii, *note* 19.

2. The "cherries without stones" refer to the cranberry. The fruit resembling an apricot is probably the May-apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*). The "apples shaped like a goose's egg" are the fruits of the pawpaw (*Asimina triloba*).

The "universal plant" mentioned in our text has not yet been, so far as known, identified; and it seems to have escaped the notice of most botanical writers. The description given in this *Relation* would indicate, however, the common sassafras (*Laurus Sassafras,* Linn.; *Sassafras officinale,* Nees.; *Sassafras Sassafras,* Karsten, and in *U. S. Pharmacopeia*). It is indigenous in America from Canada to Brazil; in southern latitudes it becomes a tree 30 to 50 feet high, but North of 40° N. lat. it is found as a low shrub, three to five feet high. This consideration will account for the Father's mention of it as a "plant." The sassafras has always been prized for its medicinal virtues; it had been long used by the natives of Florida before the Spanish conquest; upon its discovery by white men, it speedily became a valued drug in Europe, and an important article of commerce from America; and it is still employed to a considerable extent, especially in domestic medicine in the United States. Every part of the tree is used medicinally; for list of these uses, see Raffinesque's *Medical Flora* (Phila., 1830), vol. ii, p. 235. The bark affords a dye for a handsome and permanent orange color. See the admirable monograph, historical, bibliographical, and practical, on "Sassafras," by Prof. John U. Lloyd, in *Pharmaceutical Review,* Dec., 1898, pp. 450-459. The sassafras is figured and described by Charlevoix in *Plantes Amer.,* pp. 9, 10. Thanks are due Prof. L. S. Cheney and Dr. Rodney True, of the University of Wisconsin, for information and suggestions regarding this subject.—*Id.,* xliii, *note* 20.

3. *Atoka* (*atoca, ataca; toca,* Sagard): the common cranberry (*Vaccinium macrocarpon,* Gray), still known to the French Canadians by its Indian name. It is figured and described by Charlevoix (*Plantes Amer.,* p. 39).—*Id.,* xliii, *note* 18.

PAGE 86

1. In regard to the mineral springs mentioned in the text, the first one has never been exactly identified. By land, it would be about thirty miles from the fort to Auburn; but such a spring would be at least at the base of the limestone rocks, farther north, and probably in the Salina group. The river route, two days' journey, would bring the travelers to the salt springs at Montezuma; and the text seems to imply salt springs highly charged with lime. The sulphureous odor and the milky tinge would be caused by the decomposition of sulphate of lime. There are many small springs of this kind, continually forming calcareous tufa—sometimes encrusting large masses of leaves or moss, and sometimes forming masses of a light, spongy nature, yellow in hue. When wet, these are quite caustic to the touch.

The "burning spring near the Senecas" is in the town of Bristol, Ontario County, halfway between Canandaigua and Honeoye, where Charlevoix's map locates it as "Fontaine brulante." There are several other carbureted hydrogen springs in Ontario County.

The spring "toward the country of the Cats" (Eries) was probably the noted Oil spring in the town of Cuba, Allegany County, about 50 miles S.W. of the "burning spring." It is on the Oil Spring reservation, and is described as a dirty, stagnant pool, 20 feet in diameter, and without an outlet. A yellowish-brown oil collects on the surface, which is skimmed off. In my younger days, it was well known as "Seneca oil," and was a popular remedy. This spring was so highly esteemed by the Senecas that in their treaties they reserved it, with a square mile of land.

The spring toward Cayuga cannot be satisfactorily identified. There are several magnesian springs, but not located as in the text. I think it was one of the common springs, highly charged with sulphate of lime. John Bartram saw one of these in 1743, at Onondaga; but it was not odorous, being above the gypsum rocks. . . .—W. M. Beauchamp.—*Id.,* xliii, *note* 21.

See also, regarding the "burning spring," Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 2.

PAGE 87

1. Concerning the Iroquois tribe, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1.

PAGE 90

1. This poisonous root is also mentioned by Sagard (*Voy. Hurons,* p. 286). It was probably that of the May apple, or mandrake (*Podophyllum peltatum,* Linn.), of which Brunet says: "The root is a violent poison, which was sometimes used by the savages when they could not outlive their sorrows." *Catalogue des Plantes Canadiennes* (Quebec, 1865), livr. 1, p. 15. Champlain (Laverdière's ed., pp. 518, 519) describes this plant, which he found growing abundantly in the Huron country.—*Id.,* xiii, *note* 3.

PAGE 91

1. Antoine (Antoine Joseph, according to Sommervogel) Poncet de la Rivière was born at Paris, May 10, 1637; at the age of nineteen he entered, in that city, the Jesuit novitiate, having already made a brilliant record as a student in rhetoric and philosophy. He was an instructor at the college of Orléans in 1631-34, and carried on his theological studies successively at Clermont (1634-35), Rome (1635-38) and Rouen (1638-39). In 1638, Poncet met Madame de la Peltrie, who through his agency became acquainted with Marie of the Incarnation, and chose the latter as head of the Ursuline convent at Quebec; and he accompanied the nuns on their voyage to Canada, in the summer of 1639. Poncet went immediately to the Huron mission, but remained there only one year, when he returned to Quebec. In the early part of 1642, he was at Three Rivers, as assistant to Buteux; in July following, he was at Montreal, and baptized the first Indian converted there. He remained in charge of the Montreal parish till the spring of 1643, and apparently spent the remainder of his Canadian term of service at Quebec and other St. Lawrence posts. In August, 1653, he was captured by a marauding band of Iroquois, who took him to their villages and cruelly tormented him. They decided, however, to spare his life,—whereupon, he so effectually labored with them that they agreed to conclude a peace with the French, and in the following October carried Poncet back to Three Rivers. After his return, he officiated at Quebec until September, 1657, when, becoming personally involved in the controversy between the Jesuits and the Sulpitian Abbé de Queylus, he was sent back to France. The Jesuit explanation of this affair is given by Rochemonteix (*Jésuites,* vol. ii, pp. 216-220); the Sulpitian, by Faillon (*Col. Fran.,* vol. ii, pp. 282, 290-292). After Poncet's return to France, he was at first a preacher, then penitentiary at Lorette. In 1665, he went to Martinique, where he died, June 18, 1675.—*Id.,* xv, *note* 20.

PAGE 92

1. In publishing the *Journal des Jésuites,* we follow the original manuscript in the library of Laval University, Quebec. It covers the period from September, 1645, to June, 1668, excepting some lacunæ between February 5, 1654, and October 25, 1656. This manuscript belonged originally to the archives of the old Jesuit Fathers at their house in Quebec, and was found there after the death of their last survivor, Father Jean Joseph Casot, who died March 16, 1800. Afterward it disappeared, but was recovered about the year 1815, when Andrew William Cochran, civil secretary to Governor Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, accidentally discovered it in an obscure corner of his office. After Mr. Cochran's death—which occurred on July 11, 1849—his widow presented it to George Barthélemy Faribault, of Quebec. Mr. Faribault died December 21, 1866, and by his last will and testament bequeathed all of his books, manuscripts, paintings, and engravings, relative to the history of Canada, to the Seminary of Quebec. The original of the *Journal des Jésuites* thus passed to the Seminary, and is now among the matchless treasures of the library of Laval University.

There is evidence that the *Journal* was continued down to 1755; but the manuscripts of this continuation, which must have comprised at least two more volumes, have disappeared. In 1897, the Abbé Henri R. Casgrain of Laval University, made special researches for the missing volumes in England among

the heirs of William Smith, the historian of Canada—but without success. Smith had quoted from it under date of December 20, 1710, and again under 1752; and in his preface he specially mentions "the Jesuits' Journals" among the sources from which he derived "valuable information." Mgr. Thomas E. Hamel, librarian of Laval University, writes us, May 7, 1898, that he is under the impression that Mr. Smith had only *access* to the manuscripts, and was not the owner of them; and that it is only by mere chance that the missing volumes can be found—if, in fact, they have not perished altogether.

In 1871 the *Journal des Jésuites* was first printed under the editorship of the Abbés Laverdière and Casgrain; but after a few copies, perhaps about sixty, had been distributed, a fire broke out in the printing establishment of the publisher, Léger Brousseau, and nearly all the remaining copies were consumed. A few of them (Henry C. Murphy says twelve, but a pencilled memorandum in the copy in the Wisconsin Historical Society's library says forty), which were singed and water stained, were afterwards bound up, and are now occasionally met with. . . .—*Id.*, xxvii, pp. 307-308.

PAGE 93

1. *Manhate:* afterwards Manhattan; the island on which New York was built. O'Callaghan (*Hist. New Netherlands,* vol. i, p. 47, *note* 2) says that this name is that of the Indian tribe living thereon at the time of the first Dutch settlement. Beauchamp (*Ind. Names,* p. 45) regards it as a form of the Delaware word *Man-a-tey,* "an island."—*Id.*, xxv, *note* 5.

2. François Marguerie, a native of Normandy, came to Canada about 1627, and served as interpreter for the Algonkins. During the English occupation of the country, he lived among the savages; upon the return of the French, he settled at Three Rivers (still acting as interpreter), where an estate was granted to him. As Brébeuf . . . informs us, he spent the winter of 1635-36 at Allumettes Island. In February, 1641, Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy de Normanville were captured by the Iroquois, who, however, brought their prisoners back to Three Rivers in the following April. This episode is described at length by Vimont in the *Relation* of 1641, chaps. ix and x. . . .—*Id.*, x, *note* 4.

PAGE 94

1. Cf. Pyrlaeus' statement regarding the respective rank of the Iroquois tribes: also Zinzendorf's as cited by Hawley (*Early Cayuga Hist.*, p. 21, *note* 1).—*Id.*, xliv, *note* 8.

For the first reference, see Kenton, vol. i, pp. 557-558.

PAGE 95

1. The paragraphs dated Sept. 16, 19 and 25 are written by De Quen; the words *vide infra A,* are in a different and smaller hand. These words refer to the report of the council held with Garakontie, which begins with "A," and is in the handwriting of Le Moyne. . . .—*Id.*, xliv, *note* 13.

PAGE 103

1. Gabriel Druillettes, born Sept. 29, 1610, began his novitiate in the Jesuit college at Toulouse, July 28, 1629. His studies were pursued in that college and at Puy; and he was a teacher in the institutions, successively, at Mauriac, Béziers, and Puy. In 1643, he came to Canada, his first year being devoted to the study of the Algonkin tongue. Becoming proficient therein, he accompanied wandering bands of those savages on their hunting expeditions, as Le Jeune before had encamped with the Montagnais. In August, 1646, Druillettes set out on a mission to the Abenaki tribes of Maine, who, interested in the new religion through the Sillery converts, had asked for a teacher. He remained with these people one year, then three years with the Montagnais about Tadoussac. In June, 1651, he again went into the country of the Abenakis, not only for their instruction, but as an envoy from the Canadian

authorities to secure, if possible, an alliance with the New England colonists against the Iroquois; his efforts were unsuccessful. Returning to Quebec in the following spring, he resumed his labors among the Montagnais, which, with ministrations at Sillery, Three Rivers and other posts, occupied most of his time for twenty years thereafter. He accompanied Dablon on a mission to the Cree tribes, 1661-62; and in 1671-72 was in charge of the mission at Sault Ste. Marie. Druillettes ended his days at Quebec, April 8, 1681. . . .—*Id.*, xxiii, *note* 11.

PAGE 107

1. The first of these routes to Hudson Bay followed the Saguenay up to Lake St. John (Piouakouami): then entered the tributary of that lake named Peribouka, proceeding N. E. to its source in Lake Ouichtagami (Outakouami). By a portage thence across the "height of land" (watershed), one would reach a small river falling into Lake Mistassini, the headwaters of Rupert River, which flows into the Southern end of James Bay.

The second route is more vaguely stated: but it seems probable that by it the traveler would ascend the St. Maurice to its sources, proceeding thence across the watershed to the Waswanipi River, a tributary of the Nottoway (on old maps, "river of the Iroquois"), which last stream enters Rupert Bay, not far from the mouth of Rupert River. De l'Isle's map of 1703 shows the Ouakouingouechiouek River rising in Lake Ouapichianon, and flowing N. W. into Rivière des Pitchibourouni (East Main River). Such location does not agree with the description in our text; for that lake and river could not be reached from the Metaberoutin (St. Maurice), without making a long journey N. E. from the latter river, and crossing the Rupert.

The route pursued by the Nipissing Indians would, via the Ottawa and Lake Temiscaming, reach Lake Abittibi, the outlet of which, Abittibi River, unites with the Moose River, near the discharge of the latter into James Bay. By a similar route, to the west of the Abittibi, the Algonkins at the north end of Lake Huron could easily reach Moose River; and those dwelling north and west of Lake Superior found ready access to Hudson Bay via Lake Winnipeg, and Nelson River. The interior route to Three Rivers mentioned in the text, probably followed the network of rivers and lakes lying between the Ottawa and the St. Maurice, of which the principal streams are the Gatineau and the Ribbon.—*Id.*, xliv, *note* 20.

2. The wild rice (*Zizania*) is here described.—*Id.*, xlviii, *note* 4.

PAGE 108

1. The Ouchestigouetch were one of the petty Montagnais tribes of the Saguenay,—perhaps that mentioned in the *Relation* of 1643 as Oukesestigouek. Oumamiois is another term for the Bersiamites.—*Id.*, xlix, *note* 7.

For this reference to the *Relation* of 1643, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 414, *note* *.

PAGE 109

1. In this survey of the Northwestern tribes, the central point of view is a Pottawattomie village called by the Jesuits St. Michel, although it is not recorded that they had a residence therein. It is impossible to locate this place accurately, but it was apparently at some point on the west shore of Lake Michigan. Here one of the numerous Pottawattomie bands was sojourning, together with some of the Petun (Tobacco) Hurons, who had fled from the rage of the Iroquois. Their nearest neighbors were the Kiskakons, an Ottawa tribe; and the Negawichi, a band of the Illinois. This last "nation" is mentioned in the text as the Aliniwek, the most populous of all; they then occupied S. W. Wisconsin and the greater part of Illinois. North of these Pottawattomies dwelt the Winnebagoes, around the south end of Green Bay; the Menomonees, on the west shore of the bay, as far down the river which bears their name; and, beyond, the Noukek, or Nouquets (cf. Roquai, vol. xviii, p. 231), who have given name to Bay de Noquet in Delta county, Mich. The

Menomonees were known to the French as *Folles Avoines*, "the people of the wild oats,"—the wild rice, a grain (*Zizania aquatica*) mentioned in this paragraph, for the first time in the *Relations*.

Inland from St. Michel were the Mascoutens and Outagamies or Foxes (Fr. *Rénards*),—the former along the upper Fox River, the latter northward along the Wolf. "The two Frenchmen" mentioned as visiting these tribes were Radisson and Groseilliers. The Oumamis, or Miamis, were located in a nearly opposite direction, across the lake, in S. W. Michigan.

The Poualak must have been at this time in Eastern Minnesota, along the west shore of the Mississippi; their relatives, the Assinipoualak, dwelt west of Lake Nipigon (Alimibeg), and N. W. of Lake Superior. Between these tribes lay the villages of the (Eastern) Sioux (Nadouechi). The Mantoue (Mandans?) can hardly be those mentioned in 1640 as living in the Northern peninsula of Michigan.

The great Cree nation (Kilistinous) is here divided according to locality; first, those about Lake Nipigon; next, probably those west of James Bay; then those between Lake Nipigon and Moose River, a region easy of access to the Nipissing Indians. The Nisibourounik tribe were probably the dwellers on the East Main River.

The last nation mentioned in the text—apparently overlooked in the enumeration of Southern tribes—is the Atsistagherronnons or Mascoutens. Evidently the Mascoutens on the Upper Fox (*v. supra*) were a band who had migrated northward from the rest of their tribe.—*Id.*, xliv, *note* 21.

For the reference to the Roquai, above, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 413. Concerning the Poualak, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 82, *note* 2; the Mantoue (Mandans), vol. i, p. 413; the Crees (Kilistinons), vol. i, p. 413, *note* 2; the *Nisibourounik*—their location, vol. ii, p. 107, *note* 1; the Atsistagherronnons, or Mascoutens, vol. i, p. 421, *note* 1.

PAGE 124

1. The Récollet, Christian Le Clercq, was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1687, and wrote an account of his work there—*Relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris, 1691). He is noted as the inventor of a system of hieroglyphics, by which he taught the Micmacs to read and write, and which those tribes still use. In 1866, a volume of catachism, hymns, prayers, etc., was printed in these characters, by the Leopold Society of Vienna, Austria.—*Id.*, iii, *note* 45.

PAGE 125

1. For citations concerning the Eskimos, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 412, *note* 1.

PAGE 133

1. The Misisager (Missisakis, Mississaguas) were located on the north shore of Lake Huron, when the French first encountered them. Perrot says (*Memoire*, Tailhan's ed., p. 85): "When all the Outaouas were scattered toward the lakes, the Saulteurs and the Missisakis fled to the north, and then to Kionconan [Keweenaw], when game failed them." Later, they returned to their old territory, and after a time became allies of the Iroquois. Cf. *N. Y. Colon. Docs., passim.*—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 7.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 413, *note* 4.

PAGE 140

1. Reference is here made to Lake Nipissing.—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 19.

2. The "turquoises" described by the Indian were amethysts, which are abundant in the rocks of that region. The alleged grains of gold were doubtless iron pyrites. "St. Joseph's Chapel" evidently refers to the mission of that name at the Huron villages of Ihonatiria and Toanché.—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 20.

See concerning these villages, Kenton, vol. i, p. 217, *note* 1.

PAGE 141

1. The name St. Esprit (Span., *Espiritu Santo*) appears on the Franquelin map (1684) at what is now Mobile Bay. The early Spanish explorers applied the same name to either Matagorda or Galveston Bay.—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 21.

2. Hendrick Hudson discovered the bay which bears his name, August 3, 1610. In 1612-13, Sir Thomas Button, an English commander, visited Hudson Bay, wintered on its shores, and thoroughly explored the bay and Southampton Island. He discovered the Nelson River, and at its mouth, which he called Port Nelson, he made his winter abode.—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 22.

PAGE 145

1. The two Frenchmen here referred to were Radisson and Groseilliers, who had just returned from their second western voyage, after an absence of two years. See Radisson's account of this expedition, in his *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), pp. 134-172.—*Id.*, xlv, *note* 23.

See Kenton, vol. i, p. 82, *note* 1.

PAGE 148

1. Reference is here made to some tribe of the Algonkin stock, allied to the Mohegans—possibly the Sokokis, or the Delawares. Brinton remarks (*Lenâpé*, p. 19), concerning the Eastern Algonkin tribes: "By the western and southern tribes they were collectively known as *Wapanachkik*—'those of the eastern region'—which in the form *Abnaki* is now confined to the remnant of a tribe in Maine. The Delawares in the far West retain traditionally the ancient confederate name, and still speak of themselves as 'Eastlanders.'"—*Id.*, xlvii, *note* 7.

PAGE 149

1. It seems probable—after making due allowance for the "travelers' tales" of the Iroquois, repeated from hearsay by the Fathers—that the tree thus described was the palmetto, or cabbage-palm, of the South (*Sabal Palmetto*).—*Id.*, xlvii, *note* 8.

2. *Ontôagannha:* the Shawnees—when first known, living in Western Kentucky. Their migrations were frequent, and cannot be satisfactorily traced; but they seem to have wandered up the Kentucky and Tennessee Rivers, across the mountains, into Virginia and the Carolinas: then (about 1683) into Ohio: and about 1698, to Pennsylvania. Between 1726 and 1756, most of the Shawnees returned to Ohio. About 1832, they were removed by the Federal Government to a reservation in Kansas.—See Brinton's "Shawnees and Their Migrations," *Hist. Mag.*, vol. x, pp. 1-4; and *Lenâpé*, p. 20.

L. H. Morgan characterizes the Shawnee dialect as one of the three containing "the highest specimens of Algonkin speech," and as "colloquially the most beautiful dialect of the Algonkin speech." See his "Systems of Consanguinity," in *Smiths. Contrib.*, vol. xvii (Washington, 1871), pp. 201, 215-217.—*Id.*, xlvii, *note* 9.

PAGE 150

1. . . . The Vermilion Sea was an appellation of the Gulf of California.—Id., xlvii, *note* 10.

2. *Nation du Bœuf:* the name given by the French to a sedentary tribe of Sioux Indians on account of the herds of buffalo that roamed through the country of that tribe.—*Id.*, xlvii, *note* 11.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 462, *note* 1.

PAGE 152

1. Concerning these tribes, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 412, *notes* 1 and 2.

PAGE 156

1. Thierry Beschefer, a Jesuit from the province of Champagne, was sent to Canada in 1665. In the following year, he set out on an embassy to the

Mohawks, and to the Dutch at Albany; but a sudden outbreak of Indian hostilities compelled him to turn back. In 1670-71, however, he was a missionary among the Iroquois. He was appointed superior of the Canadian missions in 1680, which office he seems to have held until at least 1687; a year later, he was prefect of classes in the College of Quebec. . . .—*Id.*, xlix, *note* 8.

PAGE 158

1. Alexandre de Prouville, marquis de Tracy, was born in 1603. He was a lieutenant-general in the French army, and achieved notable successes against the Dutch in Cayenne, and in the adjacent islands. In November, 1663, he was appointed governor-general of all the French possessions in the Americas, and soon afterward left France to visit those regions. He did not reach Canada until June, 1665. His vigorous and resolute measures against the Mohawks brought peace to the harassed Canadian colonies, and so alarmed the savages that they did not again venture to disturb the French settlers for years afterward. In August, 1667, Tracy returned to France, where he died three years later.—Id., xlix, *note* 11.

2. Jacques Marquette was born at Laon, France, June 10, 1637, becoming a novice in the Jesuit order at Nancy, Oct. 8, 1654. His studies were pursued at Pont-à-Mousson, and he spent the usual term as instructor at Rheims, Charleville, and Langres. He had long desired to enter the foreign missions of the order; this wish was granted him in 1666, whereupon he came to Canada. The first two years there were spent in the study of the Algonkin language; he then departed for the Ottawa mission, where (1669) he replaced Allouez at Chequamegon. Driven thence by the Sioux, he founded among the Hurons at the Straits of Mackinac (1671) the mission of St. Ignace. He remained there until May, 1673, when, with Louis Joliet, he set out upon the famous voyage in which they discovered the Mississippi River, and traced its course as far as the Arkansas. At the end of the following September, they returned to Green Bay, via the Chicago portage. In the spring of 1674, Joliet went down to Quebec, and made a verbal report of the voyage. Marquette did not long survive the hardships of that expedition. In October, 1674, he left Green Bay, although he was in poor health, to found a mission among the Kaskaskia Indians in Illinois. Illness prostrating him while engaged in this task, he was compelled to abandon it, and set out on the return to Mackinac; but death overtook him on the journey, May 18, 1675. This event occurred at the mouth of Marquette River, near the site of the present town of Ludington, Mich. Besides this river, a country and city in Michigan, and a county and village in Wisconsin, are named for the missionary. Wisconsin is represented in the capitol at Washington, D. C., by a marble statue of Marquette, designed by the Florentine sculptor Gaetano Trentanove.

While at Green Bay in 1674, Marquette wrote an account of the Mississippi voyage, which was sent to his superior at Quebec. This paper fortunately reached its destination; but as Joliet, when almost in sight of Montreal, lost by the wreck of his canoe all his papers, including his written report to the governor of Canada, the credit of discovering the Mississippi, which properly belongs in common to the two explorers, has generally been attributed to Marquette alone, he being the only reporter of the voyage. His journal and letters will be published in this series in due course.

Regarding the life and labors of this noted missionary, see Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, t. iii, pp. 4-33, where are given copious bibliographical references. Cf. Brucker's "Jacques Marquette," in *Révue de Montreal*, vol. iii, pp. 808-819, and vol. iv, pp. 49-63, 114-117; also "Mémoire sur le Père Marquette," in *Révue Canadienne*, 3rd series, vol. i, p. 283, and vol. ii, p. 25. At St. Mary's College, Montreal, is an apograph by Martin, of Dablon's circular letter (dated Oct. 13, 1675) on the death of Marquette.—*Id.*, I, *note* 13.

For two of the letters of Marquette, cited above, see Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 204-210, 238-240. For his journal of his voyage down the Mississippi, see

Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 256-283. This journal, his unfinished journal and Dablon's note on his death are also reprinted entire in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* selected and edited by Edna Kenton (New York, 1925).

3. Jean Pierron was born at Dun-sur-Meuse, France, Sept. 28, 1631, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Nancy, Nov. 21, 1650. A student at Pont-à-Mousson, and an instructor at Rheims and Verdun, he completed the usual curriculum in 1665; and, after spending two years more as an instructor at Metz, he came to Canada (June, 1667). He was immediately sent to the Iroquois mission, where he remained until 1677, returning to France in the following year. Dablon, in a letter to the French provincial (dated Oct. 24, 1674), describes a journey made by Pierron in that year through the English colonies, in disguise.

Jacques Bruyas, born July 13, 1635, at Lyons, became a Jesuit novice at the age of sixteen. In August, 1666, he joined the Canada mission, and in the following year began his labors among the Iroquois tribes, with whom he remained until 1679; he then took charge of the Iroquois mission at Sault St. Louis, where the greater part of his remaining life was spent. From August, 1693, to August, 1698, he was superior of the Canadian missions; and, in 1700-01, took active part in the negotiations which secured for the French a general peace with the Iroquois tribes. He died at Sault St. Louis, June 15, 1712. Bruyas was noted for his linguistic abilities, and left a MS. grammar of the Mohawk language, the oldest known to exist. It was published (from the original MS.) by the regents of the University of New York, in their *Sixteenth Annual Report of State Cabinet* (Albany, 1863), pp. 3-123.—*Id.,* l, *note* 15.

PAGE 159

1. This was probably the *tripe de roche* (*Umbilicaria Dillenii,* Tuck.), one of the edible species of lichen, growing upon rocks in Canada. It is often mentioned by early explorers. Perrot (Tailhan's ed., p. 52) describes it as "a sort of gray moss, dry, which has no flavor of its own, tasting only of the soil, and of the soup in which it is cooked; without it, most of the families would die of hunger." Father André (*Relation* of 1671, chap. ii) says of it: "It is necessary to close one's eyes when one begins to eat it." Charlevoix (*Journ. Hist.,* p. 332) mentions it in similar terms.—*Id.,* xxxv, *note* 28.

PAGE 160

1. Claude Jean Allouez was born at St. Didier, France, June 6, 1622. At the age of seventeen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Toulouse; his studies were pursued there, and at Billom and Rodez. He was appointed preacher at Rodez, upon the completion of his student life (1656). Departing thence (1658) for Canada, he served at Three Rivers and other St. Lawrence settlements, for seven years. In August, 1665, he went to labor among the Ottawas of Lake Superior, and other Western tribes; his journal for the two years succeeding is given in the *Relation* of 1667, composing the greater part of that volume. Twenty-five years were spent by him in these Western missions; his death occurred August 27 or 28, 1689, while engaged in missionary work. See Dablon's circular letter announcing Allouez's death, in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Francais* (Paris, 1876), t. i, pp. 59-64; this missionary is therein styled "a second Xavier," and credited with having instructed more than 100,000 savages, and baptized over 10,000.—*Id.,* xliv, *note* 10.

PAGE 163

1. The copper of Lake Superior was well known among the Algonkin tribes when the French began to settle in Canada, and early writers frequently mention the mines of that region. In 1768, the English government was petitioned for the grant of "all the copper mines circumjacent to Lake Superior," for sixty miles inland. Sir William Johnson, instructed to inquire whether it would be practicable to work these mines, reported that such an enterprise would en-

counter many difficulties—especially in transporting the ore, which would have to be carried by way of the lakes.—See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. viii, pp. 92, 140, 141; also Marshall's "Early Notices of the Copper Regions," in his *Hist. Writings* (Albany, 1887), pp. 332-342.

In 1843, the so-called "copper rock of Lake Superior" was transported from its original locality on Ontonagon River. Its weight was estimated at 6,000 to 7,000 pounds, and its purity at 95 per cent. It was placed in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C.—*Id.*, l, *note* 28.

PAGE 166

1. Regarding this superstition as to the bones of animals, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 123, *note* 1.

2. *Missibizi:* a variant of Michabou, the Algonkin deity.—*Id.*, l, *note* 31. See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 85, *note* 1.

PAGE 167

1. . . . The Sinagaux (Sinagos), another clan of that [Ottawa] tribe, were nearly annihilated in an invasion of the Sioux country, about 1671; see Perrot's account of this affair, in his *Mémoire* (Tailhan ed.), pp. 99-104.—*Id.*, li, *note* 1.

For information regarding the Ottawas (Outaouacs), see Kenton, vol. i, p. 369, *note* 3; the Kiskakons, an Ottawa clan, vol. i, p. 502, *note* 2.

PAGE 169

1. Cf. the descriptions of the Huron feast *Ononharoia;* Kenton, vol. i, pp. 266-267, 269, 394-401.

PAGE 170

1. Regarding the burning of the dead, see Brinton's *Myths of New World* (3rd ed.), pp. 168-170.—*Id.*, li, *note* 3.

Cf. Kenton, vol. i, p. 85, *note* 1.

PAGE 173

1. One of the numerous forms of the name Mississippi—*Mitchi-sipi,* "the great river"; the first mention of the river by this name, in the *Relations.*—*Id.*, li, *note* 4.

PAGE 186

1. Étienne de Carheil was born at Carentoir, France, in November, 1633, and began his novitiate in the Jesuit college at Paris, Aug. 30, 1653. His studies were pursued at Amiens, La Flèche, and Bourges; and he instructed classes at Rouen and Tours. He was ordained in 1666, and immediately set out for Canada. After two years at Quebec, spent in preparation for mission work, he was sent to Cayuga, where he labored until 1683; he was then, like other missionaries to the Iroquois, compelled to leave that field, through the growing hostility of the savages. The next three years he spent as professor of grammar in the college of Quebec; and in 1686 was assigned to the mission among the Hurons and Ottawas at Mackinac. The establishment of Detroit (1701) by La Mothe Cadillac, the French commander at Mackinac, drew away the Hurons from the latter post, and Carheil could no longer remain there. He had, moreover, provoked the enmity of Cadillac, and also of the fur-traders, by his opposition to the brandy-traffic, so prevalent at all the trading-posts, and so demoralizing to both French and Indians. •This and the practical abandonment of Mackinac, obliged Carheil to return to Quebec in 1703; from that time until probably 1718, he ministered to the French at Montreal and other towns. His death occurred July 27, 1726, at Quebec. . . .—*Id.*, l, *note* 21.

For locations of these Cayuga villages, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 517.

2. *Tiohero* (Thiohero), "the river of rushes": now the Seneca river. The name Tiohero was also given to Cayuga Lake, and to one of the Cayuga villages.—*Id.*, lii, *note* 10.

Regarding this name, see also Kenton, vol. i, p. 227, *note* 1 (Cayugas), and vol. ii, p. 517.

PAGE 190

1. Julien Garnier, a brother of the noted Benedictine, Dom Julien Garnier, was born at St. Brieux, a town in Brittany, Jan. 6, 1643. He entered the Jesuit order at Paris, Sept. 25, 1660; and at the close of his novitiate came to Quebec; in the college there he completed his studies, and was ordained in 1668,—the first ordination of a Jesuit in Canada. He was at once sent to Oneida, as Bruyas's assistant, and remained among the Iroquois tribes until 1685; being transferred to the mission at Sault St. Louis, he labored there until 1715 (excepting from the end of 1691 until some time in 1694, during which period he was in charge of the Huron mission at Lorette). In 1715, Garnier became superior of the Canadian missions, which office he held three years. Returning then to Sault St. Louis, he continued his labors there until 1728; he died at Quebec, Jan. 13, 1730. Lafitau (*Mœurs*, pp. 2, 3) acknowledges his indebtedness to this veteran missionary for most of the material for his work.—*Id.*, I, *note* 17.

2. The Onnontiogas may have been a tribe dwelling on the river called Onnondokoui, now Gananoque, flowing into the St. Lawrence 18 miles N.E. of Kingston, Ont. It is somewhat curious that Frémin does not even allude to the early visits of missionaries to the Neutral tribes,—by the Recollet Daillon, in 1626-27; and by the Jesuits Brébeuf and Chaumonot, in 1640-41.—*Id.*, liv, *note* 2.

Regarding the sites of the Seneca villages, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 212, *note* 1; p. 227, *notes* 1 and 2; vol. ii, p. 517.

PAGE 194

1. Claude Dablon (or d'Ablon) was born at Dieppe, Jan. 21, 1619 (according to Rochemonteix; other writers give the date as February, 1618). He entered the Jesuit novitiate Sept. 17, 1639; his studies were pursued at Paris, La Flèche, and Eu. Joining the Canada mission in 1655, he was immediately sent with Chaumonot to Onondaga, where he labored until the abandonment of the French settlement there (March, 1658). He remained at Quebec until May, 1661, when he went with Druillettes on a mission to the Cree tribes about Hudson Bay; at the end of a year, they returned to Canada. Dablon apparently remained in the St. Lawrence settlements until the summer of 1668, when he went with Marquette to minister to the Algonkin tribes about Lake Superior. While engaged in these labors, Dablon was appointed (1670) superior of all the Canadian missions, and rector of the College of Quebec; but he could not reach the St. Lawrence until the following year. These responsible positions he occupied until August 6, 1680; and again, from October 18, 1686, to August, 1693. He died at Quebec in 1697 (May 3, according to Rochemontiex and Father Jacques Terrien; September 20, according to Martin).

Dablon, as superior, edited the *Relation* of 1671 and 1672, and compiled others covering the period of 1673-79; he also edited the papers of the explorer Marquette.—*Id.*, xli, *note* 13.

PAGE 196

1. For information concerning these tribes, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 413, *note* 4.

PAGE 199

1. In regard to this superstition, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 317, and *note* 1.

PAGE 205

1. *Keinouché* (given by Cuoq as *kinonje*), the Algonkin name for the fish known as "pike," applied to a clan of Ottawas having that fish as its totem. From this is derived the name of Kenosha, a city in S.E. Wisconsin.—*Id.*, liv, *note* 5.

PAGE 209

1. This mention of crucifixion as a mode of execution among the Sioux is apparently unique. Perrot does not mention it, but says that this tribe put prisoners to death by shooting them with arrows (*Mémoire*, Tailhan's ed., p. 90).

The cross is an emblem that appears among many aboriginal tribes of both North and South America, and, as such, evidently antedates the coming of white men to these shores. Various explanations of its meaning and use are given; a symbol of the sun, and associated with the worship of that body; a phallic symbol, evolved from the worship of the reciprocal principle in nature; a symbol of the winds, and of the four quarters of the sky, whence come the winds; and other explanations, often fantastic or conflicting. In all, the cross is associated with a class of natural phenomena,—sunlight, winds, rain, fire, birth, etc.—which indicate life, vitality, growth, and fertility. Among the Western tribes of North America, the cross was doubtless a symbol of the cardinal points and the four winds.—See Brinton's *Myths of the New World* (3rd ed.), pp. 113-117; and the observations of Holmes, Bourke, and Mallery, in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1880-81, pp. 268-273; 1887-88, pp. 479, 480; and 1888-89, pp. 724-735.

Captives were often sacrificed, among savage tribes; and it is possible that their crucifixion mentioned in our text may refer to a human sacrifice thus made to the spirits of the winds.—*Id.*, lxi, *note 7*.

Cf. Kenton, vol. ii, p. 262, *note* 1.

PAGE 213

1. It has generally been supposed by historical writers that the mission of St. François Xavier, thus founded by Alloues, was from the first located at the entrance to the Fox River, at or near the present city of Green Bay, Wis. But the reader will notice that, when the Father set out upon his journey to the Fox and Mascoutin villages in the following spring (p. 215 of this volume [liv]), he spent an entire day in reaching the entrance to the Fox River. Moreover, upon his return from that trip, he made another to the Menomonee village, at the mouth of the river of that name,—which he states, was "eight leagues from our cabin" where he had made his winter quarters. Upon his first arrival in the preceding December, he found six Frenchmen there, who are mentioned by Allouez at the beginning of this letter as engaged in trade among the Pottawattomies—the tribe who had requested the Father to come to them and correct the behavior of these very traders. It is evident that the latter had established a temporary trading post, and that with them Allouez wintered, making their cabin a center for various missionary excursions among the tribes dwelling on the bay shore. His statements cited above indicate the probable location of the French at the mouth of the Oconto River, nearly midway between the Menominee and Fox rivers.—*Id.*, liv, *note 6*.

For Allouez's statements cited above, see Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 213, 218.

2. The river was at first named for the "Puants" as the Winnebagoes were called by the early explorers. Later it was known to the French as Rivière des Rénards (Foxes), and to the English as Fox River (its present name), in allusion to the tribe of that name, the Outagamis of our text. . . .—*Id.*, liv, *note 7*.

3. At the De Pere rapids, the point named in our text, the river is now about 1,500 feet wide; and the fall of water, as measured by the height of the U. S. Government dam built across the river, is eight feet. As the water is shallow at the sides of the stream, the main current being comparatively narrow, the Indians could easily construct the rude weir mentioned in the text. This method of fishing was commonly employed by them in similar locations,—for instance, at the outlet of Lake Simcoe, as described by Champlain (Laverdière ed. of *Voyages*, p. 910). At that place may still be seen in the water some of the stakes used in making the weir; the Ojibwas of the

neighborhood say that these were used by the Mohawks who lived in that region before them, but Joseph Wallace, Sr., of Orillia, Ont., thinks that the stakes are part of those seen by Champlain in 1615.—See his articles in Orillia *Packet,* May 15 and 22, 1896.

The French Creole fishermen at De Pere still employ a modification of the primitive Indian contrivance. At the foot of the dam are built, at intervals across the river, wooden platforms, to which are fastened large nets.—*Id.,* liv, *note* 8.

PAGE 214

1. The name Kaukauna, the modern form of Kekaling, is said by Verwyst (*Wis. Hist. Colls.,* vol. xii, p. 392) to be a corruption of *okakaning,* "where they fish for pike,"—or, rather, this should be "pickerel," according to Cuoq's definition of *oka* (*Lexique Algonquin,* p. 295). The Kakalin portage was one of the most important geographical points in Wisconsin, in the days of the fur trade. Its name appears in many early letters, accounts of exploration, and official documents; it is said that these show some twenty-five different forms of spelling the name. The most common of these variants are: Cakalin, Kakala (Schoolcraft, 1820), Kaukalau (U. S. P. O. dep't, 1840), and Cockalo (in early local parlance).—See H. B. Tanner's interesting paper on the history of Kaukauna, read at the convention of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at Green Bay, Sept. 7, 1899, in the Society's forthcoming report for that year.

The portage called by Allouez Oukocitiming is evidently that around the rapids at Little Chute.—*Id.,* liv, *note* 9.

PAGE 216

1. The location of Allouez's mission of St. Mark has been, and still is, the subject of much uncertainty, and some controversy. Verwyst (*Miss. Labors,* p. 179) places it "at or near Mukwa," Waupaca county, Wis. A local antiquarian, George Gary, of Oshkosh, agrees with him; and Prof. Joseph S. La Boule, of Milwaukee,—a careful investigator and author of a forthcoming monograph entitled *Claude Jean Allouez, S.J., the Apostle of the Ottawas,* to be published about January, 1900,—locates St. Mark's "near the confluence of the Embarrass and Little Wolf rivers," which would be not far from New London,—a city in the township of Mukwa. Publius V. Lawson, of Menasha, thinks (Milwaukee *Sentinel,* Sept. 13, 1899) that the site was near the headwaters of the Little Wolf, in township of Iola, Waupaca county.—*Id.,* liv, *note* 12.

PAGE 217

1. Still greater diversity of opinion exists regarding the situation of the Mascouten and Miami village visited by Allouez after leaving the Outagamis. Butterfield (*Disc. of N.W.,* p. 67) contents himself with placing it in Green Lake county. Verwyst (*ut supra* [*i.e., Miss. Labors*]) locates it near Corning, Columbia county (about five miles N. of Portage City), in which he is followed by A. J. Turner, of Portage. La Boule thinks that the probable site is near the village of Ste. Marie, Green Lake county. A paper by Gary (in Oshkosh *Sunday Times,* Dec. 11, 1898), illustrated by maps, discusses the subject at length; he concludes that the village in question was located on section 32 in town of Rushford, Winnebago county.

The Kikabou mentioned in this connection are the Kickapoos, an Algonkin tribe; later in the century they were driven by the Sioux from Central Wisconsin to the Rock River, in Northern Illinois. A remnant of this tribe resides in Indian Territory. The name Kitchigamich means "people of the great lake," and refers to a tribe living on or near Lake Michigan.—*Id.,* liv, *note* 13.

PAGE 218

1. This stream, which forms part of the N.E. boundary between Wisconsin

and Michigan, is still known as the Menominee River. At its mouth are the flourishing cities of Menominee and Marinette, which are mainly supported by the lumber industry.—*Id.*, liv, *note* 14.

PAGE 221

1. The tribes were gathered at Sault Ste. Marie for this important occasion by Nicolas Perrot, one of the most prominent among the early voyageurs. Born in 1644, he was employed by the Jesuits from 1660 to 1665, and, a year later, by the Sulpitians. Apparently from that time to 1671 he was engaged in the Ottawa fur trade; he became well acquainted among the Northwestern tribes, and readily gained their confidence and good will. . . . From 1684 to 1699, he was one of the chief figures in the upper lake region—exploring its rivers, trading with the savages, negotiating with them for alliance with the French, and holding them to their professions thereof. In 1685 he was appointed, by the governor of Canada, commandant in the Northwest—charged to maintain peace among the savages, and between them and the French; to maintain their loyalty to the French, and secure their armed support in case of war; and to regulate commerce, and discover new countries. He was also appointed, on special occasions, a confidential agent for the Canadian authorities in their dealings with the Indians. Twice during this adventurous career did he narrowly escape death at the hands of irritated savages; and he ran hazards innumerable, of both life and property. About 1693, he discovered the lead mines on the Mississippi. Meanwhile, Perrot met enormous losses. His goods were twice plundered by the savages; in 1687, a great quantity of furs, which he had stored at the Jesuit mission at De Pere, were destroyed by a fire which consumed the mission buildings; and, finally (1697), the royal decree abolishing the trading privileges hitherto granted in the Northwest, although it soon became inoperative, was disastrous to many traders. Perrot had, moreover, spent large sums in presents to the savages, trusting to the French authorities for his reimbursement. In this he was disappointed, and his last years were spent in poverty. During this period, he composed his memoirs, which afford a faithful picture of the Indian tribes then inhabiting the Northwest, their customs and superstitions. This document remained in MS. form until 1864, when it was published, with copious and learned notes by the Jesuit Tailhan; it has already been often cited by us in the notes accompanying this series. Perrot died August 13, 1717. Concerning his life and achievements, see Tailhan's notes to Perrot's *Mémoire;* Sulte's *Canad.-Fran.*, t. v., pp. 50-51; and Stickney's "Nicolas Perrot," in *Parkman Club Papers,* 1896, pp. 1-15.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 5.

PAGE 222

1. Cf. Wilson's "Ancient Miners of Lake Superior," in *Canad. Journ.*, new series, vol. i, pp. 225-237.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 2.

See also Dablon's account of the copper mines of Lake Superior, Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 200-203; cf. vol. ii, p. 163, *note* 1.

PAGE 224

1. Such an allusion as that in our text, and at so early a date, sufficiently indicates the importance of Mackinac Island to both Indians and white men. It was, until the day of railroads, the central point for all travel on the upper Great Lakes and for a vast extent of wilderness and half-settled country beyond. As we have seen, it was in 1641 that Jesuits first visited that region; but their missionary labors were not begun on the lakes until nearly twenty years later. Not until 1670 is Mackinac (Michillimackinac) mentioned in the *Relations*, although Ménard and Allouez must have seen it in their early voyages. The reason for this is suggested in our text; the tribes who had dwelt there had been, long before, driven thence by the fierce Iroquois, and

that region was practically deserted until 1670—when the Hurons on Superior, in fear of the Sioux, retreated to the shore north of Mackinac Island. Here Marquette continued his missionary labors with them, at the site of the present St. Ignace. This had long been the location of a French trading post; Denonville's memoir of 1688 claims (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, p. 383) that the French had inhabited that place for more than forty years. A small French garrison was sent thither at some time between 1679 and 1683. The name of Michillimackinac (later abbreviated to Mackinac) was applied generally to the entire vicinity, as well as specifically to the post at St. Ignace—and, later, to the fort and mission established on the south side of the Strait of Mackinac.—See Thwaites's "Story of Mackinac," in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiv, pp. 1-16; Bailey's *Mackinac* (Lansing, Mich., 1896), and Cook's *Mackinaw in History* (Lansing, 1895).

A chart of St. Ignace and vicinity, probably the earliest published, is given in La Hontan's *Voyages* (2nd ed., Amsterdam, 1728), t. i, p. 136.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 3.

Concerning the Jesuits' visit to this region in 1641, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 461, *note* 3.

PAGE 231

1. The terms *vache sauvage, bœuf sauvage,* and sometimes even *buffe* and *buffle,* were applied by the early French writers alike to the buffalo, the moose, and the elk,—whence has arisen much confusion in regard to the former habitat of the buffalo. But examination of the fossil remains of this animal, and of the statements of early writers, both English and French, indicates at least the strong probability that the buffalo was not found east of Hudson's Bay and the Great Lakes or the Alleghanies. Boucher, in his *Hist. vert. et nat.* (reprinted, with numerous annotations by Sulte, in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1896), chap. v, makes (1663) a definite statement on this point: "As for the animals called Bufles, they are only found in the country of the Outaouais, some four or five hundred leagues from Quebec, toward the West and North." The subject is exhaustively discussed in Allen's valuable monograph, "History of the American Bison," published in *U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Survey of the Territories, Ninth Ann. Rep.*, 1875 (Washington, 1877), pp. 443-587.

Le Jeune doubtless refers in the text to either the elk or the moose.—*Id.*, ix, *note* 33.

See Hornaday's admirable monograph on "Extermination of the American Bison," in *U. S. Nat. Mus. Rep.*, 1887, pp. 367-548.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 8.

PAGE 232

1. The bird thus described is the American white pelican (*Pelecanus erthrorhyncos*), found in temperate North America as far north as 61°, and migrating southward in winter.—See Ridgway's *N. Amer. Birds* (Phil., 1887), pp. 81, 82; and *Riverside Nat. Hist.*, vol. iv, pp. 185-188.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 9.

PAGE 237

1. Upon the location of St. Mark's mission, see vol. liv, *note* 12. Since that note was written, Lawson, in company with Mgr. J. J. Fox, of Green Bay, has (Sept. 19-20, 1899) revisited and reëxamined some of the Indian sites in Waupaca county. In a letter to the editor (dated Sept. 25), he now advances the opinion that the mission "was located at Manawa," a village on the Little Wolf River, in the township of Little Wolf. He thinks that White Lake, in the township of Royalton, about five miles south of Manawa, is the "little Lake St. Francis" of Allouez.—*Id.*, lv, *note* 10.

For the reference to an earlier note [vol. liv, *note* 12], see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 216, *note* 1. The "editor" referred to above is Reuben Gold Thwaites, editor of *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* The Burrows Brothers Company, Cleveland, 1896-1901.

PAGE 241

1. Louis André, born May 28, 1631, entered the Jesuit novitiate at Lyons, Sept. 12, 1650. His studies were pursued there, and at Dôle and Avignon; and he was an instructor at Roanne, Besançon, and Bourg. He came to Canada in June, 1669, and was soon assigned to the Ottawa mission. Apparently the first two years of his ministry to the savages were spent in itinerant labors—at Sault Ste. Marie, at Mackinac, and at Green Bay; but this last field became his permanent station from December, 1671. There he remained at least ten years; in 1682, he was at St. Ignace, and the following year with the Kiskakon Indians. From 1684 to 1690, he was a professor in the college at Quebec. In 1691, he was sent to the mission at Chicoutimi, where he remained two years; the next two years he spent at Montreal; and, in 1695, he carried on a mission at the Seven Islands, below Tadoussac. Accounts of his labors after that date are conflicting. . . . André died at Quebec, Sept. 19, 1715.

He left an Algonkin and Ottawa dictionary; a little compendium, "Preceptes, phrases et mots de la langue algonquine outaouoise," with notes in Latin,—these two MS. works being preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal; and a catechism, sermons, etc., which have now disappeared.—Regarding these, see . . . Pilling's *Alg. Bibliography*, p. 13.—*Id.*, lvii, *note* 11.

PAGE 245

1. *Oussouamigoung:* now corrupted into Suamico, a name applied to two small rivers flowing into Green Bay from the west. Verwyst (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xii, p. 397) explains the name as meaning "place of the yellow beaver"; Father Jones, as "at the beaver's tail." Rev. E. P. Wheeler, of Ashland, who has spent most of his life among the Ojibwas, in a letter to the Editor spells the name *ö-sä-wä-mick-köng*, and says it means "yellow residence place."

Chouskouabika cannot be identified from our text: the abundance of fish there, which André mentions, leads us to suppose that this place was on one of the rivers flowing into Green Bay—possibly the Oconto, where Allouez probably began St. François Xavier mission. Father Jones cites André's "Little Glossary," *nota* 7, as showing that *chouskouabika* means "place where there are slippery stones."—*Id.*, lvii, *note* 13.

PAGE 246

1. *Skenonton* is a Huron word meaning "deer,"—perhaps used unconsciously by the writer, who had been associated with the Hurons at St. Ignace; or perhaps borrowed from those savages by the Ottawas.

Crawford Lindsay says of this passage: "Reference is made here to the method of hunting elk and deer popularly known as 'crusting'—pursued when the snow is covered with a crust thick enough to bear dogs, and men on snowshoes, but not the larger deer. The Indians used to hunt moose thus in March; but that practice is now prohibited, and the close season begins Jan. 1."—*Id.*, lvii, *note* 14.

PAGE 247

1. Henri Nouvel was born at Pézenas, Mar. 1, 1624; and entered the Jesuit order Aug. 28, 1648. Coming to Canada in 1662, he spent seven years among the tribes at and below Tadoussac. In the years 1669-70, he was procurator, and prefect of studies, at the College of Quebec. The winter of 1671-72 he spent with the Amikoués, near Sault Ste. Marie; and he was superior of the Ottawa missions from 1672 to 1680 (except 1678-79, when Albanel was superior) and again in 1688-95, with headquarters at the Sault. Sommervogel says that Nouvel remained in Canada until 1695, and died at Aix-la-Chapelle Jan. 8, 1696. The annual *Catalogues* of the Society, however, name him as connected with the Ottawa mission, up to 1700. . . .—*Id.*, xlvii, *note* 17.

2. Cf. this enumeration with Dablon's statement regarding the same village, when he visited it in the autumn of 1670 [*Relation* of 1670-71, pp. 199, 201]

with the Mascoutens he then found the Oumami (Miamis), "who form one of the Nations of the Ilinois,"—the two tribes numbering more than 3,000 souls. Allouez now counts, two years later, nearly two hundred cabins of savages, more than double the above population. To the two tribes above named have been added the Kickapoos, who in 1670 were sojourning at a place four leagues distant from the Mascouten village; a large reënforcement of Miamis, and twenty cabins of other Illinois savages; and a few Ouiatanons (called Weas by the English), a tribe allied to the Miamis, who in 1694 were residing at Chicago, and later on the Wabash river.—*Id.*, lviii, *note* 1.

3. The Outagami village had also become, during the two years since Dablon's visit, a refuge for other Algonkin tribes. Ouagoussak, here mentioned, means simply "the Fox people." The Makoua were probably the Bear clan of the Ojibwas; the Mikissioua, the Eagle clan; the Atchatchakangouen, the Crane clan. See the list of Ojibwa clans and their totems, given by Warren, in *Minn. Hist. Colls.*, vol. v, p. 44, 45. The Makoucoué are, by Butterfield (*Disc. of N. W.*, p. 56, *note* 3) identified with the Mantoué of *Relation* of 1640, and the Nantoué of *Relation* of 1671. The Kaskaskias (Kakachkiouek), Peorias (Peoualen), and Moingonas (Mengakonkia) were all Illinois tribes or clans; the others here named cannot be satisfactorily identified.—*Id.*, lviii, *note* 2.

PAGE 248

1. Pierre Milet was born at Bourges, Nov. 19, 1635, and at the age of twenty became a Jesuit novice. His studies were pursued at La Flèche and Paris; and the usual term as instructor was spent at La Flèche and Compiègne. Upon his ordination (1668) he came to Canada, and was soon assigned to the Iroquois missions. He remained therein, mainly at Oneida, until July, 1684—when, with the other missionaries, he was obliged to return to Canada. Soon after, he became chaplain at Fort Frontenac, acting only as interpreter: these duties engaged him during nearly four years (including a year spent at the Niagara Fort), until his seizure by the Oneidas in 1689. He remained in this captivity until the autumn of 1694, when the tribe sent him back to Montreal. Little is known of his subsequent life. For a time, he was at Lorette, and he probably ministered at other places, to the Christian Iroquois settled among the French. In February, 1697, a band of Oneidas came to live at Montreal, and asked that Milet might be assigned to them as missionary. Charlevoix, who was an instructor at the college of Quebec during 1705-09, mentions that he lived several years with Milet, which would indicate that the latter spent his last years at Quebec. He died there, Dec. 31, 1708.—*Id.*, lxiv, *note* 8.

PAGE 250

1. Concerning this custom, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 77, *note* **.

2. By "family" is here meant "clan."—*Id.*, lviii, *note* 22.

3. The "families" mentioned by Jogues are subdivisions of the tribe, founded upon the relations of consanguinity among its members: these divisions are variously termed, by modern writers, "clans" and "gentes" and, in one form or another, are fundamentally characteristic of the social organization of savage life in all times and countries. This organization among the Iroquois peoples, from the gens to the confederacy, is fully treated by L. H. Morgan (himself an Iroquois), in his *Ancient Society* (N. Y., 1877), chaps. ii-v. He defines the gens as "a body of consanguinei descended from the same common ancestor, distinguished by a gentile name, and bound together by affinities of blood." Cf. Powell's "Kinship and the Tribe: Kinship and the Clan," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881-82, pp. xxxviii-lxii. His definition recognizes two principles of organization, based respectively on *enatic* kinship (reckoning descent exclusively through females), and *agnatic* (reckoning only through males). The former group Powell distinguishes as "clan," the latter as "gens."

Each clan or gens had its own distinctive name and symbol,—the latter

called its "totem," among the Algonkin tribes. This totem was "the mythical animal after whom the clan or gens was named; and from which, in the mythic philosophy, it was genealogically descended" (Brinton). With this idea of descent is connected the worship, prevalent in so many savage tribes, of animals or of ancestors,—the two being often synonymous. Among the Iroquois, there have been eight different clans,—the only ones common, however, to all of the Six Nations being those of the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle. To the Wolf clan, among the Mohawks, Jogues made a special and valuable present; those who killed him belonged to another clan.—*Id.*, xxix, *note* 6.

4. The title of *oyander* (*oiandcr*) is, according to Hale (*Iroq. Rites*, p. 65, *note*), "derived from the root *yaner*, 'noble,' and is the feminine form of the word *royaner*, 'lord,' or 'nobleman,'—the title applied to the members of the federal council." Hale says that the woman "was really the head of the household," and finds in the *Relations* evidence of "the complete equality of the sexes in social estimation and influence." Cf. Morgan's *Iroq. League*, pp. 321-327; Heckewelder's *Ind. Nations*, pp. 143-152.—*Id.*, liv, *note* 15.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 33, *note* 1.

PAGE 252

1. Louis Nicholas was born at Aubenas, August 24, 1634. He entered the Jesuit order at Toulouse, at the age of twenty. An instructor in the colleges of St. Flour, Puy, and Velay during the years 1656-61, he completed his studies at Tournon; and, in 1664, came to Canada. During three years, he served among the Algonkins along the St. Lawrence; in August, 1667, he went with Allouez to Lake Superior, where he apparently remained until the following spring. In 1670, he was sent to the Mohawk mission; and in 1673, labored at the Seven Isles—a rendezvous for numerous Montagnais tribes. According to Sommervogel, Nicolas returned to France in 1675, and, three years later, quitted the Jesuit order.—*Id.*, xlviii, *note* 14.

2. *Seven Islands:* A group at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, near the northerly shore of the gulf.—*Id.*, i, *note* 49.

PAGE 257

1. "The gulf of California was called by the Spaniards Mar de Cortes, or more commonly Mar Bermejo, from its resemblance in shape and color to the Red Sea. . . . In ignorance of this fact, the French translated Bermejo by Vermeille, and English writers Vermillion." "Theguaio, or commonly Tiguex, and sometimes apparently Tejas, and Quivira . . . [which] lay east of the country north of the river Gila, and are probably the present New Mexico and Texas, were first made known by the attempt of a Franciscan missionary [Fray Marc, in 1539] to reach the rich countries of the interior." Shea's notes, *Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 4.

Winship in his admirable monograph on Coronada's expedition (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1892-93), locates Quivira (following Bandelier) in N. E. Kansas, beyond the Arkansas River, and more than 100 miles N. E. of Great Bend; and the village of Tiguex at or near the present town of Bernalillo, N. Mex. (*ut supra*, pp. 391, 394-399).

The wording of this passage would indicate Joliet as the official leader of the expedition; but the authorities doubtless regarded Marquette as a valuable assistant to the enterprise, on account of his knowledge of the Indian tongues and the savage character, as well as of the information regarding the great river which he has acquired while connected with the Ottawa missions.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 15.

2. Louis Joliet was a son of Jean Joliet and was baptized in September, 1645, at Quebec. A student of the Jesuit college there until 1666, he had taken minor orders, and was preparing for the priesthood. In 1666 and 1667, he is mentioned as "clerk of the church" at the seminary of Quebec; and, apparently in the latter year, he abandoned the ecclesiastical life. In October, 1667

(according to Sulte), he went to France, where he spent a year; and in 1669 he was sent, with Jean Péré, by Talon in search of copper-mines at Lake Superior. Returning from this expedition, he met, in September of that year, La Salle and his Sulpitian companions, near the western end of Lake Ontario. Joliet was present at Sault Ste. Marie when St. Lusson took possession of that region for France (June 4, 1671); and he was sent by Frontenac to explore the Mississippi region, in company with the Jesuit Marquette, whose mission at Pt. St. Ignace he reached in December, 1672. In the following May, they began their voyage, which lasted five months. As mentioned* . . . Joliet's papers were lost on the return voyage; but a letter from Frontenac to Colbert, dated Nov. 14, 1674, says of the explorer: "He left with the Fathers at the Sault Ste. Marie, in Lake Superior, copies of his journals; these we cannot get before next year" (*N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, p. 121). Unfortunately, these copies also appear to have been lost.

In October, 1675, Joliet married Claire Françoise Bissot, by whom he had seven children. In 1679, he made a voyage to Hudson Bay, at the demand of the farmers of revenue in Canada. With Jacques de Lalande, he obtained, in the same year, the grant of Isles Mingan, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, where valuable fisheries were located; and in 1680 was granted to Joliet alone, the island of Anticosti, also noted for its extensive fisheries. This latter concession was specifically made as a reward for his discoveries in the above voyages. For many years, he lived at Anticosti with his family. In April, 1697, he also obtained the seigniory of Joliet, in Beauce County, Que. In 1680, he was appointed hydrographer for the king. The English invasion of Canada in 1690 caused him great losses; and it is claimed that, at his death (about 1700), he was actually suffering from poverty.

Regarding Joliet's maps, see Winsor's *Cartier to Frontenac*, pp. 224-249; and Gravier's "Étude sur une inconne . . . par L. Joliet," in *Révue de Geographie* (Paris), February, 1880.—*Id.*, l, *note* 19.

PAGE 258

1. The name of La Conception appears also on Marquette's map, herewith presented; but he is apparently the only explorer or writer who thus named the Mississippi. Shea remarks, in a note upon this passage of our text (*Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 8): "The name of Immaculate Conception, which he gave to the mission among the Kaskaskias, was retained as long as that mission lasted, and is now the title of the church in the present town of Kaskaskia."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 16.

PAGE 261

1. The description here given is insufficient for the identification of the plant. Various plants have been regarded as specifics for the bites of venomous serpents, especially *Aristolochia serpentaria* and *Polygala Senega:* but their virtues have apparently been somewhat exaggerated. Regarding the plants above named, see Charlevoix's *Plantes Amer. Sept.*, pp. 35, 36; his *Journ. Hist.*, p. 159; Rafinesque's *Medical Flora.*, vol. i, pp. 60-65, and ii, pp. 63-65; and Pickering's *Chron. Hist. of Plants*, pp. 748, 768.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 18.

PAGE 262

1. W. J. Hoffman thus explains (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1885-86, p. 155) the character of the cross erected by the savages: "Marquette was without doubt ignorant of the fact that the cross is the sacred post, and the symbol of the fourth degree of the Midē'wiwin, as will be full explained in connection with that grade of society. [Marquette's conclusion was] a natural one, but this same symbol of the Midē' Society had probably been erected and bedecked with barbaric emblems and weapons months before anything was known of him."

* See Kenton, vol. ii, p. 158, *note 2.*

The Midē'wiwin is "the society of the Midē' or Shamans, popularly designated as 'the Grand Medicine Society'"; it is found in many Algonkin tribes. Its ritual, and "the traditions of the Indian genesis and cosmogony, . . . constitute what is to them a religion, even more powerful and impressive than the Christian religion is to the average civilized man."—See Hoffman, *ut supra*, pp. 155, 256, and plate xv (facing p. 240), in which are depicted the "sacred posts" above referred to.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 19.

Cf. also Ragueneau's account of a similar society among the Hurons; Kenton, vol. i, p. 403, *note* * and *note* 1.

PAGE 263

1. Reference is here made to the Fox-Wisconsin portage. The name "Meskousing" is but one of numerous variants of "Wisconsin."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 20.

PAGE 264

1. "This was probably the cat fish of the Mississippi (*Silurus Mississisippiensis*). They sometimes grow enormously large, and strike with great force any object that comes in their way."—B. F. French's note, *Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 17.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 21.

2. The "monster" was "probably an American tigercat, the *pichou du sud* of Kalm. They differ from those of Africa and South America, because they have no spots." The fish was "the *polyodon spatula* of Linn. It is now very rare, and but seldom found in the Mississippi. It is also called by the French *le spatule*" (French, *ut supra* [*Disc. of Miss. Valley*], p. 18).—*Id.*, lix, *note* 22.

PAGE 266

1. "These villages are laid down on the map on the westerly side of the Mississippi, and the names of two are given, Peouarea and Moingwena, whence it is generally supposed that the river on which they lay, is that now called the Desmoines. The upper part of that river still bears the name Moingonan, while the latitude of the mouth seems to establish the identity. It must, however, be admitted that the latitude given at that day differs from ours generally from 30′ to a degree, as we see in the case of the Wisconsin and the Ohio. This would throw Moingwena somewhat higher up." Shea, *ut supra* [*Disc. Miss. Valley*], p. 20.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 23.

PAGE 269

1. Nearly all the aboriginal tribes assumed for themselves names of similar meaning, in much the same boastful spirit as the Greeks applied the term "barbarian" to all peoples outside of Greece.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 24.

PAGE 270

1. Captives taken in war were generally treated as slaves, among all aboriginal nations. The transition from this method of securing slaves to that of raids upon weaker tribes was, of course, an easy one; and not only the Illinois, but the Iroquois and other powerful nations, seem to have been habitual stealers and sellers of men.—See Carr's *Mounds of Miss. Valley*, pp. 30-33, where are cited many references to early writers, regarding this subject.

A note in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. xiv, p. 140, cites the finding by the Jesuit Grelon, in Chinese Tartary, of a Huron woman he had known in America. She had been sold as a slave from tribe to tribe, until she had reached that place.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 25.

PAGE 271

1. The custom here described appears to have been prevalent among the Southern and Western tribes, and is mentioned by many travelers and writers, even down to comparatively recent times. See Membré's narrative in Shea's *Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 151; Lafitau's *Mœurs des Sauvages*, t. i, pp. 52-53; Charlevoix's *Journ. Hist.*, p. 303; Long's *Expedition*, vol. i, p. 129; Parkman's

La Salle, p. 207; Carr's *Mounds of Miss. Valley*, p. 33; and Coues's *Henry and Thompson Journals* (N. Y., 1897), vol. i, pp. 53, 163-165. Charlevoix and Long, among others, suppose that the assumption of feminine garb and occupations by men proceeded from a superstition or a dream, or was the observance of some religious rite; some other writers assert that these men were set aside for infamous purposes—a statement apparently verified by much evidence, especially as this class of men were held in the utmost contempt, even among the savages. They were called by the French *bardache* (a word originally from Arabic *bardaj*, "slave"), or *berdache;* the English corruption of this word, "berdash" (a word used, in various forms, as early as 1548), is everywhere in use in the West and North, to designate the men referred to.

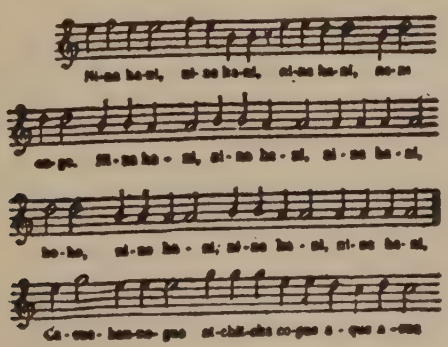
Catlin (*N. Amer. Inds.*, vol. ii, pp. 214, 215) describes the annual "dance to the Berdashe," as seen among the Indians whom he visited on the Upper Mississippi, and has a sketch (plate 296) illustrating it. He says of the "berdashe": "For extraordinary privileges which he is known to possess, he is driven to the most servile and degrading duties, which he is not allowed to escape; and he being the only one of the tribe submitting to this disgraceful degradation, is looked upon as *medicine* and sacred, and a feast is given to him annually. . . . This is one of the most unaccountable and disgusting customs that I have ever met in the Indian country, and so far as I have been able to learn, belongs only to the Sioux and Sacs and Foxes."—*Id.*, lix, *note 26*.

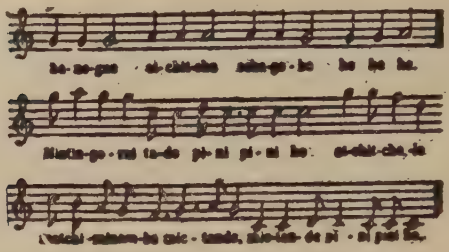
2. In the MS. at St. Mary's College, which we follow, two leaves are here lacking—a lacuna supplied from Thevenot's *Recueil*.

The red stone of which the calumet was made has been, from an early period, obtained by the Indians from the celebrated "Pipestone Quarry," in Pipestone county, in the southwestern corner of Minnesota. This place was first described by George Catlin, who visited it in 1836: see his interesting account of the quarry and the surrounding region (with sketch of locality), in his *N. Amer. Inds.*, vol. ii, pp. 160, 164-177, 201-206. The stone was named in honor of him "catlinite"; it is a red quartzite, regarded by Winchell as the equivalent of the New York Potsdam sandstone. See the latter's account of the stone quarry, in *Minn. Geol. Survey Rep.*, 1877, pp. 97-109.—*Id.*, lix, *note 27*.

PAGE 274

1. Martin, in Douniol edition (t. ii, p. 263), gives the entire chant (of which but one sentence is found in the Montreal MS.), with both words and musical notation. He gives as his authority "a manuscript preserved by the Jesuits, at Paris, in which appear the notation of the song in the calumet dance, and the beginning of the seventh section. The song is as follows:





Cf. illustrated description of calumet dance, as practiced among the Omaha Indians, given in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881-82, pp. 276-282.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 29.

PAGE 275

1. This is the heading of section 7 given in the Lenox edition—a made-up title, however, as the Thevenot text is not divided into sections, but continues through without a break. Martin made another heading, given in the Douniol edition (and also in his copy from the Thevenot text, with which he supplied the gap in the Montreal MS.), which reads as follows, in translation: "Continuation of the voyage; various rarities encountered along the route; of the Pekitanoui river, by which one can proceed to California." Shea omits any section division at this point, and in his translation numbers the succeeding sections vii, viii, and ix, respectively.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 30.

2. Here ends the lacuna supplied from the Thevenot text.

Pekitanoui: the Missouri River. "The name here given by Marquette, [meaning] "muddy water," prevailed until Marest's time (1712). A branch of Rock River is still called Pekatonica. The *Recollects* called the Missouri, the river of the Ozages."—Shea's note in *Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 38.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 31.

3. French, *ut supra* [*Disc. of Miss. Valley*], p. 38, thus identifies these plants and fruits: "Probably *Cactus opuntia*, several species of which grow in the western states; *Diospyros virginiana*, or persimmon-tree; *Castanea pumila*, or chincapin."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 32.

PAGE 276

1. Parkman says (*La Salle*, p. 59, *note* 1): "The rock where these figures were painted is immediately above the city of Alton [Ill.]. The tradition of their existence remains, although they are entirely effaced by time. In 1867, when I passed the place, a part of the rock had been quarried away." But Amos Stoddard observes, in his *Sketches of Louisiana* (Phila., 1812), p. 17: "What they [Joliet and Marquette] call *Painted Monsters* on the side of a high perpendicular rock, apparently inaccessible to man, between the Missouri and the Illinois, and known to moderns by the name of *Piesa*, still remain in a good state of preservation." Parkman mentions (*ut supra*) a map for the intendant Duchesneau, soon after Marquette's voyage, "which is decorated with the portrait of one" of the monsters, "answering to Marquette's description, and probably copied from his drawing."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 33.

2. This supposition of Marquette's has been confirmed by later explorations, which show that the headwaters of the Platte, tributary to the Missouri, closely approach those of the Colorado, which falls into the Gulf of California.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 34.

PAGE 277

1. *Ouaboukigou* (Ouabouskigou, on the maps of both Joliet and Marquette): corrupted by the French into Ouabache, and Anglicized as Wabash. By early writers and map-makers the name was applied to both the present Wabash River and the Ohio below their junction; it was also called by the French

Rivière de St. Jérôme. By 1746, we see on D'Anville's map of that date "Ohohio, ou la Belle Riv.," applied to the entire course of the Ohio, and "Ouabache" to the Wabash, as now known; and Winsor cites (*Mississippi Basin,* p. 17) James Logan, of Pennsylvania, as making that discrimination as early as 1718.—*Id.,* lix, *note* 35.

2. *Chaouanons:* the Algonkin name, meaning "people of the South," for the tribe now known as Shawnees (a corruption of the above word); also called Ontouagannha. Shea, in his note (*Disc. of Miss. Valley,* p. 41) on this passage of our text, argues that this tribe is that of the Eries after their dispersion by the Iroquois.—*Id.,* lix, *note* 36.

Cf. observation on the Attiwendaronk: Kenton, vol. i, p. 415, *note* 1; p. 227, *note* 1; p. 419, *note* 3. See also, concerning the Shawnees, Kenton, vol. ii, p. 149, *note* 2.

PAGE 278

1. "The missionary gives no name to this tribe or party, but from their dress and language, apparently of the Huron-Iroquois family, they may have been a Tuscarora party, and referred to the Spaniards of Florida with whom they traded in trinkets for skins."—Shea's note in *Disc. of Miss. Valley,* p. 44.

"Marquette had now reached the country of the warlike Chicachas [Chickasaws], whose territory extended several hundred miles along the banks of the Mississippi, and far to the eastward, where they carried on a traffic with tribes who traded with Europeans."—French's note, *ut supra* [*Disc. of Miss. Valley*], p. 43.—*Id.,* lix, *note* 37.

PAGE 279

1. The Mitchigameas were located about the mouth of the St. Francis River in Arkansas. As for the latitude given to this place by Marquette, it varies somewhat, as might reasonably be expected, from that of modern surveys.—*Id.,* lix, *note* 38.

PAGE 280

1. "It is probable that Akamsea was not far from the Indian village of Guachoya, where De Soto breathed his last, one hundred and thirty years before; and Mitchigamea, the village of Amionoya, where Alvarado de Moscoso built his fleet of brigantines to return to Mexico" (1543).—French's note, *ut supra* [*Disc. of Miss. Valley*], p. 46.

Later (1886), Shea locates Guachoya, following De l'Isle's map of 1707, at the mouth of the Red River; see his paper on "Ancient Florida," in Winsor's *N. & C. Hist.,* vol. ii, pp. 253, 294.—*Id.,* lix, *note* 39.

PAGE 281

1. Regarding the pottery manufactured by the tribes of this region, see Holmes's "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.,* 1882-83, pp. 360-436; it contains numerous illustrations of specimens obtained from mounds and other sources in the Central States. See also Butler's "Prehistoric Pottery—Middle Mississippi Valley," and Seever's "Prehistoric Remains in St. Francis Valley,"—both papers describing and illustrating the pottery collection in the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,—in *Proceedings* of that Society for 1893, pp. 70-78. Cf. Thomas Wilson's "Prehistoric Art," in *U. S. Natl. Mus. Rep.,* 1896, pp. 475-480. It is probable that the earthen jars and vessels used by the Arkansas tribes at the time of Marquette's visit did not essentially differ, in form, process of manufacture, or use, from the specimens now on our museum shelves, obtained from mounds. Holmes says (*ut supra,* p. 371): "There can be no reasonable doubt that the manufacture of this ware began many centuries before the advent of the white race, but it is equally certain that the art was extensively practised until quite recent times. The early explorers of Louisiana saw it in use, and the processes of manufacture are described by Dumont and others." And Hoffman (*U. S.*

Bur. Ethnol. Rep., 1892-93, p. 257) says: "Earthenware is no longer made by the Menomini, though some of the oldest women remember when pottery-making was engaged in."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 40.

Cf. *Peabody Museum Reports*, 1875, pp. 18-21, 28-45; 1878, pp. 317-328, 343-360.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 24.

PAGE 282

1. Reference is here made to the Illinois River; from its upper waters, the traveler obtained access to Lake Michigan by several portages. That between its northern fork (the Des Plaines River) and the Chicago River was, owing to the southward current along the west shore of Lake Michigan, the usual route on the outward voyage from Mackinac and other northern points. The Des Plaines might also be reached by a similar portage to the Calumet River, which falls into Lake Michigan at the present South Chicago. On early maps the Chicago and Calumet Rivers are sometimes confounded with each other. On the return trip, the voyager could reach the great lake not only by these routes, but by a third—via the Kankakee (the southern fork of the Illinois) and a portage (at the present South Bend, Ind.) to St. Joseph River, at the S. E. corner of Lake Michigan. This was often used when returning to Mackinac, as the lake current runs northward along the east shore.—See Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, pp. 24-26.

The Chicago-Des Plaines route involved a "carry" of from four to nine miles, according to the season of the year; in a rainy spring season, it might not be over a mile; and during a freshet, a canoe might be paddled over the entire route, without any portage. A canal between these rivers was opened in 1848, which gave a strong impetus to Chicago's early growth; and the government drainage canal, now (December, 1899) nearing completion, follows the same route, from Chicago to Joliet, a distance of 36 miles southward to the Des Plaines River—a waterway 14 feet deep, and 100 feet wide, which will not only insure proper drainage to Chicago, but greatly facilitate her commerce.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 41.

PAGE 283

1. These villages of the partly nomadic Illinois savages were not situated at the places afterward known by their names. The Kaskaskia village is placed by Shea (*Disc. of Miss. Valley*, p. 74, *note*) "near Rockport" (by which he apparently means the so-called "Starved Rock," on which La Salle built Fort St. Louis); and Parkman locates it (*La Salle*, pp. 65, 156) "about seven miles below the site of the present town of Ottawa [Ill.]."—*Id.*, lix, *note* 42.

PAGE 286

1. Reference is here made to the Sturgeon Bay portage.—*Id.*, lx, *note* 23.

PAGE 288

1. For description of shields and armor used by the Indian tribes, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 364, *note* 1; of their bows and arrows, vol. i, p. 37, *note* 2.

PAGE 290

1. Jean de Lamberville, born at Rouen, Dec. 27, 1633, became a Jesuit novice March 3, 1656, at Paris. After one year's study there, he became an instructor at Bourges, Alençon, and Rennes, successively; and completed his studies at Bourges and Rouen. Coming to Canada in 1669, he was at once assigned to the Iroquois mission, where he remained (as superior, after a few years) until 1687, when all the missionaries were compelled to flee from the cantons. During that time, Lamberville was a prominent figure in the complicated relations between the Indians, French, and English, and more than once averted hostilities between them. He was greatly esteemed by the Iroquois, and thoroughly understood their character; he was therefore often employed by the French authorities in negotiations with the savages. After leaving this mission, he acted during several months as chaplain to the French garrison at Forts

Frontenac and Niagara; breaking health compelled him to return to Montreal in February, 1688. In 1691, he was laboring in the mission at Sault Ste. Louis; in the following year, he returned to France, where he acted as procuror for the Canadian missions during nearly twenty years. His death took place at Paris, Feb. 6, 1714.—*Id.*, lvi, *note* 1.

PAGE 292

1. Regarding the use of masks among various aboriginal tribes, see Dall's paper on "Masks and Labrets," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1881-82, pp. 67-203. He cites (pp. 144, 145) an explanation by L. H. Morgan of the meaning of the masks used by the Iroquois, which is peculiar to them among North American tribes. According to him, the Iroquois have, even at the present time, a superstitious belief in a race of demons whom they call "False-faces," and regard with fear and horror. Upon this belief was founded a secret society called the "False-face band," the members of which wear hideous masks (one of which is pictured, *ut supra*, p. 189). This organization was formed to propitiate the above-named demons, and thus to arrest pestilence and disease, which the demons caused; and in course of time its members acquired a reputation for ability to cure or avert disease. Morgan describes the ceremonies which they practiced for that purpose. Brébeuf apparently refers to this society in [the Huron *Relation* of 1636, chap. v]. Cf. De Cost Smith's "Witchcraft and Demonism of the Modern Iroquois," *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, vol. i, pp. 187-193.—*Id.*, lxiii, *note* 29.

For Brébeuf's reference to this fraternity, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 277.

PAGE 294

1. *Aiouas* (Ayoés, Ayowois): modernized into Iowas; a Siouan tribe, living in Southern Minnesota when first known by white men. The appellation given them in our text means "Nadoessi (or Sioux) of the prairies," and they were on friendly terms with the other Sioux tribes. Perrot says (Tailhan's ed., p. 85) that the Ottawas, fleeing in 1656-57 from the Iroquois, were hospitably received by the Ayoës, and when he established himself upon the Mississippi (1685) he maintained friendly relations with the latter tribe. An enumeration of the savage tribes of New France, in 1736, place the Ayowois south of the Missouri River (probably an error for the Minnesota), and estimates their number at 80 warriors (400 to 500 souls).—See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, p. 1055.

In 1757, ten Iowa warriors were in the army of French and savages at Ticonderoga. Early in this century the Iowas were dwelling on the Iowa and Des Moines Rivers, in the State of Iowa. Catlin found them, about 1835, located a few miles north of Fort Leavenworth, east of the Missouri River, and then estimated their number at 1,400. They are now (*U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893-94, pp. 162, 194, 195) located on reservations in Kansas, Nebraska and Oklahoma.

The allusion to their wealth as partly consisting in "red calumets" apparently means that this tribe were in control of the famous "pipestone quarry."—*Id.*, lx, *note* 27.

Concerning this "pipestone quarry," see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 271, *note* 2.

PAGE 298

1. The relations between the Lorette mission and the cathedral of Chartres probably arose from the fact that Bouvart, for some time in charge of the mission, was a native of Chartres. The gift sent by the Hurons to the cathedral, for the Virgin of Chartres, was a belt or girdle of wampum, 1.445 meters in length, and 7 centimeters wide. Upon a ground of white beads was the legend, in black heads, *VIRGINI PARITVRÆ. VOTVM HVRONVM*,—"The offering of the Hurons to the Virgin who shall bring forth a son;" and the belt was bordered with a sort of embroidery in red porcupine quills.

The prayer of the Hurons which accompanied this gift was written by

Bouvart in their language, and then translated by him into French. The latter version is given in our text; the original Huron composition is herewith given in this note, as published by Shea and Merlet. Merlet's copy of it (see his pp. 3, 4) indicates considerable difference in orthography from Shea's. We follow the latter, in the main, as showing the special characters used by Bouvart; but in accents, and sometimes in capitals, as well as in various forms of spelling, we follow Merlet. Neither version is free from typographical errors, which have often been corrected; but, apart from indicating the special characters, Merlet's is the better. The prayer is as follows:

"8endat Lorétrônon Teiatontarigé haon Gonastaen*x*8indik De*x*a Gacharandiont Marie Charseekeondaon [Chatreske ondaon—*Merlet*].

"Marie Saatatoguéti on8atonnharandaoten dé chiefannonchionnianni chartres ékandataen afen té fatondin'nen, ondaie etiéfannonchionniatandi d'éfak8etonhend ftante ftak8atéchend: ahotïatan'non'nen chartrénonnon O'ndaie d'okontà*x*8i éfachiendaentak afon tfâten té éfehièràk ondècha8eti. Chigànnen étion8aranne'ntagui Marie di8 tfatatiena dé8endat a8aatfi, ondaie d'a8àk8étak éfachiendaenk aion8éfentéguen: taonfaïa8a*x*ih8àcha8a nonh8arih8andéraï ondéràti on8a difé8an té éfachiendaentak: o'ndaie ati nonh8a a8erhendiofen aia8atiéràron de chartréro'nnon, gátoguen tfon8andigonrat, a8éti chiaa8a8endat é8aton dé Marie tek8annonronk8annionhoin, éa8annonh8eha, éa8a8endïoft: onné ichien a*x*iendi*θ*a daat agon8e chartréronnon, a8erhe endifken aonfaion*x*igenthen d'étiéfachiendaentatiend dind'à8efk8ak etfachiendaenhai, tho iohti dé onionh8a aguenk. Stan igerhé té on8àta8ahe da8erhé honnonh8afen aon*x*ientenh8a dé té éfannonronk8annion, o'ndaie aonfahatichonnia non8ahékencha8an Hotiaranhdoré defa8endiofti, ondaiefken tande'ndi étion8a tandoré d'onnonh8a hatendaréti hotindigonr8annens, té hotïannràk8an'nens. Marie Saatatoqu*ξ* ti Dj8 tfatatiena, [*θ*ok8an'nens. Marie Saatatoqu*ξ* ti Di8 tfatatiena—*these words omitted by Merlet*], *θ*o chien ftechiak8eton onh8àtiguèhen d'héchiena ogont ichien éa*x*i'ndageren chartréron'non ogont té esannonronk8a'nnion*θ*a: défak8etondé té ftak8atéché, 8âdefonh8a chié8endio dachierhon 8endat afen a*x*éenaf*θ*a ftan oraft'endàk8atéché. *x*a ichien éfachiendaenk onnonchiatoguehtigué ondè dé fkiatierên ti gannonchi8ten'nen chiondaon*xθ*o haoné di8 hechienafti fton8e ihoton a8erhé ton8entent [eonouentenr—*Merlet*] iaon dè Marie éon8aenafthа, é8erhon ta*x*endigontérafen gatogen on8e eonton aonfahonaérenf*θ*a déhiena. *θ*o ati ta8enk défa tè fkak8aterihatié, ogont échiok8etonhdè. *θ*o haoné, *θ*o ara tchiáka dak8eton d'Ief8s hechiena éhéchiâtichien daat ehéchiatâerit non8adigo'nragon: ondaie ichien a8atratfifta de*x*a éfacharaen*x*8indik, o'ndaie atirakatha *θ*o tho on8aakont chiérongué, 8âde ifa fk8aata8en daak atoguen aat 8endat a8aatfi Lorètronnon teiatontariguè honâti a8andaré."—*Id.*, lxi, *note* 15.

PAGE 299

1. An allusion to the epithet "Onontio," applied by the Hurons and Iroquois to Montmagny (a literal translation of his name as "great mountain"), and afterward to his official successors, and even to the king of France.

Ontouagannha, defined by Lalemant [*Relation* of 1661-62] as indicating a barbarous dialect. This term was applied to the Shawnee tribe.—*Id.*, lxi, *note* 16.

For the reference above, to Lalemant, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 149, and *note* 2.

PAGE 300

1. The reliquary here referred to was sent by the cathedral chapter of Chartres (1680) to the Hurons of Lorette, in acknowledgment of their gift to Chartres. It consisted of a silver receptacle, weighing five marcs,—the marc was a weight equal to one-half of the Parus livre, or about one-half of an English pound,—filled with various relics of saints. It was made in a shape supposed to imitate that of the chemise worn by the Virgin Mary at the time of the Annunciation. This chemise has been, for over ten centuries, the most precious relic of the cathedral, to which it was given (A.D. 877) by Charles

the Bald. He had inherited it from his grandfather Charlemagne, to whom it had been given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, emperor of the East.

The letter of thanks for this gift was written in Latin by Potier (its text is given by Merlet), and then translated into French (using the idioms of Indian speech) by Jean de Lamberville, who appears to have been in France at that time. . . .—*Id.*, lxi, *note* 17.

PAGE 302

1. François de Crépieul (Crespieul) was born at Arras, March 17, 1638. In boyhood a student in the Jesuit college there, and afterward in that at Douai, he entered the novitiate of the order at Tournay, Oct. 29, 1658. His studies were continued at Lille and Douai, and he acted as instructor at Lille and Cambrai; in 1670, he came to Canada. During the following year, he taught rhetoric, and completed his own course of theology at the Quebec college. In October, 1671, he began his missionary labors in the Tadoussac region—labors which occupied the rest of his life. During twenty-eight years, he preached to and instructed the Montagnais and Algonkin tribes of Eastern Canada—from Tadoussac far down the north shore of the St. Lawrence and along its tributaries; throughout the Saguenay valley, and around Lake St. John; and even on the Nikaubau River. In 1696 or 1697, he was appointed vicar apostolic for the Montagnais. That mission was probably discontinued in 1699. Crepieul then returned to Quebec, where in 1700 he is mentioned as "prefect of classes"; he died there in 1702. . . . See Rochemonteix's account of this devoted and successful missionary (*Jésuites*, t. iii, pp. 415-431).—*Id.*, lvi, *note* 3.

PAGE 304

1. Concerning "train," see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 33, *note* * and *note* 1.

PAGE 312

1. Upon the name Otondiata, Beauchamp says (*Ind. Names*, p. 72): "It was interpreted for me as *Stone stairs*, an appropriate name. It was applied to Grenadier island [St. Lawrence Co., N. Y.] as early as 1673, and with slight variations was always prominent."—*Id.*, xlii, *note* 10.

Regarding the Oneidas, "the nation of the stone," . . . Beauchamp says (*Iroq. Trail*, p. 56), "The stone, however, is the prominent emblem of the Oneidas, and there have been several Oneida stones. . . . I think the oldest stationary stone of this kind is at an early site at Nichols's Pond, in Madison county, thought to be the fort attacked by Champlain in 1615." He also cites the description of another stone, seen in 1796; "some of the remaining Oneidas say that this stone was carried west by those who went to Wisconsin."—*Id.*, lii, *note* 8.

See also Kenton, vol. i, pp. 557-558.

PAGE 314

1. Cf. enumeration of clans and totems in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, pp. 1052-58.—*Id.*, lxiv, *note* 11.

Regarding the clans of Indian tribes, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 247, *note* 3; p. 250, *note* 3.

PAGE 315

1. "The five Iroquois nations in their symbolical language formed a cabin, the Mohawks holding the door and the Onondagas the fire. They called themselves as a nation Hotinonsionni (French notation) or Hodenosausee (English notation), meaning "They form a cabin."—Shea's note, in *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. ii, p. 190.—*Id.*, lxiv, *note* 12.

Cf. with this, Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 51-52.

PAGE 317

1. "Otasseté was one of the hereditary sachems of the Oneida nation. The title descends in the female line, and Susanna's adoption of Milet apparently

enabled her to bestow the name, which made him actually a sachem."—Shea's note, *ut supra,* p. 193.—*Id.,* lxiv, *note* 13.

PAGE 318

1. "Kinshon, the Fish, by which they meant New England, the authorities of which had sent them a fish as a token of alliance. . . . The wooden image of a codfish still hangs in the State House at Boston, the emblem of a colony which lived chiefly by the fisheries."—Parkman's *Frontenac,* p. 199.

Brodhead (*New York,* vol. ii, p. 309, *note*) says: "As the Iroquois had no labials in their language, they were obliged to say 'Quider' instead of 'Peter'; Hennepin's New Discovery, 24; Colden, i, 16, 116. For this reason, I think it is probable that 'Kinshon' was the nearest they could come to 'Pynchon' [ambassador in 1677 from Massachusetts to the Mohawks]. . . . Father Millet . . . wrongly applies the name *Le Poisson,* or *Kinshon,* to New York instead of to New England.—*Id.,* lxiv, *note* 15.

PAGE 320

1. The fort here mentioned was apparently at the same place as La Salle's fort Crèvecoeur, near the present Peoria (St. Cosme, in *Rel. du Mississippi,* Shea's ed., p. 26). Here was located the village of the Peorias and Kaskaskias, to whom Gravier ministered; it had evidently been removed from its earlier location which Marquette visited.—*Id.,* lxiv, *note* 28.

See also Kenton, vol. ii, p. 283, *note* 1.

PAGE 321

1. The Osages and Missouris are Siouan tribes, who were formerly located on the rivers thus named. A paper by J. O. Dorsey, "Migrations of Siouan Tribes" (*Amer. Naturalist,* vol. xx, pp. 211-222), gives the best available information regarding the origin and history of these peoples. He thinks that, ages ago, all the Siouan race dwelt east of the Mississippi,—in various regions, but as allies,—and gradually moved westward. Five tribes—the Omahas, Ponkas, Osages, Kansas, and Kwapas—were then together as one nation; they were called "Arkansa" by the Illinois tribes, and lived near the Ohio. At the mouth of that river they separated (prior to 1540), the Kwapas descending, the other tribes ascending, the Mississippi. For a long time, the latter abode on the lower Missouri; but finally, having gone farther up that stream, another separation occurred. The Omahas and Ponkas crossed the Missouri, and, after many wanderings to the north and west, finally settled in Nebraska. The Osages settled on the river bearing their name; and the Kansas on the Kansas River.

The Tamarouas (Tamarois) and Cahokias (Kaoukia) were Illinois bands dwelling on the Mississippi, near the mouth of the Missouri. Their village was known, later as Cahokia, and the two bands apparently became merged in one. The Jesuit missionaries labored among them until the expulsion of the order from Louisiana (1763-64).—*Id.,* lxiv, *note* 29.

PAGE 325

1. Julien Binneteau (Binteau) was born at La Flèche, March 13, 1653, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, Sept. 7, 1676. He was student at La Flèche in 1680-81; and at Paris, 1685-89; the rest of the period 1678-90 was spent as instructor at Rouen, Nevers, Amien, and Caen, successively. In 1691, he came to Canada, and two years later was serving the Acadian mission. Rochemonteix says (*Jésuites,* t. iii, pp. 538 and 539, *note* 1) that Binneteau spent two years at St. François de Sales; and that he then went to Michillimackinac, and thence (1696) to Kaskaskia. He remained in the Illinois mission until his death, which occurred (according to Rochemonteix, *Jésuites,* t. iii, p. 541) Dec. 24, 1699. The hardships which cost him his life are described by Marest—*Lettres edifiantes* (Toulouse ed., 1810), t. vi, p. 274.—*Id.,* lxv, *note* 7.

PAGE 326

1. The *assimines* here mentioned were the fruits of the papaw (*Assimina triloba*); the *piakimines*, those of the persimmon.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 8.

2. Allusion is made to the oppossum (*Didelphys Virginiana*).—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 9.

3. The bread here mentioned as "made of medlars or services" was probably composed of the dried fruit of the persimmon (*Diospyros Virginiana*). Gravier, in his *Voyage* of 1700, mentions cakes of *piakimine*, presented to him by the savages—apparently the same as the "bread" described in our text.—*Id.*, lxiv, *note* 21.

PAGE 328

1. This removal of the Kaskaskia tribe from their old home was to the site of the modern village of Kaskaskia. These savages at first intended to migrate to the vicinity of Iberville's new post in Louisiana; but Gravier induced them to remain at the above place. The village was called by them Rouensac, after their chief Rouensa; the Jesuit mission therein was named for the Immaculate Conception. A French trading post was soon established here; most of the traders and voyageurs took Indian wives, and thus formed the nucleus of the village of Kaskaskia.—See *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, pp. 886, 891; Shea's *Church in Colon. Days*, pp. 544, 557-59; Doherty's "Kaskaskia the Ancient," *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. iv, pp. 31-45; Wallace's *Illinois and Louisiana Under French Rule* (Cincinnati, 1893), pp. 198-205.

The appellation "Illinois du détroit" is explained by Mermet as referring to the Peorias. As Lake Peoria is but an expansion of the Illinois River, the phrase "du détroit" probably alludes to the narrowing of the river at the lower end of the lake, where their village was located.

Jacques Gravier was born at Moulins, France, May 17, 1651; he was educated at the Jesuit college there, and entered the novitiate of the order at Paris, Oct. 29, 1670. An instructor at Hesdin during 1672-77, and at Eu and Arras in 1678-80, his studies were pursued at Paris until 1634; and in the following year he came to Canada. He spent a year at Sillery, and in 1686 was sent to Michillimackinac. Two years later he succeeded Allouez in the Illinois mission, where he remained (except a few years, *ca.* 1695-98, during which he was superior at Mackinac) until, late in 1705, he was seriously wounded by an arrow, shot at him by a revengeful savage. His fellow-missionaries attempted to cure him, and afterward sent him to Mobile for medical treatment; thence he went (late in 1706) to Paris; with the same object. In February, 1708, he came back to America, hoping to continue his mission labors; but he died soon afterward (April 25), apparently from the effects of his wound, which had proved incurable. Gravier was a missionary of great ability and efficiency, and an excellent linguist; a dictionary of the Illinois language, supposed to have been compiled by him, was in the possession of the late J. H. Trumbull.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 11.

Concerning the old home of the Kaskaskias, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 283, *note* 1; p. 320, *note* 1. For Mermet's explanation of "Illinois du Detroit," see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 328, *note* *.

PAGE 329

1. The settlement of Cahokia was begun not long before that of Kaskaskia, apparently by the settlement there of the Tamaroas, an Illinois tribe; its name is that of another tribe of that nation, also written Kaoukia.

The savages were quickly followed by a French trading post, and by a Jesuit missionary, Pinet, and a Seminary priest, St. Cosme. The latter apparently remained here but a short time, and was succeeded by Jean Bergier—who, after Montigny's departure (1700), became superior of the Mississippi missions. His headquarters were at Cahokia, where, it is probable, he died.

This event occurred, according to Shea (*Church in Colon. Days,* p. 551), Nov. 9, 1707.

The Metchigamea were living near the mouth of the Arkansas River when visited by Marquette in 1673.

Gabriel Marest was born at Laval, France, Oct. 14, 1662; and became a Jesuit novice at Paris, Oct. 1, 1681. He was an instructor at Vannes during 1682-88, and a student at Bourges and Paris during five years more. In 1694, he came to Canada, and was at once sent to Hudson Bay with Iberville. As he relates in a letter to Lamberville, he was captured there by the English in the following year, and taken to England; but was afterwards sent back to France. He returned to Canada at the first opportunity, and was sent to the Western missions. From 1698, he ministered to the Kaskaskias, accompanying them in their removal to the Mississippi; he devoted himself to the civilization as well as to the religious instruction of this tribe, taught them to cultivate the soil and raise domestic animals, and rendered them the most industrious and peaceable of the Western savages. Gravier states, in a letter to the general, written in 1707, that the Kaskaskia village then numbered 2,200 souls; and that all of these, except 40 or 50, professed Christianity. Marest was also an accomplished linguist, as we learn from the statements of his fellow-missionaries; but no MS. of his is known to exist. He died in his mission, Sept. 15, 1714 (not 1715, as in Shea). The circular letter announcing his death, written by Mermet, is in the archives of l'École de Ste. Geneviève, Paris; and an apograph of it is in St. Mary's College, Montreal.—*Id.,* lxv, *note* 12.

Pierre François Pinet was born at Périgueux, France, Nov. 11, 1660; and entered the Jesuit novitiate at Bordeaux, Aug. 29, 1682. He was an instructor at Tulle, Périgeaux, and Pau, successively, from 1684 to 1690; he then completed his studies at Bordeaux, and departed for Canada in 1694. He was at first sent to Michillimackinac; but in 1696 he went to Illinois, and founded the mission of the Guardian Angel at Chicago, among the Miami bands located there. This mission was broken up in the following year—according to Jesuit writers, through Frontenac's hostility, but Laval's influence procured Pinet's return thither. The latter went, probably early in 1700, to the Tamaroas, an Illinois tribe located on the Mississippi, not far from the mouth of the Missouri—a place known later as Cahokia. By letters patent of May, 1698, St. Vallier deprived the Jesuits of this mission, bestowing it upon priests sent out by the Séminaire des Missions Etrangères. This proceeding was strongly opposed by the Jesuits, and they did not consent to the change until 1701. Meanwhile, Pinet remained with the Tamaroas (by order of his superiors, according to Rochemonteix) until probably the spring of 1702, and then labored among the Kaskaskias. According to Shea (*Mississippi Voyages,* p. 53, *note*) he died at Cahokia, about 1704.

Rochemonteix's account of Pinet's mission (*Jésuites,* t. iii, pp. 550-554, 568-572) differs in some points from the above; we have followed allusions in contemporary documents, and Shea's account as given in *Church in Colon. Days,* pp. 537-539.—*Id.,* lxiv, *note* 22.

2. Paul du Rue (Ru) was born at Vernon, France, October 6, 1666. At the age of twenty, he entered the Jesuit novitiate. He acted as instructor at Quimper, Vannes, and Nevers during 1688-94, and then studied at Paris for five years. Iberville, making his second voyage to Louisiana (in the autumn of 1699), brought with him Du Rue, who had been selected by his superiors to found a mission in that new colony; he also acted as chaplain to the French at Biloxi and Mobile. With his colleague Joseph de Limoges, who came a year later, he labored among the savages dwelling in Mississippi and in Louisiana south of the Red River; while the Seminary priests carried on their missions among the tribes north of that stream. The latter priests requested that they be allowed to enter the Jesuit field of labor, but independently of the Jesuits. Du Rue thereupon went to France (1702) in order to oppose this project, which was supported by Bishop St. Vallier. No satisfactory settlement of the

affair could be reached; and the Jesuits in Louisiana were therefore recalled by their superiors in the following year. Du Rue remained in France, where he acted in the capacity of a preacher and missionary; he died at Rouen, March 30, 1741.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 13.

PAGE 330

1. *Miaramigoua:* the Maramee, a river of Missouri, 150 miles long, discharging its waters into the Mississippi, 19 miles below St. Louis; it flows through a country abounding in mines of lead, iron, and copper. These mines, it is said, "gave rise to the famous Mississippi scheme, 1719."—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 14.

PAGE 332

1. This Rivière a Mayot (Margot, on most maps) is apparently that now known as the Wolf River, which falls into the Mississippi just above Memphis, Tenn. From it, by portages, there was easy communication with the Tombigby River, upon the upper waters of which the Chickasaw Indians were then located.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 17.

2. Joseph de Limoges, born at Vannes, France, Sept. 19, 1698, entered the Jesuit novitiate at Paris, upon reaching the age of eighteen. An instructor at Amiens, and a student at Paris (at each, five years), he came to Canada in 1698; and, two years later, joined Du Rue in Louisiana. He there maintained a mission among the Houmas, near the mouth of Red River. Recalled to France in 1703, he died in his native town, Jan. 30, 1704—mainly from grief at the loss of his mission, according to Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. iii, p. 587).

The Taogria (Taogarios) are mentioned by La Harpe (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 81) as "settled upon the Casquinambo [Tennessee] River, which flows into the Ouabacho [Ohio]"; he adds that these savages had killed five Frenchmen (in the summer of 1703), "at the instigation of some Englishmen who were carrying on the trade which they had established with that nation." The Taogria would appear to be some migrating band of the Shawnees. As early as 1699, the French learned that the English of Virginia and North Carolina had found their way across the Alleghanies, and were trading with the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. The Taogria village is indicated on several maps (that of Senex, 1710; De Fer, 1718; and others) as far up as the Tennessee.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 18.

Concerning the Shawnees, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 149, *note* 2; p. 277, *note* 2.

PAGE 333

1. The Arkansas tribes here mentioned have been regarded by some writers as now extinct; but Dorsey states (*Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xx, p. 216) that he has found "members of them still existing." He regards them simply as villages of the Kwapa tribe; Kappa (Quapaw) is U-ga'-qpa-qti, "real Kwapas"; Tourima (Thoriman of Joutel), Ti-u-a'-dd^{h}i-man'; Sitteoü (Otsote), U-zu'-ti-u'-hi,—when scientifically expressed in the nomenclature of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.

For account of these and other Siouan tribes,—their habitat, history, organization, customs, etc.,—see McGee's "Siouan Indians," and Dorsey's "Siouan Sociology," in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1893-94, pp. 157-244.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 20.

PAGE 335

1. There is in the archives of St. François du Lac (the Abenaki mission near Three Rivers) an unpublished MS. volume by the Jesuit missionary Jacques (Eustache, according to Charlevoix) le Sueur (in Canada from 1716 to 1760), dated 1744, which contains a curious chapter on the "History of the Calumet and of the Dance." From this it appears that the calumet dance was introduced, about 1720, among the Abenakis of St. François de Sales, whom the Fox Indians of Wisconsin were then endeavoring to seduce from their French alliance. The missionaries used all their efforts to suppress it, but it obtained

a strong foothold among the Abenakis. This chapter on the calumet dance was printed in *Soirées Canadiennes*, vol. iv (1864), pp. 111-135.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 22.

Compare Marquette's description of the calumet and its dance, Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 271-274; and Allouez's, vol. ii, p. 172.

PAGE 336

1. The "river of Tounika" was the Yazoo River ,in Mississippi. On its banks were several Indian villages in 1700, the Tonicas (Tounikas) dwelling nearest its mouth. Half a century later they were located on the east shore of the Mississippi River, south of Red River. By 1817, most of the tribe had ascended the latter stream to Avoyelles, 90 miles from its mouth.

The Ounspik are, more correctly, Ouispes or Oussipés,—the name applied to them by Iberville and Pénicaut. Yakou (? *yashu*, "a leafy tree") seems to indicate a tribe bearing the same name as the river.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Phila., 1884; no. iv of Brinton's "Library of Aboriginal American Literature"), pp. 39-41, 97-99. This valuable work is a careful, detailed, and scholarly study of the aboriginal ethnography of the Gulf region between the Carolinas and Texas; it is probably the best authority now extant upon this subject.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 23.

PAGE 337

1. The canes so often mentioned here by Gravier are the stems of the *Arundinaria macrosperma*—a tall woody grass allied to the bamboo. It grows throughout the Southern States, forming dense "cane-brakes."—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 24.

PAGE 338

1. In regard to the manufacture of pottery among these tribes, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 281, *note* 1.

2. The Taensa tribe were located in what is now Tensas county, La., on the east side of the Mississippi. When Iberville visited them (1700), they had seven villages, grouped around a lake, probably Lake St. Joseph. Soon afterward, part of these people removed to the vicinity of Mobile. This tribe is now extinct.

The Naktche (Natches) had nine villages, at the place where now stands the city of Natchez, Miss. A French settlement was early formed in their vicinity; but this was resented by the savages, who, in November, 1729, massacred the white colonists. The French, in retaliation, attacked the Natches, and drove them from their homes (February, 1730). The remnants of the tribe fled far eastward, and were afterwards incorporated with the Creeks; a small band are now living in Indian Territory.—See Gatschet, *ut supra* [*Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (Phila., 1884; no. iv of Brinton's "Library of Aboriginal Literature")].

Brinton says (*Amer. Race*, p. 89): "Within the horizon of the Muskoki stock [the Creeks, as also the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and other tribes] were a number of small tribes speaking languages totally different. We may reasonably suppose them to have been the débris of the ancient population who held the land before the Muskokis had descended upon it from the north and west." Within this group he includes the Natchez, Taensas, Tonikas, Chetimachas, and others.—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 25.

PAGE 340

1. The book here referred to was published at Paris in 1697 under the title *Dernières découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale; Mises au jour par M. le Chevalier Tonti.* Cf. Charlevoix's *Nouv. France*, t. i, pp. 460, 464; t. ii, p. 260. Margry has published two genuine relations by Tonty, dated 1684 and 1693 (*Decouv. et établ.*, t. i, p. 573).—*Id.*, lxv, *note* 26.

PAGE 344

1. The Humas (Houmas) were a Cha'hta (Choctaw) tribe located on the

east side of the Mississippi, seven leagues above the mouth of Red River. In 1699, they numbered about 350 families. "They once claimed the ground on which New Orleans stands; and after the Revolution lived on Bayou Lafourche." "The limit between the lands occupied by the Huma and the Bayogoula was marked by a high pole painted red, which stood on the high shores of Mississippi River at Baton Rouge, La."—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend,* pp. 103, 114, 115.—*Id.,* lxv, *note 27.*

PAGE 345

1. The savage peoples named in our text are the southern tribes of the Pani (Pawnee) stock, which extended from the Platte River to the Gulf of Mexico. The Kadodakio are now known as the Caddoes; Iberville found them (1699) on the Red River; one of their villages was Nactythos (Natchitoches). The Senis (Cenis) are the Assinais (Assiné); their location was in Central Texas. The Kiouahaa (Kiouahau) are the Kiowas, located on the upper waters of the Canadian-Arkansas River.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend,* pp. 42-44; and Brinton's *Amer. Race,* pp. 95-97, 101, 102.

The fort built by Iberville—Fort Mississippi, also called Fort La Boulaye—was situated at a point 54 miles from the Gulf. Its site is marked upon Jeffry's map of the Mississippi River (1759), and others.—See Winsor's *Miss. Basin,* pp. 50-52, 75.—*Id.,* lxv, *note 28.*

PAGE 346

1. The tribes here mentioned belong to the Cha'hta (Choctaw) nation. Gatschet mentions their migrations to the west side of the Mississippi "at an early epoch, no doubt prompted by the increase of population. The Cha'hta emigrating to these western parts were looked at by their countrymen at home . . . as outcasts, on account of the turbulent and lawless elements which made up a large part of them." Among these were the Humas, the Bayogoulas (Baiougoulas) and Mugulashas (Mougoulachas), who lived together in one village, situated on the west shore of the Mississippi, 64 leagues from the sea; the Biloxis, "of whom scattered remnants now live in the forests of Louisiana, south of Red River"; and the Acolapissas (Kolapissas, Quintipissas), in the region northwest to northeast of New Orleans. All, save the Biloxsi, are now extinct.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend,* pp. 103, 109-113.—*Id.,* lxv, *note 29.*

PAGE 347

1. Bilocchi is the modern Biloxi, Miss. In 1699, Iberville erected here Fort Maurepas. It proved to be a barren and insalubrious location, and the colony was removed to Mobile in January, 1702. . . .—*Id.,* lxv, *note 30.*

2. Pierre le Moyne, third son of Charles, is better known under his name of sieur d'Iberville. He was born July 20, 1661, and early began a career of adventure, exploration, and warfare. By 1683 he had made several voyages to France, in command of ships; and was recommended by La Barre to Colbert for a naval appointment. In 1686, he took part in the expedition against the English forts at Hudson Bay, and remained there as commandant for that region. In 1689, he was one of the leaders of the attack upon Schenectady, and later in the year went again to Hudson Bay, to seize Port Nelson; he returned from this unsuccessful expedition in October, 1691. The next year, he made attacks upon the English in Acadia and Newfoundland, and in 1693, brought to Canada troops from France. In 1693, the forts at Hudson Bay were captured by an English squadron; but, in the following year, Iberville retook them. He captured the fort at Pemequid, Me., in 1696; and again captured (1697) the Hudson Bay forts from the English. Peace being restored by the treaty of Ryswick (April, 1697), Iberville now turned his attention to the Mississippi River; and, in October, 1698, embarked with two ships from Rochefort, France, to find the mouth of the river—a discovery which he made on March 2 following. He established a colony at Biloxi, which was removed,

early in 1702, to the site of the present Mobile. Iberville, leaving this enterprise in charge of his brother Bienville, returned to France, but his health was now so broken that he could no longer carry on his Mississippi projects. In 1706, he commanded an expedition sent to drive out the English from the West Indies, and burned the town of St. Christopher. On July 9 of that year, Iberville died at Havana. . . .—*Id.*, lxiii, *note 27*.

PAGE 348

1. Reference is here made to the encounter by Bienville (Sept. 15, 1699) of an English ship on the Mississippi, near the present New Orleans, which belonged to an expedition sent out by Daniel Coxe, who had bought the patent of "Carolana,"—a grant made in 1627, by Charles I of England, to Sir Robert Heath. Gravier's account indicates the pretensions already made to the first discovery of the Mississippi River.

The "apostate" of whom Gravier speaks, and his "relation of the Mississippi," refer to Hennepin's book, *Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique* (Utrecht, 1697), and an English version, *A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America* (London, 1698), which were dedicated to King William of England. See bibliography of this author's works in Dionne's *Hennepin* (Quebec, 1897).—*Id.*, lxv, *note 32*.

2. Henri Roulleaux de la Vente (Vante), a priest in France, was appointed by the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères parish priest for Mobile, where he arrived July, 1704. He made numerous enemies by his preaching,—among them Bienville. La Vente's health broke down, and he returned to France in 1710.—Shea's *Church in Col. Days*, pp. 546-548, 551, 552.—*Id.*, lxvi, *note 26*.

F. le Maire, a French priest, came to Louisiana at the instance of a wealthy friend, to do missionary work among the Indians in connection with the Missions Étrangères. He remained there several years.—Shea's *Church in Col. Days*, pp. 549, 550.

Alexandre Huvé was appointed assistant to La Vente at Mobile. After the latter's departure (1710), Huvé was in charge of the parish until 1721. Shea (*ut supra*, p. 553, *note 2*) says: "He struggled on for some years, till having become almost blind, he returned to France in 1727."

The Apalaches (Apalachi) were a tribe of the great Maskoki family, whose early habitat was probably on the Chattahoochee River, and eastward to Apalache Bay. The band of these savages referred to in our text were Christianized Indians, who, to escape the attacks of the Alibamu (Alabamas),—another branch of the Maskoki family, located on the Alabama river,—fled in 1705 to the neighborhood of the French settlement at Mobile. This tribe is now extinct, save that a few scattered families have been known to exist in Louisiana in the 19th century.

In connection with this mention of the Maskoki family may be noted the Choctaw migration legends, which claim that their ancestors originally came from the far West, and halted their march at the "sacred mound" (Nanih Waiya), located near a creek of the same name, tributary to Pearl River, in Mississippi. Here a part of their nation separated, going farther eastward, and afterward became the Chichasaw nation.—See H. S. Halbert's "Nanih Waiya," in *Mississippi Hist. Soc. Pubs.*, vol. ii (1899), pp. 223-234.—*Id.*, lxvi, *note 28*.

PAGE 349

1. La Salle set out from his Texas colony in January, 1687, with a party of sixteen Frenchmen and one Shawnee savage, intending to go to Canada by way of the Mississippi and Illinois, in order to secure relief for his suffering colonists. While *en route*, La Salle was murdered by some disaffected followers—at a place on the southern branch of the Trinity River. The priest mentioned by Gravier was Father Anastase Douay, a Récollet, who had come from France with the explorer. The Frenchmen at Biloxi were probably deserters from La Salle's forces, who had gone to live among the savages.—See

Parkman's *La Salle,* pp. 396-446, and Sulte's "Mort de Cavelier de la Salle," in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.,* 2nd ser., vol. iv, sec. 1, pp. 3-31.—*Id.,* lxv, *note* 33.

PAGE 350

1. Shea's publication of this document adds, at the end, a copy of the Latin inscription upon a cross erected in 1700 by the Jesuit Du Rue near the French fort on the Mississippi. The claim of priority in discovery is therein made for the French.

"The Mobilians seem to be descendants of the inhabitants of Mauvila, a walled town, at some distance from the seat of the Tuscalusa chief, and dependent on him. These Indians are well known for their stubborn resistance offered in 1540 to the invading troops of Hernando de Soto. Subsequently they must have removed several hundred miles south of Tuscalusa River, perhaps on account of inter-tribal broils with the Alibamu [Alabamas]."—Gatschet's *Migration Legend,* p. 110.—*Id.,* lxv, *note* 34.

PAGE 353

1. *Assiniboël:* Assiniboines, one of the great divisions of the Dakota nation. Dorsey thinks that their separation from the others occurred before the middle of the 17th century; after that occurrence, they dwelt at and near Lake-of-the-Woods.—See his account of their origin, migrations, etc., in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.,* 1893-94, pp. 161, 189-199, 222.—*Id.,* lxvi, *note* 21.

2. *Lake of the Kriqs* (Crees): Lake Winnipeg.—*Id.,* lxvi, *note* 22.

PAGE 357

1. Regarding this spurious relation of Tonty's, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 340, *note* 1.

PAGE 358

1. The "three arms" here referred to are the Wabash proper, the upper Ohio and Allegheny, and the Cumberland.

In *Lettres édificantes,* t. vi, a footnote on p. 258 says: "Other Missionaries claim that the water of the Missouri is clearer and better than that of the Mississippi."—*Id.,* lxvi, *note* 45.

Concerning the application of the name Ouabache (Wabash), see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 277, *note* 1.

PAGE 359

1. The "copal" mentioned by Marest is not the tropical product of that name, but the sweet-gum or liquid-amber tree (*Liquidamber styraciflua*); it abounds on bottom-lands in the South, and exudes a gum called "copal balsam." The pecan (*Hickoria Pecan,* or *Carya olivæformis*) is also a product of the Southern bottom-lands; it becomes a lofty tree, and its edible nuts are valued as an article of commerce.—*Id.,* lxvi, *note* 46.

PAGE 361

1. Jean Mermet was born at Grenoble, France, Sept. 23, 1664; and became a Jesuit novice at Avignon, when 19 years of age. A student at Embrun in 1685-86, he spent the usual term as instructor at Carpentras, Roanne, and Vesoul, in succession; and completed his studies at Dôle (1692-96). After another year, spent in Salina, he came to Canada (1698). Mermet aided Aveneau at the Miami mission on St. Joseph River until the autumn of 1702, when he went with [Charles] Juchereau [de St. Denis] to the Ohio River,—where, besides acting as chaplain to the French, he endeavoured (but with little success) to evangelize a band of Mascoutens who had wandered thither. After the death of Juchereau, Mermet went to Kaskaskia, and became the colleague of Gabriel Marest. He spent there the rest of his life. Sommervogel says that Mermet died Sept. 15, 1716; but Shea (*Church in Col. Days,* p. 585), in 1718.—*Id.,* lxvi, *note* 10.

PAGE 364

1. Sébastien Rale (Ralé, Rasle, Rasles) was born in Franche-Comté, Jan. 4, 1657; and became a Jesuit novice at Dôle, Sept. 24, 1675. From 1677 to 1684 he was an instructor at Carpentras and Nimes; and his priestly studies were completed at Lyons, whence he departed (1689) for Canada. He was sent to the Abenaki village near Quebec, where he remained two years. In 1691, he was assigned to the Illinois mission; on his way thither, he spent the winter at Mackinac. After two years' service in Illinois, Rale was recalled to Quebec, and sent (1694) to the Abenaki mission, where he spent the rest of his life. He was the founder of the village of Narantsouak (Norridgewock) on the Kennebec; this was the scene of his labors among the Abenakis, and of his death,—which occurred August 23, 1724, in an attack made upon his village by English militia and a few Mohawk allies. The English colonists accused Rale of having incited the savages to attack their settlements, during the wars which ravaged the New England frontier during most of the first quarter of the 18th century; consequently, an intensely bitter feeling against the Jesuit existed among the English, who felt that their great losses and sufferings in that war were largely due to his influence with the savages. This entire subject is exhaustively discussed by Baxter in his *New France in New England*, already cited by us. Cf. Sewall's *Ancient Dominion*, pp. 239, 248-250; *U. S. Cath. Intelligencer*, vol. 8 (1831), no. 6; *Canad. Archives*, 1883, p. 36; *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. ix, various documents from p. 880 to p. 994; *Maine Hist. Colls., passim;* and Shea's *Church in Col. Days*, pp. 596-603. On August 23, 1833, Benedict Fenwick, Roman Catholic bishop of Boston, erected a monument to Rale, on the site of the mission church.—See Allen's *Hist. of Norridgewock* (1849), pp. 45-47.—*Id.*, lxvi, *note* 42.

PAGE 366

1. The "porcelain" or "wampum" of the aborigines, laboriously cut from shells, soon found a rival, for many purposes, in the glass beads supplied by the European traders. These were of two kinds, of which W. M. Beauchamp says: "The *canons* were probably the long cylindric or bugle beads, one to three inches, or even more, in length; these are frequent in Iroquois sites. The *rassades* were spherical or ovate beads."—*Id.*, xlvi, *note* 1.

PAGE 368

1. In the winter of 1721-22, a party of English troops, commanded by Col. Thomas Westbrook, was sent to Norridgewock in order to capture, if possible, the Jesuit Rale. They failed to do so, the alarm of their approach having been given by some savages; but they seized a box in which Rale kept his most valuable papers, among which was his MS. dictionary of the Abenaki language—the product of his studies during thirty years. The box is now in the possession of the Maine Historical Society; an engraving of it appears in Baxter's *New France in New England*, p. 124; cf. *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. iv, p. 223. The MS. dictionary, after passing through several hands, finally became the property of Harvard University, in whose library it is preserved. This valuable document was published (1833) by John Pickering in *Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences Memoirs*, new series, vol. i, pp. 375-574), with linguistic annotations and numerous typographical aids to its use.—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 27.

PAGE 372

1. See Allouez's account of this belief, Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 169-170. Compare also, Kenton, vol. i, p. 123, *note* 1.

2. Regarding the Algonkin clans, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 247, *note* 3; p. 314, *note* 1.

For citations regarding Michabou (Manabozho), see Kenton, vol. i, p. 85, *note* 1; p. 323, *note* 1; p. 324, *note* 1.

PAGE 375

1. Among much material on the subject of stone implements, and especially those used in the Mississippi Valley, may be cited the following papers: Rau's "Deposit of Agricultural Flint Implements in Southern Illinois," *Smithsonian Rep.*, 1868, pp. 401-407; his "North American Stone Implements," *Id.*, 1872, pp. 395-408; various papers, *Id.*, 1874, pp. 361-386, and *Id.*, 1877, pp. 239-277; *Peabody Museum Rep.*, 1875, pp. 22-27; *Id.*, 1878, pp. 329-333; *Id.*, 1880, pp. 506-520; *Id.*, 1886, pp. 449-462; Fowke's "Implements and Their Manufacture," *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1891-92, pp. 57-184.—*Id.*, lxiii, *note* 31.

PAGE 379

1. Narantsouat (Nanrantsouak) is an Indian name, afterward corrupted to Norridgewock; according to the definition given by Sabatis, a Kennebec Indian, to Rev. Paul Coffin in 1797 (*Maine Hist. Colls.*, vol. iv, p. 379) it means "still water." Maurault, however, says (*Abénakis*, p. 5) that *Nurhântsuaks*, the name of the local tribe, means "those who travel by water." These are the Abenakis, known earlier as Canibas, a variant of Kennebec; but, when driven up the river by the coming of white men, they made their principal residence at Naurantsouak or Norridgewock,—a name applied also to the tribe.

The first English settlement below this Indian village was Koussinok (Coussinoc, Cushnoc), where now stands Augusta, the capital of Maine; it was founded in 1629, as a trading post, by William Bradford and other Plymouth colonists. For a considerable time, the establishment carried on an extensive trade in peltries with the Indians; but troubles with the latter frequently arose, diminishing and finally destroying the trade, and this settlement, with most others in Maine, was abandoned,—probably before the beginning of King Philip's war (1675).—*Id.*, xxxvi, *note* 6.

2. *Sankderank:* apparently the same as Sagadahoc, a name now applied to a county in Maine, of which the capital is Bath. In early colonial history, the Kennebec was called the Sagadahoc.—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 30.

PAGE 380

1. This "island in the sea" was Arrowsic (more correctly Arroseag), now Georgetown (or Parker's) Island; it lies at the mouth of the Kennebec River, and is twelve miles long. Upon it is the town of Georgetown.—See Reed's *History of Bath* (Portland, Me., 1894), pp. 22-36, for information regarding its early settlement.—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 31.

PAGE 389

1. Paul du Poisson was born at Epinal, France, Jan. 27, 1692. At the age of twenty years he entered the Jesuit novitiate; coming to Louisiana in 1726, he was at once assigned to the Arkansas mission, where he labored during three years. On his way to New Orleans (1729), Du Poisson halted at the Natchez village,—unfortunately, at the time when those savages were enraged at the tyranny of the local French commandant. They treacherously murdered Du Poisson, on the day after his arrival (Nov. 28, according to Shea, *Church in Colon. Days*, pp. 573, 574; Dec. 31, as stated in the archives of Jesuit order, according to Sommervogel).—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 38.

2. *Sauthois:* the same as Sitteou or U-zu'-ti-u'-hi.—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 36. See Kenton, vol. ii, p. 333, *note* 1.

PAGE 393

1. Nicolas Ignace de Beaubois was born at Orléans, France, Oct. 15, 1689; at the age of seventeen he became a Jesuit novice. In 1720 he was in Illinois, at the Kaskaskia mission. Early in 1726 he went to France in quest of more Jesuit priests, in order to reopen the Louisiana missions of that order. At the same time he made arrangements for the establishment of an Ursuline convent at New Orleans. Returning to Louisiana (1727) as superior of that mission, and with powers of vicar-general, he brought seven other priests, who

were at once despatched among the neighboring tribes for missionary work—the Company of the Indies not allowing the Jesuits to minister to the French colonists. Beaubois held the office of superior only three years, but continued to reside there until 1735, and was director of the Ursuline convent. He was finally recalled to France—as Shea thinks, through the influence of the Capuchins, then in ecclesiastical control of Louisiana. Sommervogel states that Beaubois was at Vannes from 1752 to 1762 as "director of retreats." The date of his death is not recorded.—See Shea's *Church in Colon. Days,* pp. 568-573, 580-582.

Sommervogel cites a MS. written by Beaubois "preserved at Paris in the Bureau of Fortifications and Colonies"; it is entitled, *Mémoire sur l'importance de fortifier l'Ouabache les Anglais prevent facilement occuper.* He also cites from *Mercure* (December, 1725), *Harangue au Roy Louis XV,* "when presenting to the king some Illinois savages who had come with him to France."—*Id.,* lxvii, *note* 41.

PAGE 394

1. Mathurin le Petit was born at Vannes, France, on February 6, 1603, and was admitted to the Jesuit order when nineteen years old. Coming to Louisiana in 1726, he became a missionary among the Choctaws (called *Chassis* by Du Poisson in our text). Two or three years later he was appointed superior of the Louisiana missions, and resided at New Orleans; he died in that country on October 18, 1739.

Alexis F. X. de Guyenne was born December 29, 1696, and became a novice when sixteen years old. He came to Louisiana with Beaubois in 1726, and was sent to the Alibamu (Alabamas), among whom the French had built a fort. He was still there in 1730, and later ministered to the Arkansas tribes. The rest of his life was spent in the Illinois mission of which he was superior during at least 1749-56; he died there in 1762. The Alibamu tribe (belonging, like most others of that region, to the Maskoki family) were located on the Alabama River. The French fort mentioned above was built in 1713, at the request of the savages themselves; it was abandoned in 1762, and some of the Alibamu then followed the French to the Mississippi, where they settled, about sixty miles above New Orleans.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend,* pp. 85-89.

Jean Dumas was born at Lyons, September 10, 1696, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of fifteen years. Coming to Louisiana in 1726, he was assigned in the following year to the Illinois mission; Sommervogel conjectures that his stay there extended to 1740. Returning to France he taught Hebrew at Lyons for many years, and wrote several mathematical and astronomical works. He died in 1770.—*Id.,* lxvii, *note* 44.

Jean Souel also came to Louisiana in 1726, and ministered to the Yazoos. That tribe was instigated by the Natches to hostilities against the French, and, like the Natches, began by attacking a missionary. On December 11, 1729, a party of Yazoos murdered Father Souel—who, as Le Petit states, was "not more than 35 or 36 years of age at his death."—*Id.,* lxvii, *note* 39.

PAGE 398

1. The unusual interest in Louisiana aroused during the halcyon days of the Mississippi Scheme caused the publication of various maps of that region,—some of them on a large scale, and giving careful details of local topography,—among these, the maps of De Fer and De Lisle, both dated 1718; the latter may be the one here characterized as inaccurate in its location of the Chetimacha tribe, who appear thereon near the Gulf coast, S.W. of the Mississippi.—*Id.,* lxvii, *note* 47.

2. For Le Jeune's description of this animal, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 157.

PAGE 400

1. The Capuchins were brought to Louisiana by the Company of the West (later, "the Company of the Indies") to take up the missionary work previ-

ously carried on by the Jesuits. The first record of their appearance in Louisiana is the signature, in the Mobile church register (Jan. 18, 1721) of Father Jean Mathieu, as parish priest; but it was not until 1725 that a formal diploma was issued to the order for occupying that region. It was soon evident that their zeal was greater than their strength; and the Company decided to give them the charge of the French colonists in the various settlements, placing the Indian missions in care of the Jesuits. The latter order therefore returned to Louisiana.—*Id.*, lxvii, *note* 49.

PAGE 407

1. Laure himself made, later, a map of the Saguenay region.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 2.

. . . In the archives of the Depôt de la Marine, at Paris, are three autograph maps by Laure, dated 1731, 1732, and 1733, respectively. A facsimile of the last-named is given by Rochemonteix (*Jésuites*, t. iii, end of vol.); cf. his note on p. 433.—*Id.*, lix, *note* 5.

Cf. the missionary map reproduced from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, vol. lxv; for which, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 411.

2. Chicoutimi River, rising in numerous small lakes near Lake St. John, pursues a picturesque course, frequently interrupted by rapids, eastward and northeastward into the Saguenay. At the junction, seventy-five miles above the mouth of the latter, is now the important lumber-shipping port of Chicoutimi, at whose wharves ocean-going vessels are laden. The old missionary district of that name included the rugged country lying south and southwest of Lake St. John.—*Id.*, i, *note* 50.

PAGE 412

1. The mission station here referred to is that of Métabetchouan.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 3.

Metabikiwan (Métabetchouan): from a very early date the site of a French trading post. The Jesuit mission there was probably founded by Father Nouvel, perhaps about 1665; and it, rather than Chicoutimi, was the center of the missionaries' winter campaigns in the vicinity of Lake St. John.—*Id.*, lx, *note* 31.

2. Charles Albanel, a native of Auvergne, was born in 1616, and entered the Jesuit novitiate at the age of seventeen. He was an instructor in various colleges,—Cahors, Carcassonne, Mauriac, Aurillac,—and pursued his theological studies at Tournon. Joining the Canadian mission in 1649, he was employed at various French settlements, but mainly at Tadoussac, from which post he made numerous journeys into the neighboring regions, spending at least four winters among the Montagnais savages. In 1666, he accompanied De Tracy's expedition against the Iroquois. Albanel's most notable and important voyage was in 1671-72, to Hudson Bay; it is claimed that this was the first French expedition and the first overland journey thither,—although Radisson makes the claim in his Journal (*Prince Soc. Pubs.*, no. 16, 1885) that he and Groseilliers reached the waters of Hudson Bay, overland from Lake Superior, in 1660-61. The *Relation* of 1672 contains Albanel's Journal of this voyage; he went, accompanied by Paul Denys de St. Simon,—by direction of Talon, intendant of Canada,—to take possession of that region in the name of the French king. In 1674 he again went to the Bay, that he might continue the missionary labors begun on his previous journey; but he was imprisoned by the English already stationed there and sent back to Europe. Upon regaining his freedom, he returned to Canada (July 22, 1676), and at once began work in the Ottawa missions; he was stationed at Green Bay (De Pere), Wis., from that time until 1683, and perhaps longer, and held the office of superior in 1677-78. The remainder of his life was spent in these missions; he was at Sault Ste. Marie in 1695, where, it is probable, his death occurred, Jan. 11, 1696.

Rochmonteix says of Albanel (*Jésuites*, t. ii, pp. 372, 373): "There was in

him more of the explorer than of the missionary; he would rather travel than make converts, and observe new nations than evangelize them"; and he cites letters from Albanel's superiors, which indicate that, for many years, they were not satisfied with him, from the standpoint of religion. His later years, however, made due amends for such deficiency.—*Id.*, xxxiv, *note* 8.

3. The river here described is apparently the Peribonca (a name defined by Lovell as "singular, or curious"), one of the chief tributaries of Lake St. John. Lake Albanel is one of the divisions of Lake Mistassini.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 4.

PAGE 414

1. Cf. with this the Iroquois belief in "False-faces"; Kenton, vol. ii, p. 292, *note* 1.

PAGE 420

1. *Requin* is the term applied to the great shark, *Carcharinus glaucus*. "Dogfish" is a popular appellation for various species; it is difficult to identify the one described by Laure.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 9.

PAGE 422

1. The *pot* is a measure containing two pints—the French pint, however, being equivalent to .934 of a litre or 1.64 + English pints.—*Id.*, xxxii, *note* 4.

PAGE 424

1. Reference is here made to the directions given by St. Ignatius for the daily examination of conscience by persons who "make retreat"—that is, practice the "spiritual exercises." He advises that lines be drawn on a sheet of paper, two for each day of the week; and that on these lines be noted down, by marking points thereon, the faults committed during the day by the person thus examining himself. These lines are shorter each day in succession, "it being reasonable that the number of faults should decrease daily." There are two kinds of this exercise—the particular and the general examination of conscience. The former "is so called because it is used in a special manner to extirpate a single vice or defect"; the latter "is used against all the vices or sins into which man can fall." The particular examination is to be made twice daily, and the number of times when a certain sin or fault is committed are to be noted, as above. The record thus formed is to be examined from day to day, and compared with each of the preceding days' accounts; the penitent can thus estimate the progress of his daily and weekly amendment. The general examination should always occur at least once a day (but twice as often during retreat); a method for this is prescribed, containing five points—thanksgiving for benefits received, prayer for divine grace, a searching examination of one's soul for faults, entreaty for pardon, and resolutions for amendment. St. Ignatius himself observed the rules prescribed by him, "with the most minute exactness during his whole life, even to the very day of his death."—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 11.

2. Pierre Laure was born at Orléans, Sept. 17, 1688, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of nineteen. In 1711, while yet a student, he came to Canada, and spent the next four years as an instructor in the college of Quebec. "In 1716 he had charge of the library; that is the first time when such occupation is noted in the status of the College." His theological studies completed, he was sent to reopen the Saguenay missions—which, for lack of missionaries, had been abandoned for a score of years. The remainder of his life was spent in that field; he died there Nov. 22, 1738. To his work as a cartographer . . . Laure added much exercise in the art of painting (*Bull. Rech. Hist.*, May, 1900, pp. 152, 153).—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 14.

PAGE 433

1. Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, pp. 181, 182) says that this war-medicine, or "war-physic," was a decoction of the button snakeroot; but he neglects to state

whether he means *Liatris* or *Eryngium*, to both of which genera the above popular name is applied. The custom of drinking this medicine is mentioned also by Charlevoix (*Journ. Hist.*, p. 425), Gayerré (*Louisiana: French Domination*, vol. i, p. 317) says that it was "a fermented liquor, made with the leaves of the Cassia berry tree."—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 15.

PAGE 436

1. *Sicicouet:* evidently the Algonkin word—written also *chickikoué* and *cicikwan* (Cuoq)—used to designate the rattle or small drum used by Indian medicine-men in their incantations. See Cuoq's *Lexique Algon.*, p. 87, and Ferland's *Cours d'Histoire*, t. i, p. 112, *note* 1.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 16.

See also Kenton, vol. i, p. 391, *note* 3.

PAGE 442

1. The Koroas (Corroys) were a tribe living, when visited by La Salle and other early explorers, on the west side of the Mississippi, above the Natches; later, they were found on the Yazoo River. They were finally merged in the Choctaws, although their language was unlike that of the latter.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 47, 48.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 19.

2. The tribes here named belong to the chief branch of the Masoki (Muskhogee) family. The Cha'hta (Tchactas, Choctaws) were the original group of tribes,—in historic times, settled in the middle portion of the state of Mississippi; from them had earlier migrated the Chicasa (Tchicachas, Chickasaws) people, who settled in Northern Mississippi, and various smaller tribes who wandered to the west and south. Both these nations are now located in Indian Territory, where they cultivate the lands allotted to them, and are prosperous and fairly civilized. The Chicasa language served as a medium of commercial and tribal intercourse to all the tribes of the Lower Mississippi; it is, accordingly, usually styled "the Chicasa trade jargon."—Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 52, 90-109.

For interesting early maps of New Orleans, see Waring and Cable's report on the social statistics of that city, in *Tenth U. S. Census.*—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 20.

See also Kenton, vol. ii, p. 346, *note* 1; p. 348, *note* 2.

PAGE 444

1. Diron d'Artaguette had come to Louisiana in 1708, as royal commissioner, in which, or similar capacity, he acted for many years. . . . The reference in the text is to Pierre d'Araguette, a son (or, according to some writers, a younger brother) of the commissioner; he was an officer in the French troops, and served with distinction in both Illinois and Louisiana. He was commandant in the former district from 1734 until the time of his death. That was a tragical event; for in 1736 he came to the South, with a body of Illinois warriors, to aid Bienville in an attack upon the Chickasaws. Wounded in battle, his Illinois savages fled; and d'Artaguette, with several other Frenchmen, including the Jesuit Antoine Senat, were burned at the stake by their Chickasaw captors.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 21.

PAGE 445

1. Chikagou, the Illinois chief here mentioned, was induced by Beaubois to go, with several other chiefs of Western tribes, in company with him to Paris, in 1725. The *U. S. Cath. Hist. Mag.* reprints (vol. iii, pp. 160-166) from the London *Post Man* of Jan. 27, 1726, an account of the visit of these "four Savages of Mississippi," reporting the speeches made by them, and the gifts made to them by the Company of the Indies.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 25.

Cf. citation from *Mercure*, Kenton, vol. ii, p. 393, *note* 1.

PAGE 446

1. *Padouka* (Paduca): the early name of several tribes dwelling in the great interior basin of the United States; S.W. of the Missouri River; they are

considered by modern writers as mainly belonging to the Shoshonean family, and include the Shoshones (or Snake Indians), Utes, Comanches, and others. In 1724, Bourgmont visited one of these tribes, apparently the Comanches, on the Upper Kansas River; see account of this expedition in Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. vi, pp. 386-449. Later in the eighteenth century, they ceased to be known under the name Padouka; it is probable that, to escape their enemies, they migrated northward, and broke up into various bands bearing the names of subdivisions of the Padouka nation. The north branch of the Platte River has also borne the name of Paducas Fork; and a town in Kentucky is called Paducah. The family appellation Paduca is, among modern writers, used mainly by R. G. Latham (cited by Powell in *U. S. Bur. Ethnol. Rep.*, 1885-86, p. 108), who thus designates a number of tribes belonging not only to the Shoshonean family but to others.—See Coues's *Lewis and Clark Expedition*, pp. 60, 478.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 26.

PAGE 447

1. Michel (Louis Ignace, according to Shea) Guignas was born at Condom, France, January 22, 1681, and became a Jesuit novice at Bordeaux, Dec. 9, 1702. He came to Canada in the summer of 1716; and, after spending a year at Quebec, was sent to the Ottawa mission at Mackinac. In 1727, Guignas undertook to begin a new mission, that among the Sioux of Minnesota; he accompanied the expedition sent by Governor Beauharnais in 1727, to build a fort at Lake Pepin, Minnesota. In the following year, the French were obliged to leave this post, on account of the hostility of the Foxes; but they returned to it a few years later (1735), after the renewal of peace. Guignas, while descending the Mississippi from Fort Beauharnais, was captured (Oct. 15, 1728) by the Mascoutens and Kickapoos, then located on the lower Wisconsin and the Mississippi; they kept him in captivity for five months, and he narrowly escaped being burned at the stake. He finally acquired such influence over these savages as to induce them to conclude a peace with the French and the Illinois, and to conduct him to the country of the latter. He spent the winter of 1729-30 with his former captors; later, was again at Fort Beauharnais; and remained in the West, laboring sometimes among the Sioux, sometimes at Mackinac, until 1739. He was then sent to the Saguenay mission, but remained there only one year. The rest of his life was spent at Quebec, where he died, Feb. 6, 1752.—See Neill's *Hist. Minnesota*, pp. 849-855; Margry's *Découv. et établ.*, t. vi, pp. 541-580, and Jones's *Aulneau Coll.*, p. 26, *note* *.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 27.

PAGE 448

1. *Tchatchoumas* (also written Chactioumas): apparently a Maskoki tribe, dwelling on the Yazoo River in the eighteenth century.—See Gatschet's *Migration Legend*, pp. 98, 99.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 29.

PAGE 449

1. After the massacre of the French by the Natchez (1729), a body of troops was sent (February, 1730) from New Orleans to attack those savages. The latter, during a truce, fled from their village; some took refuge with the Chickasaws, but the greater part crossed the Mississippi, and settled on the Wahsita or Black River,—as Gatschet thinks (*Migration Legend*, p. 38) near the present Trinity City, La. A French army was sent against them in January, 1731, which assaulted their village, capturing the chief with forty warriors, and nearly 400 women and children. These captives were sold in the West Indies as slaves, for the benefit of the Company of the Indies. A remnant of the Natches still exist in Indian Territory, dwelling with the Creek and Cherokee nations.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 31.

PAGE 451

1. Jean (?) Pierre Aulneau was born April 21, 1705, in Vendée, France.

After nearly completing his studies as a Jesuit priest, he came to Quebec, in 1734, and spent his fourth year of theology in the college of Quebec. In the following year, he was sent to begin a new mission, among the savages dwelling about the Lake in the Woods, where a French fort had been erected by La Vérendrye, leader of the expedition which Aulneau accompanied; the priest was also expected to utilize his scientific knowledge in the exploration of that hitherto unknown region. The period from October, 1735, to June, 1736, was spent by Aulneau at Fort St. Charles, where he devoted himself to the study of the Cree language; at the end of that time, he set out with a party of twenty Frenchmen for Mackinac. They had gone but a little distance from the fort when a party of Sioux surprised them, murdering Aulneau and all who accompanied him.—See Father Jones's *Aulneau Collection*, pp. 3-7, 90-96, for such information as is available regarding this missionary.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 34.

PAGE 453

1. This was probably Julien Bonin, long a professor in the Jesuit seminary at Luçon; he was born there in 1686, and died at Bordeaux, Dec. 21, 1760. In regard to the tribe here mentioned, *Ouant Chipouanes*, Father Jones intimates (*Aulneau Coll.*, p. 48, *note* *) that they may be a California tribe—citing Father Picolo's report on the missions of that country (*Lettres édif.*, Toulouse ed., t. viii, p. 51), which states that those savages live, during winter, in holes dug in the earth. It is probable, however, that the tribe which Aulneau was to visit was located much farther north; and the etymology of the name which he applies to them suggests that he refers to the nation now known as Chepewyans, a leading branch of the Athapascan family, which extends from Hudson Bay to the Pacific, and southward to Mexico. Elsewhere, Aulneau mentions the same people as *Kaotiouak*—a name which, after allowing for its Algonkinized form, enables us to state the probability that he referred to the Oregon tribe called Ku-itc, belonging to the Yakonan family. They dwelt, in the nineteenth century, on the lower Umpqua River, on the upper waters of which were located several villages of Athapascan savages,—a vicinage which would naturally cause, in the mind of a stranger, confusion in the identity of the two groups; but it is probable that, at the time when Aulneau wrote, both the Umpquas and the Ku-itc were located much farther east than Oregon.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 39.

PAGE 454

1. Eusébe François Kino (or Chino) was born near Trente, August 10, 1644; and, upon attaining his majority, became a Jesuit novice. In 1678, he came to America; two years later, he was in Mexico, and then went to Lower California and New Mexico, where he established several missions among the native tribes. He also made extensive explorations in that region, and demonstrated the fact that Lower California was a peninsula, not an island. . . . The map referred to in the text shows the upper part of the California peninsula and gulf, northwestern Mexico, and part of Arizona. It is found in *Lettres édif.*, facing Picolo's report.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 41.

For this reference to Picolo's report, see Kenton, vol. ii, p. 453, *note* 1.

PAGE 457

1. Luc François Nau was one of the Jesuits arriving in Canada in 1734, and was missionary at Sault St. Louis from 1735 to 1743. His health gave way, and he returned to France, probably in 1744. His subsequent life is unknown.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 37.

PAGE 458

1. Catherine Tegakwita was one of Lamberville's converts at the Mohawk village of Gandaouagué, where she received baptism in 1675. Two years later, she left her own country, and went to make her abode at the Iroquois mission of St. François Xavier du Sault. There her great industry in toil, with con-

tinual austerities and mortifications gradually reduced her strength, until a protracted illness caused her death, April 17, 1680. Her virtues and sanctity were regarded as so unusual that her grave became a place for pilgrimage, where miracles have ever since been recorded; and various efforts have been made to secure her canonization. Father Claude Chauchetière wrote her biography, and painted her portrait; we give herewith an engraving made from the latter.—*Id.*, lxii, *note* 18.

2. The Indian women at Lorette wore, thirty years ago, very nearly the same dress as that here described, and the chemise or outer garment, which was of calico, was more properly a tunic. That worn by the men on gala occasions at the present day is very similar.—Crawford Lindsay.—*Id.*, lxii, *note* 19.

PAGE 459

1. *Carcan:* "an iron collar, fixed upon a post, by which the person sentenced was fastened thereto. The punishment of the carcan was abolished in 1832" (Littré).—*Id.*, xxxv, *note* 9.

PAGE 460

1. Reference is here made to the last French expedition sent against the Sacs and Foxes. It left Montreal in August, 1734, and found those savages intrenched on the banks of the Des Moines River, in Iowa. The attack was a failure, and finally ended with some negotiations for peace, half-hearted on both sides: the French expedition returned to Montreal without having accomplished any definite result. It was commanded by Nicolas Joseph de Noyelle, of Montreal. In 1735 a peace was concluded between the French and those tribes, after a war which had lasted twenty-five years. See Hebberd's *Wis. Under Dom. of France*, p. 142.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 43.

2. Except the horse sent to Montmagny in 1647, these were the first horses seen in Canada.—*Id.*, I, note 6.

PAGE 462

1. The probable site of Fort St. Charles was about four miles up the bay called Northwest Angle Inlet, west of American Point and Bucketé Island.—A. E. Jones, S.J.—*Id.*, lxviii, *note* 48.

PAGE 466

1. Joseph Aubery (Aubry) was born at Gisors, France, May 10, 1673. At the age of seventeen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate; his studies were pursued at Paris during four years. Desiring to become a missionary in Canada, he was allowed to complete his studies at Quebec, where he also spent five years as instructor. Ordained in 1700, he was assigned to the Abenaki field, where (according to Rochemonteix, *Jésuites*, t. iii, p. 436) he founded (1701) the mission at Medoctec, on the St. John River, in New Brunswick. But Raymond cites ("Old Meductic Fort," in *N. Bruns. Hist. Colls.*, vol. i, 1896) contemporary documents which show that the Franciscans had a mission there at least as early as 1689; he thinks that the French abandoned the St. John region about 1700. Aubery left Medoctec in 1708 (Rochemonteix, *ut supra*, p. 436), and took charge of the Abenaki reduction at St. François, of which he had charge during 46 years; he died there in 1755. He was an able linguist, and Maurault tells us (*Abénakis*, p. 501) that Aubery had prepared numerous MSS. in the Abenaki tongue—treasures, most of which unfortunately perished with the mission registers, in 1759, when the church at St. François was destroyed by fire. Aubery also wrote several memorials (in 1713 and 1720) opposing the claims of the English in Acadia; and prepared, in support of these, a map of that country showing, in especial, the boundaries of the French and English possessions according to the treaty of Utrecht. These he sent to the French government, urging that these boundaries should be established by mutual agreement; but it paid no attention to his plea. These valuable docu-

ments are in the Paris archives (Rochemonteix, *ut supra,* pp. 403-405). Chateaubriand drew from Aubery's character and career material for one of the characters in his historical romance, *Atala.—Id.,* lxvi, *note* 36.

PAGE 467

1. In the cathedral of Chartres, France, is a wampum belt sent in 1691, by the Abenaki converts of the mission at St. François de Sales, to the Virgin of Chartres; it was accompanied by a prayer to her, written in the Abenaki language. In acknowledgment of this gift, another was sent (1693) to the savages by the cathedral chapter, consisting of a silver reliquary wrought in the form of the sacred chemise—a gift similar to that sent in 1680 to the Lorette Hurons. Maurault gives (*Abénakis,* pp. 253-271) an account of these and other gifts, with the correspondence exchanged between the Abenakis and the cathedral. The prayer to Mary, above referred to, is thus given by Merlet (pp. 23, 24):

"Ouréreda nigaoussenan pita ouerighian Mari nekkouambi pakitinemourenena pita ouerighek ouetiannemeg, kichi koureremanbanik nesesissenanouak kichi koureredamenesa anir egmanoua apakitiniganouam. Ourereda nekkouambi pakitinemoureg niouna anneghe oueoueremeregheban ereghikkoui kechahanchian, nederitehansibenehouhouban amante oua aramikaoked, amante kegoué pakitinaoked, ne mina nedagatchebenouhouban, nekenokeresibenouhouhouban nederitehansibenouhouhouban: tebatebaou niounam anneghe pambatameg, nedaramikaouanna ouenitiannit nanouat oueouandamouk, kichi oureremegouanr sanghemanou Mariar. Oudereremen egmanoua Mari, pakitimaouaouiditch oureremank, kichi oueouandamouk. Niouna dakki essema . . . endamoubbena, essema neoueoueredamouounena erekameghessihidit pambatami oueouandaghik, ni eritehansiegheban. Koureremibbena etto nekkouambi Mari pita sanghemanoueremegousian, meouiassis etto nekkouanbi neoueouandamoubbena, netcheredamenena metchakameghessouingheban nedakkinouk eskoua epiéghe. Nekkouambi nekiktaouanna keneman nederangoumanna ouakeneman eri soughenebansieg: atchi kedérerebena kounemannin nahaghena. Ourereda pegoua nekkouanbi kegoussimis pakitinemouréghe. Gherousitamaoueourakedtch nemittangousena sangmanoui François de Sales, oua nanouat kemiregoubban ouaghe. Nambi kemirerena nahaghena io skouansou tpokoudiganiouitch askamioui eri mirereg nahaghena. Kia askamioui teberemine Mari ouerighian teberemat angeriak te avenambak. Pegekoun keouikoutemourebana. Ouridarakandamoussa khaghek kenemann Jesous ouridarakandatch nereouanganenouk dari amanteni tagouioui moussanrereg kia tai keneman tehari mehhinaeghé arambada askamioui io skouansou, Mari dari askamioui kheramiouitch nekerousouanganena neouikoutemeouanganena amanté askamioui teberemieg: amante askamioui moussantgikiktoureg pounemaouine nereouanganenouk ouikoutemoureg."—*Id.,* lxix, *note* 8.

Concerning the gift to the Lorette Hurons, see Kenton, vol. ii, pp. 299-301, and p. 300, *note* 1.

2. The present document appears in Maurault's *Abénakis* (pp. 499-501); and in a footnote he gives the signification of the names of chiefs signed thereon after Aubery's.—*Id.,* lxix, *note* 9.

PAGE 468

1. Louis Vivier was born Oct. 7, 1714, and became a Jesuit novice at the age of seventeen. Coming to Canada (about 1749), he was promptly sent to the Illinois mission. He was there stationed at Kaskaskia, about four years; and was transferred to Vincennes late in 1753 or early 1754. He died there, Oct. 2, 1756.—A. E. Jones, S.J.—*Id.,* lxix, *note* 16.

PAGE 471

1. Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps was born at Vannes, France, Sept. 5, 1707; and, soon after attaining his majority, entered the Jesuit order. He came to Canada in 1741, selected by his superiors to act as instructor in hydrography at the college of Quebec, a chair maintained there from 1671—at the expense

of the French government, from 1702—until the conquest. . . . See Gosselin's excellent studies of Bonnécamps's life and times, in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 2nd ser., vol. i, sec. 1, pp. 93-117; vol. iii, sec. 1, pp. 93-117; vol. iv, sec. 1, pp. 33, 34. In these papers are printed several hitherto unpublished letters by this priest, all supplied with copious and valuable annotations.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 11.

The identity of Céloron the explorer is not entirely certain, as there were two brothers of that name, both Canadian officers, and both employed at frontier outposts and among the Indians; moreover, most historical writers have neglected to make researches sufficiently detailed to settle this question satisfactorily. . . .

The strong preponderance of evidence is in favor of Pierre as being the explorer of 1749, but some writers ascribe this service to his younger brother, Jean Baptiste. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 31.

PAGE 472

1. François Picquet, a native of Burgundy, was born Dec. 6, 1708. He early showed a vocation for the religious life, and entered the Sulpitian order at Paris; he was there ordained in 1734, when but twenty-five years of age, and at once sent to Canada. He spent five years at Montreal, and ten more in the Sulpitian mission at Lake des Deux Montagnes; during his stay at the mission, many savages, especially Iroquois, came to reside there, and he gained much influence over them. Picquet's favorite scheme was to secure friendship and alliance between the Iroquois and the French against their English neighbors; to that end, he undertook to form a mission colony of Iroquois, under his personal care and direction. According, he founded (in the summer of 1749) at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, upon or near the site of the present Ogdensburg, N. Y., the establishment named by him La Presentation; it was not only a mission, but a fortified post. The Iroquois savages were easily induced to settle there; at the end of two years, they numbered about 400—a number which finally increased to 3,000. . . .—See Gosselin's admirable paper on "L'Abbé Picquet," with full and valuable annotations, in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xii, sec. 1, pp. 3-28.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 32.

2. At this point there is, on the MS. which we follow, a note in Francis Parkman's handwriting: "The 3 mountains of Nonnenbin?"—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 33.

PAGE 473

1. Yjadakoin, Chadakoin, Tjadakoin, Yadakoin, are all variants of the Iroquois name which has now become, through successive phonetic renderings by French and English tongues, Chautauqua. The expedition, after coasting the southern shore of Lake Erie, arrived at the Chautauqua portage (now Barcelona), and ascended Chautauqua Creek (the explorers' "Rivière aux Pommes"). Thence to Chautauqua Lake is a portage of six miles; having crossed this, Céloron voyaged down the lake and the "outlet," so-called, and then through Casadaga and Conewango Creeks, into the Alleghany. By Céloron and other early explorers the names "Ohio" and "Beautiful River" were applied to the Alleghany as well as to the river now called Ohio. . . .

The "unknown tree" mentioned by Bonnécamps may be the cottonwood. Gosse conjectures that it may be the common cedar (*Thuya*).—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 34.

PAGE 474

1. The appellation *paille coupée* ("broken straw") is doubtless the French translation of the name given by the Indians of that region to the village in question, which was occupied mainly by Senecas. It was situated on the Alleghany, a few miles below the present Warren, Pa.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 35.

2. *Kanonouangon:* the village was situated at the mouth of the stream now known as the Conewango—which, after receiving the waters of Chautauqua Creek, falls into the Alleghany River, just above the village of Warren.

Céloron took possession for France of the region through which he traveled—indicating this, in accordance with the custom of the time, by burying at mouths of rivers engraved leaden plates; upon these were suitable inscriptions, recording place, date, and circumstances of this taking possession. One of these plates, stolen or found by Iroquois savages, was delivered by them to Col. William Johnson, in December, 1750; and was soon afterward forwarded to the Lords of Trade at London. A facsimile of this inscription is given in *N. Y. Colon. Docs.*, vol. vi, p. 611; translated, it reads as follows: "In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV, king of France, we Céloron, commandant of a detachment sent by Monsieur the Marquis de la Galissoniere, General Commandant of New France, to reëstablish tranquillity in certain Savages of these districts, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Tchadakoin, this 29th of July, near the River Oyo, otherwise Belle Rivière. This we do as a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said River Oyo, and of all the rivers which discharge into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of the said rivers, even as they have been possessed, or ought to have been possessed, by the preceding Kings of France, and as they have maintained their authority therein by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Riswick, of Utrecht, and of Aix la Chapelle." A *procès-verbal*, of similar tenor, was also drawn up, and signed by the officers present, at each place thus indicated.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 36.

PAGE 476

1. The second plate was buried at or near a large bowlder, inscribed by the Indians with numerous hieroglyphics; it was situated about nine miles (by the windings of the river) below the mouth of the stream . . . now known as French Creek. A view of this rock and a facsimile of the hieroglyphics thereon are given in Schoolcraft's *Ind. Tribes*, vol. iv, p. 172 and *plate* 18.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 37.

2. The Great Miami River was called by the French Rivière à la Roche ("Rocky River"), on account of its numerous rapids. Rivière Blanche is a name applied by them to several streams which had unusually clear waters; in this case, the distances would suggest that reference is made to the Little Miami. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 44.

3. *Kaskaské* (Kushkushkee, Kuskuskis): a Delaware town—on Beaver Creek, according to Parkman; but more exactly located by Darlington (*Gist's Journals*, p. 101) thus: "On the Mahoning, six miles above the forks of the Beaver, where Edenburgh, Lawrence County, now stands. Old Kuskuskis stood on the Shenango, between the Forks and the mouth of the Neshannock (where New Castle now stands), on the wide bottom on the west side. Kuskuskis was divided into four towns, some distance apart."—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 45.

PAGE 477

1. At the time of Céloron's expedition, a band of Miamis had recently settled on the Great Miami, near the mouth of Loramie Creek. At their head was the leading chief of the Miami confederacy, known to the French as "La Demoiselle," and to the English (whose firm friend he was) as "Old Britain." Céloron urged these savages to return to their old settlements on the Maumee, but La Demoiselle refused to do so, and induced so many of his tribesmen to settle in his village (called by the English Pickawillany) that it became one of the largest and most important Indian towns in the West; it was also a center of English trade and influence. In June, 1752, it was attacked by a strong force of Ottawas from the Upper Lakes, under the command of Charles Langlade; they captured the village, killed and ate La Demoiselle, and made prisoners of five English traders, who were taken by Langlade to Quebec. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 46.

PAGE 478

1. Reference is here made to the salt springs and "lick" in Boone county,

Ky., about twelve miles south of Burlington. The place is called "Big Bone Lick," from the bones of mastodons and elephants which have been found there in great abundance. Various collections of these have been made—one by Thomas Jefferson, about 1805; he divided it between the American Philosophical Society (of which he was president) and the French naturalist Cuvier. This locality was known to the whites as early as 1729. Salt was made at these springs by the Indians, doubtless from a very early period, and afterward by the whites.—See Collins's *History of Kentucky* (Covington, Ky., 1874), vol. ii, pp. 51-55; and Thwaites's *Afloat on the Ohio*, p. 197. The latter work contains (pp. 320-328) a list of journals of travel down the Ohio, dating from 1750 to 1876.

The "fort of the Miamis" was located at Kekionga (or Kiskakon), on the Maumee River, at the site of the present Fort Wayne, Ind. The Indian name is that of an Ottawa clan (Kiskakons) who probably had a village there, early in the 18th century. The Miamis had moved eastward to the Maumee by 1712; and Fort Miamis was early erected by the French, in order to protect their trade with the savages of that region. As a result of conspiracy among these Indians against the French, Fort Miamis was captured by them and burned (1747); but it was soon afterward rebuilt. This post was surrendered to the English in 1760; after various vicissitudes of possession, Gen. Anthony Wayne's army encamped there (1794), and a strongly garrisoned fort was established—named, in honor of him, Fort Wayne.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 47.

Concerning the Kiskakons, see Kenton, vol. i, p. 502, *note* 2.

PAGE 479

1. The Ottawa and Huron bands here referred to had come to Detroit with Cadillac in 1701. The latter tribe had at first settled near Fort Pontchartrain; but removed their village (probably about 1746) to the Canadian side of the strait, near the Ottawa village, where now stands the town of Sandwich, Ont. La Richardie had since 1728 ministered to these and other Hurons settled in that region. A band of these savages, under a war-chief named Nicolas, had settled [*ca* 1740?] at Sandusky Bay, where they soon established commerce and friendship with English traders. . . .—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 48.

PAGE 481

1. As early as 1685, Frenchmen had established a trading post on the Arkansas River, about fifty miles above its mouth—where, earlier, Marquette had visited the Kappa (Quapaw) villages. It was called *Poste aux Akansas* by the French; and by the English, Arkansas Post, a name which it still retains.—*Id.*, lxix, *note* 53.

PAGE 482

1. *Panismahas:* the Skidi, one of the Pani (Pawnee) tribes, originally located between the Niobrara and Arkansas Rivers.—See Coues's sketch of the Pawnee group, in his *Lewis and Clark*, pp. 55-57, *note* 7.

The Indian tribes, generally, enslaved their captives taken in war; and these slaves were also transferred to the whites, especially the French. So many were obtained (largely by the Illinois) from the Pawnees,—who were, early in the eighteenth century, settled on the Missouri River,—that Indian slaves were everywhere known by the general term *panis*. This bondage prevailed throughout Canada and Louisiana, beginning almost with the first French settlements in Illinois; and was authorized by an edict of Jacques Raudot, intendant of New France, dated at Quebec, April 13, 1709. Slavery was abolished in Upper Canada in 1793, by act of the provincial parliament; and in Lower Canada it had practically ceased by 1800—the few remaining slaves being freed by an imperial act in 1834. The last public sale of a slave took place at Montreal in 1797.—See Lafontaine's "L'esclavage en Canada," *Montreal Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1858; and Hamilton's papers on this subject, published by the Canadian Institute of Toronto—"Slavery in Canada," *Transactions*, 1890, pp. 102-108; and "The

Panis," *Proceedings,* 1897, pp. 19-27. See also T. W. Smith's "The Slave in Canada," in *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Colls.,* 1896-98.—*Id.,* lxix, *note* 55.

See Kenton, vol. ii, p. 270, *note* 1.

2. "Gentlemen of the Missions étrangères":—*Letter* by Vivier, *Id.,* lxix, doc. ccxxii, p. 223. See Kenton, vol. ii, App. I, p. 500.

The Seminary of Foreign Missions was founded [in France] in 1663. . . . The Seminary of Quebec, founded at nearly the same time by Laval was united with the Paris house, becoming only a branch thereof, Jan. 29, 1665. This French organization has carried on its work from that time until this,—chiefly in Oriental lands.—*Id.,* lii, *note* 4.

PAGE 484

1. The letter here reproduced from *Lettres edifiantes* was written by Pierre Joseph Antoine Roubaud. He was born at Avignon, May 28, 1724, and at the age of fifteen became a Jesuit novice. In 1756 he came to Canada, and was sent to the Abenaki missions. After the conquest of Canada, he became a supporter of English interests, and was later sent to England, to give the ministry information about American affairs. There he renounced his religious faith, married, and became a political agent of the English government. . . .—*Id.,* lxx, *note* 25.

PAGE 513

1. Sebastien Cramoisy, a well-known publisher, was born at Paris in 1585, and died there in January, 1669. The Imprimerie Royal was established in 1640, by Louis XIII, who placed it in charge of Cramoisy. His brother Gabriel was his partner during 1644-58, and, beginning with 1663, Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy (according to Harrisse, a son of another brother, Claude; but, according to Baillet, Sebastien's grandson). Upon Sebastien's death, he was succeeded by Mabre-Cramoisy, who retained the title of Printer to the King, until 1687. This family became widely known as the printers of the entire original series of the Jesuit Relations (1632-73); but some of their other publications have been more famous as specimens of book-making,—for instance, their *Nicephori Callisti historiæ ecclesiasticæ,* lib. 18, etc. (1630).—*Id.,* v, *note* 22.